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Bengal Past & Present

Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society

Vol. 3

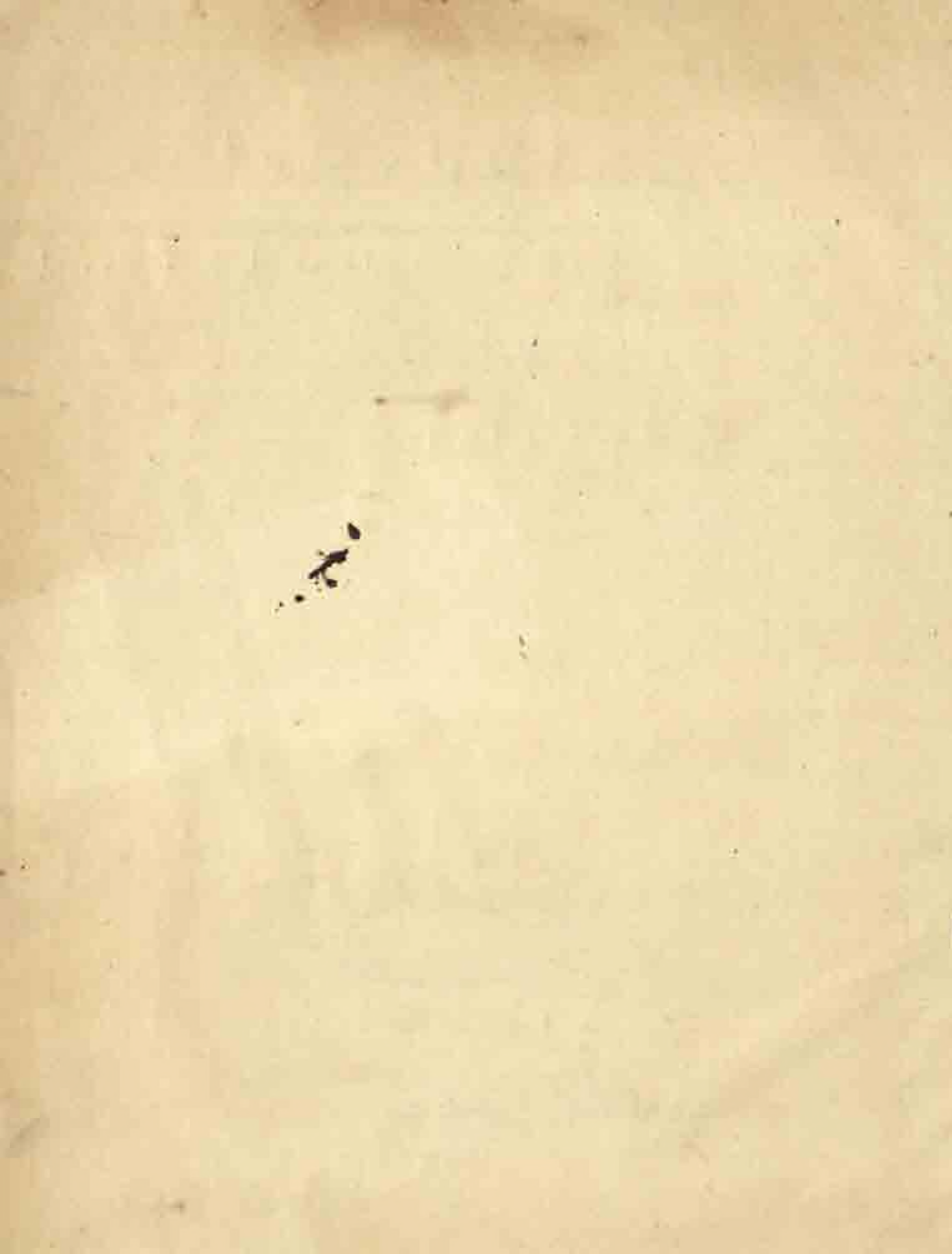
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(JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

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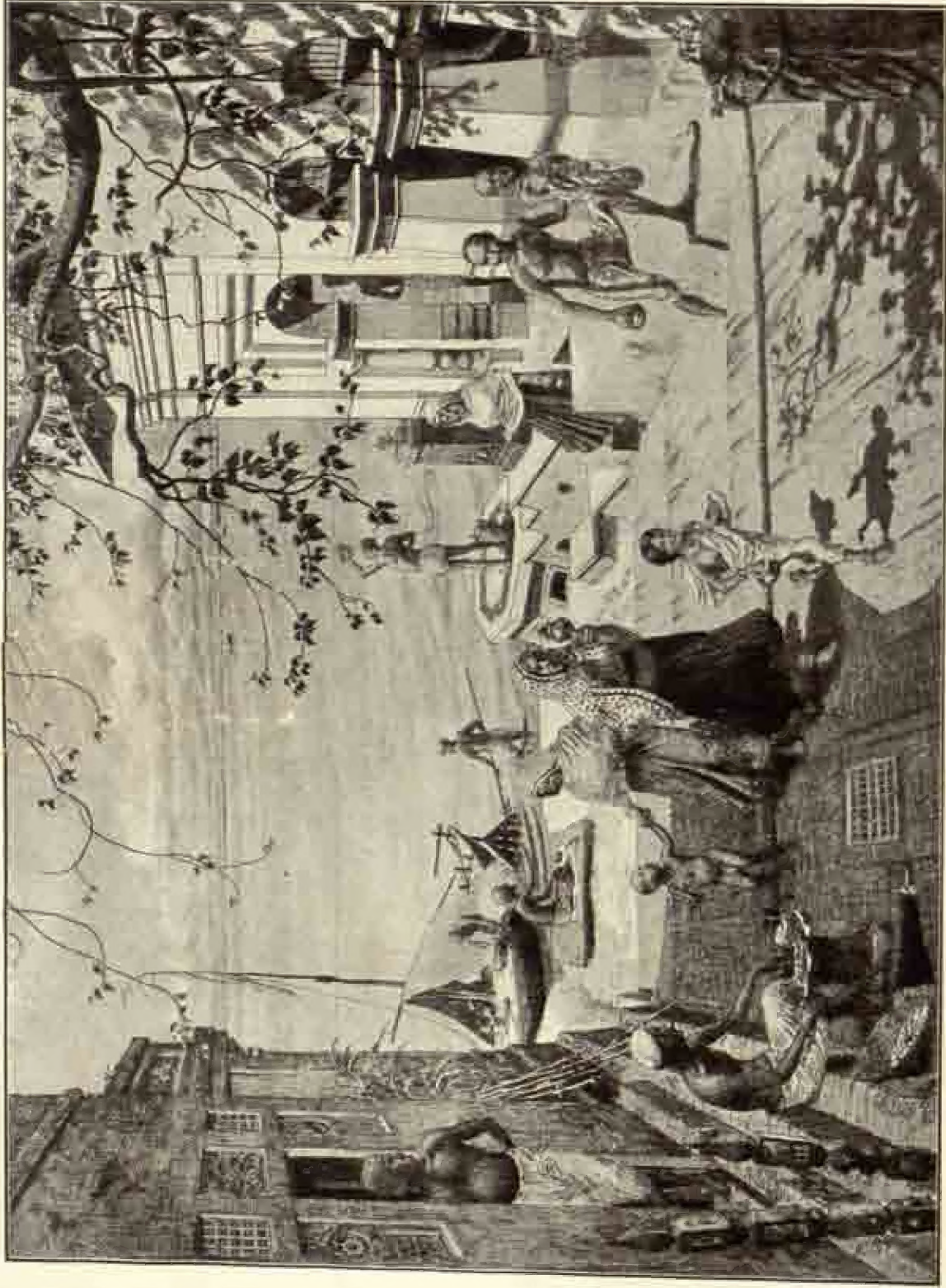
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4. PLACE OF RELEASE FROM SORROWS, "KASHI-HARINI TEMPLE, SCANDAL POINT, MONGHYR.

From an Etching by
FRANK C. SCALLAN, Esq.

Anglo-Indian Ghost-Stories.

"Was it thy Spirit came to me
To visit me in sleep?
Oh! that my slumber might have been
More lengthened and more deep!
It was thine unforgotten form
O Heaven! that I did see;
Thou wast not changed....."

—DEROGIO.



IN Calcutta as in other places there exist certain buildings which, for good reasons or otherwise, enjoy the reputation of being "haunted." Perhaps the best known is Hastings House which, in 1901, was taken over by Lord Curzon for being used as a State Guest-House. In *Calcutta: Old and New*, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton repeats the accepted story that Warren Hastings drives up the avenue every evening in a coach-and-four, and upon alighting walks through the house in search of a black wood bureau containing, among other things, two miniatures and some documents which were highly prized by him. A curious corroboration of the story is to be found in Gleig's biography where a letter of Hastings referring to his loss is quoted. An advertisement for the missing articles was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 6th September 1787. Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., has the following reference to Hastings House in his charming "haunting" verses to Madame Grand:—

"Does your spirit haunt the floor
Of that house in Allpore,
Vis-à-vis to Francis set
In the spectral minuet?

* * * * *

What a story could you tell
Girlish ghost, *jadis si belle*?"

There once stood in Free School Street a fine mansion adjoining the mosque that still faces Kyd Street, which was known as a haunted building. This was called Dr. Vos's house for the fact of Dr. J. G. Vos, the once well-known medical practitioner, having lived here. Later on it was used as a boarding house for females and went by the name of the "Ellerton Home." Owing to a dispute between the proprietors—two

Mahomedan brothers—if our information be correct—the house was allowed to fall into disrepair and utter ruin until eventually, in the early 'eighties, it had to be pulled down.

We shall now proceed to relate a few authenticated ghost-stories.

Of the old Supreme Court there were at different times two Judges named respectively Sir Anthony and Sir Arthur Buller. The latter had, with his brother Charles, been a private pupil of Thomas Carlyle's. It is regarding the former Judge that the following incident is related. Sir Anthony's wife and family were in England. He was sitting up one night writing her a long letter. Happening to raise his eyes he beheld to his great astonishment the form of his wife standing close to the door. Starting from his chair, he approached the vision which gradually receded and faded away. The Judge returned to his seat where, too bewildered to take up his pen again, he tried to collect his thoughts. Glancing towards the door he once more saw the apparition gazing on him with a melancholy smile. Calling his wife by name, he again rushed towards the figure when, as before, it receded and became invisible. Not long after he was found by his servant in a state of insensibility. At the very hour the vision appeared to him, allowing for the difference of time between England and India, his wife expired. Buller the next day finished his letter giving an account of what had occurred, and expressing his anxiety as to Lady Buller's state of health. This letter was received by the family and kept as an heirloom. It was shown many years afterwards to the person on whose authority this incident is related.

Mr. Lewis Cooper, book-keeper at the once well-known firm of Hunter and Co., livery stable-keepers, was a man of rectitude and of means, owning landed property in and about Calcutta. He lived in his own house on the site of the new Church of St. Francis Xavier in Bow Bazar which at that time was considered a less unfashionable locality than at present. Within four days, Mr. Cooper had the misfortune to lose his two surviving children—youths of twenty and fifteen. So keenly did this double bereavement affect his wife that she went out of her mind. Mr. Cooper had to place her in the Insane Asylum at Bhowanipore, bringing her home as soon as she got better. But for the now childless couple the old home had sorrowful associations and she began fretting. As his wife preferred to live by herself, and, with her peculiarities, Mr. Cooper thought it better she should; he rented for her a small upper-roomed house in Dharamtala, just beyond Wellington Square (where the Methodist Bengali Chapel now stands), while he continued to stay in Bow Bazar. Every morning he used to drive in his buggy to hear Mass at the Church of the Sacred Heart, and thence to market just round the corner (now Motilal Sil Street), taking his wife her daily "bazar." It was one of Mrs. Cooper's many eccentricities that she would insist on

preparing her own food, keeping neither cook nor ayah. The sweeper apparently did not live on the premises, but Cooper had engaged a durwan who remained near the gate at some little distance from the house, which was reached by a passage, and one or two syces also stayed in the out-offices.

On the morning of the 6th March 1845, Cooper called to see his wife as usual, but was surprised on going up the staircase to find the verandah *purdahs* down. In the semi-darkness he noticed a female figure lying in the verandah with what looked like a small pool of betel-juice on the floor near the mouth. At first he felt pleased, imagining his wife must have taken his advice and engaged an ayah. But on passing through the hall everything, so far as he could make out, seemed in confusion. He shouted out to the servants to come and open the windows, and the first to come up was the sweeper, followed by the other servants from the gate. Then a shocking sight presented itself. In the verandah lay Mrs. Cooper quite dead. She had been strangled with a long piece of cloth (*gamcha*) which still remained knotted round her throat; one earring had been torn off, while one slipper was lying near the body and the other some yards away. Her bureau had been burst open and from its drawers all the jewellery, silver-plate, spoons, etc., taken. A hand-bag which she used to wear at her waist and in which she used to keep her money and other valuables, was also lying there empty. All the cash had been stolen and apparently also the smaller currency notes, for several of large denominations, amounting to over a thousand rupees, were found scattered about. Unfortunately this poor demented lady had a habit of displaying her valuable collection of jewels, precious stones, etc., to the servants. A strange thing was that her pet cockatoo had left its perch in the room and was found clinging in terror to a cornice near the ceiling. At the coroner's inquest several of the neighbours testified to hearing the bird shrieking and the sounds of a struggle, followed by groans, in Mrs. Cooper's house on the night of the murder, but knowing the poor lady was mad, they did not trouble themselves about the matter as they might otherwise have done. The victim was a powerfully built woman of forty-two and must have made a desperate fight for her life against great odds. The durwan had living with him at the time a party of his relatives who had come down from their country and the Police took a dozen persons into custody. There is no doubt they were in some way implicated, for it came out in the evidence of an approver that it had been contemplated to drug the lady. The heavier portion of the spoil, such as the silver-plate, would appear to have been removed from near the house on a bullock-cart. The inquest dragged on for some days, the jury eventually returning a verdict of "wilful

murder against some person or persons unknown." Mr. Cooper offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 for the apprehension of the murderers, but all to no effect. The menials suspected were never punished, and it is a significant fact that one of them shortly afterwards opened a large clothes store in Chandney. Mrs. Theodora Cooper was laid to rest with her children in the compound of the R. C. Cathedral at Murgihatta. Her husband added her name to the memorial tablet and followed her within four months. There is no inscription to him, but it has been ascertained (through the courtesy of the Cathedral authorities) that he died on 28th June 1845, aged 47. He left his property (including four houses and nine plots of ground) to Archbishop Carew for religious and charitable purposes.

But the sequel remains to be told. The house in Dharamtala where the murder had taken place soon got the reputation of being "haunted" and remained unoccupied for some time. A few years later two indigo-planters came down to Calcutta on business which was likely to detain them a little while, and knowing nothing about the history of the house, rented it on a six months' lease. On one occasion they had purchased tickets for some entertainment, but on the evening it was to come off, one of them had an attack of fever and begged of his friend to go by himself and leave him at home. He slept in the hall, and next morning he chaffed the other man about having picked up a lady friend and brought her home with him. "Never!"—exclaimed the other, indignantly denying the allegation and suggesting: "Old fellow, you must have been delirious. What did you really see?" "Some time after midnight I distinctly saw a fine, tall woman (European or fair Eurasian) come out of your room, pass through the hall where I was lying awake, and go into the veranda. She appeared to be *en deshabille*, but what struck me as rather strange was that she wore round her throat, like a comforter, a long strip of cloth. Curiosity made me follow to have another look at her, but when I got to the door leading into the veranda she had gone!" Enquiries were made from the servants as to whether anybody had been seen coming downstairs, and eventually the planters came to hear that the house was "haunted." They quitted at once, paying up the rent for the remainder of the lease. Many years ago the house was pulled down.

The Rev. A. F. Lacroix of the London Missionary Society was regarded as the best vernacular preacher of his time. His Memoirs, written by his son-in-law, Dr. J. Mullens of the same Society, record the following remarkable incident which occurred to a missionary friend in Southern India, and which, to Mr. Lacroix's mind at least, seemed to prove that there was no presumption against the theory that after its emancipation the spiritual body may sometimes show itself to man. The friend referred to succeeded

another missionary who had died leaving the accounts of the mission in a state of hopeless confusion. Yet as he was an honest and upright man, it was not to be supposed he had misappropriated the money for private purposes. The only question was—what had happened to Rs. 700 of which he had left no record? After spending some days in trying to solve the mystery, the new-comer one afternoon threw himself down on a sofa in the office-room, regretting that his predecessor should have caused him so much unnecessary trouble. While engaged in again thinking it out, he distinctly saw the figure of a man in clerical garb rise, as it were, out of the ground, and glide to the office table where the account books and papers of the Mission lay spread out. Drawing forth a certain document, the spectre placed it uppermost and, glancing round at his astonished successor, immediately vanished. The paper contained an entry that Rs. 700 of the Mission funds had been lent out on interest to a certain gentleman at Madras. On being applied to, the gentlemen in question immediately acknowledged the debt and repaid the amount due.

To the south-west of Hyderabad lies the state of Shorapore which has since 1860 formed part of the Nizam's Dominions. Not long before, it may be remembered, the Raja of that principality had thrown in his lot with the mutineers and shot himself on being sentenced to deportation, the capital sentence which was originally passed on him having been commuted. By Colonel Meadows Taylor, who was Commissioner at Shorapore, the following strange incident was related to have occurred there soon after the Mutiny. The senior Captain of the 74th Highlanders was seated one day busily writing in his tent with one of its side walls open. All of a sudden a young man belonging to his company appeared before him in hospital clothes and said: "I wish, Sir, you will kindly have my arrears of pay sent home to my mother who lives at such a place. Please take down the address." Mechanically the Captain took it down and said: "All right, my man, that will do." Thereupon the visitor withdrew, as he had come, without making the usual salute. A moment later it occurred to the officer that the soldier's dress and manner of coming in were most irregular, so he sent his orderly to summon the Sergeant of the Company. When he came the Captain enquired, "Why did you allow Private—— to come here to me in that irregular manner." The Sergeant was thunderstruck. "Do you not know, Sir, that the man was buried this morning? He died in hospital yesterday. Are you quite sure you saw him?" "Quite sure," was the reply. "Look, here is the note I made of his mother's address to which he desired his pay should be sent." "That is strange, Sir," said the Sergeant. "His things have just been auctioned off, but we could not find any entry in the register as to where the proceeds should be remitted." Anyhow the address

communicated by the ghostly visitant proved to be quite correct, and the circumstances made a great impression in the regiment at the time.

A Chandernagore correspondent wrote to a Calcutta daily some years ago:—"A mysterious light appears every night at the distant signal post of the Chandernagore Railway station on the Hooghly side. There are numerous stories concerning it. The most popular one is that a guard was killed at this distant signal years ago when the line was first opened, and that from that time he has been appearing in various forms. During the past ten or twelve years he has been moving about near the distant signal with a guard's lamp in his hand. The apparition itself cannot be seen, but the light is visible, sometimes flickering and sometimes burning steadily. The spirit allows you to come within, say, twenty yards of it, and then disappears. The shunting jemadar is quite at home with the ghost, and he states that while when he shows the red light the ghost shows red and green, and when he exhibits the green light it does not interfere with him in any way. Last night, though rainy, the light was again seen from the platform. I asked the guard of No. 33-up train to keep a look out for the light and to see if he could distinguish anyone in the dark, but before the train got to it, it disappeared. Any of your readers who have not seen a ghost and who does not believe in apparitions might take a run up to Chandernagore by some evening train and satisfy himself. The matter is worth investigation."

The literature of the subject, so far as India is concerned, is scanty. True, that versatile Bengal Civilian, the late Henry Meredith Parker, in his *Bole Ponjis* (1851) has an article, "The Decline and Fall of Ghosts," and James Douglas in his *Bombay and Western India* a chapter on "Anglo-Indian Ghosts." These, however, have not been laid under contribution for the present article. In conclusion it may be added that several of the above stories have been re-told from a series of anecdotal articles (by one of the present writers) which appeared in the *Englishman*.

E. W. M. and K. N. D.



European Place Names in India.



It occurred to me, some time ago, that it might be of interest to compile a list of places in India, named after Europeans. I thought that I might perhaps be able to collect a couple of dozen or so of such names, of sufficient importance to be marked in an ordinary map. With a view to compiling such a list, I went through the index of Keith Johnston's *Atlas of India*, published in 1894, marking all such names. This index yielded a total of seventy-nine names, without counting the plans of the presidency towns which gave twenty-eight more (Calcutta seven, Madras thirteen, Bombay eight). To these I was able to add, from my own knowledge, a good many places not marked in any of the maps in this atlas; Ellenganj, Fort Hastings (in Monghyr), Forbesganj, Fraserganj, Goldinganj, Henckelganj, (Hingalganj), Lyallpur, Margherita, Revelganj, Sleemanabad, Tollyganj, Trowerland, Worsleyganj. A search through the index of Newman's Indian Bradshaw added Barnesghat, Bridgmanganj, Campierganj, Closepet, Fuller's Camp, Lindsay, Macdonald's Choultry, Nuttall, Palmerganj, Peppeganj, and Wilsonpore. (Forbesganj, Fraserganj, Goldinganj, Revelganj, Sleemanabad, and Worsleyganj, are also in this index). Smith's *Students' Geography of India*, published in 1882, added Ellenabad, Hopetown (in the Andamans), Hugh Rose Island, Macandrewganj,* and Ross Island. After I had compiled the lists including the above names, Mr. E. W. Madge called my attention to an article in the *Saturday Journal* of 14th November 1907, by Mr. K. N. Dhar, of the Imperial Library, from which I got a good deal more miscellaneous information, including the names of Georgegarh, Fort Dufferin, Fort Sandeman, and Fort Cavagnari. The map of the 24-Parganas contributed Lothian and Halliday Islands; Dalhousie, Grant, Grey, Hammett, Pitt, and Preston Points.

Out of the total number of one hundred and twenty European place names included in the list, no less than fifty-seven are those of islands, bays, points, etc., distributed between the Andamans (23), the Nicobars (5), the Mergui Archipelago in Burma (15), the seaface of the Sunderbans (10), and Perim (4). Several of the others are railway stations, some of which are only small villages. In some cases, no doubt, a European name was given

* I have not been able to ascertain where Macandrewganj is situated. The entry in the index of Smith's *Geography* refers to page 137, which describes the Shwegyeon District of Burma, but the reference is evidently incorrect, as the name does not occur on that page.

to a new station because there was no village of any importance in the neighbourhood after which it could be named.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were formally annexed in 1858, when the present convict settlement was formed, to confine the great number of life prisoners left after the Mutiny. Hence the numerous names of Mutiny heroes given to places in these islands, Campbell, Havelock, Henry Lawrence, Neill, and Outram.

In addition to the twenty-eight names in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands given in the table below, a large scale map of these islands shows many more European place names. Three other small islands are named after John Lawrence, Sir William Peel, the leader of the naval brigade, and General Archdall Wilson, the captor of Delhi. (It is curious that Nicholson is not commemorated in the same way.) There are also Ritchie's Archipelago, and Shore Point, the latter named after Sir John Shore, Governor-General. A dozen settlements are named after past and present members of the Andamans' Commission; *viz.*—Austenabad, Birchganj, Brookesabad, Cadellganj (Colonel Cadell, V. C., Superintendent 1879-1892), Hobdaypur, Homfrayganj, Protheroeपुर (General Protheroe, Superintendent in 1882), Stewartganj, Taylerabad, Templeganj (the second Sir Richard Temple, late Chief Commissioner), Tusonabad, Wimberleyganj. Lastly, we may mention the curious name of Anikhet, which should be spelt "Annie-Kate" and is named after the daughter of a former Chief Commissioner. Nowadays the name is usually corrupted into Ranikhet, or "Queenfield."

While many names, famous in Indian history, are commemorated in place names, Abbottabad, Edwardesabad, Jacobabad, etc., many more of the first importance are not thus distinguished. There does not appear to be any place in India named after Clive. The only one which bears the name of Warren Hastings is Fort Hastings in Monghyr, a small fort, now in ruins, which few have ever heard of.* Fort Hastings in Kumaon was named after Lord Hastings, in whose time the Nepal war was fought (1814-1816). Lord Wellesley's name has not been given to any place in India, or at least in what is now India, but the province of Wellesley, in the Malay Peninsula, was named after him. It is only forty years since the British possessions there were, in 1867, removed from under the Indian Government, and formed into a separate Crown Colony, under the title of Straits Settlements.

It is curious that the vernacular suffixes attached to European names to convert them into place names, are almost all Persian-Urdu. By far the commonest is *ganj*, a granary, treasury, or market, here of course used in the

* There are also, of course, Hastings House in Calcutta and Hastings House at Rithra; and the riverside quarter of Calcutta called Hastings.

last sense; though of frequent occurrence in Bengal the word is Persian. The Persian-Urdu suffixes of *abad* and *pur*, meaning town, are also common, the Hindi *nagar* (town) does not seem to have ever been used, and the Hindi *garh* (fort) only once, in Georgegarh. In Southern India, several place names have the suffix *pet*, which I believe is the Tamil word for a town or market; it is also used in Marathi as in Malcolmpet, in Bombay.

Mr. K. N. Dhur's article gives some curious instances of the corruption of vernacular into English names. Thus, English Bazar in Malda, was originally *Rangrezza-Bazar*, the dyers' quarter. The first letter was dropped, and it became Angrezabazar, and hence English Bazar. It is generally known that the suburb of Kidderpur is not named after Colonel Kyd, the name having been in use before his time. It is said to be a corruption of Khetterpur.* But probably it was association with the name of Colonel Kyd which turned the first part of the name exactly into the Bengali genitive of Kyd. Similarly, if Kamalpur was the original name of the cantonment of Campbellpur in the Punjab, probably it was some real or fancied association with some officer of the name of Campbell which gave the name its present form.

There is a town named Colonelganj in the Gonda District of Oudh; one named Captainganj, in Gorakhpur, in the United Provinces; and one named Padreganj in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces. The first two were presumably once cantonments, the third a mission station. It would be interesting to know who were the officers after whom these places were originally named. Mr. K. N. Dhur also states that Erinpura, a cantonment in Rajputana, takes its name from an Irish regiment which was once stationed there.

Here we are specially concerned with Bengal only, which contributes twenty-seven names to the list. Out of these twenty-seven, no less than ten are names of which I know nothing, *viz.* Barnesghat, Ellenganj, Goldinganj, Grant Point, Hammett's Point, Hopetown, Lothian Island, Pitt's Point, Preston Point, and Worsleyganj. I should suppose that Grant's, Hammett's, Pitt's, and Preston's Points, all in the Sunderbans of the 24-Parganas District, were named after officers of the Indian Navy, Royal Indian Marine, or Bengal Pilot Service. If so, probably there must be some men of those services still in India who could give some information about the bearers of these names. For most of us, our time in India is short, and the services of Indian officers, however well known in their day, are, except in the cases of the very greatest, speedily forgotten.

* Waiganj in Kidderpore commemorates Col. Henry Watson. Padrganj on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway commemorates the Rev. J. Wilcocks, a distinguished linguist, and brother of the famous Engineer.—*En., Bengal P. & P.*

It would also be interesting to know who was the lady after whom the settlement of Ellenganj, on the Matia River opposite Port Canning, was named. This settlement is not very old and the facts are probably known to many people in Calcutta. Again, who was the Golding, who gave his name to Goldinganj, a little east of Chapra? When stationed there, over sixteen years ago, I tried to trace the name, but no one appeared ever to have heard of Golding, and I could get no information on the subject. I have heard it suggested that the name was a corruption of Gultanganj, but no such word as *gultan* appears in the dictionaries of Persian, Urdu, Hindi, or Bengali; and I never heard the word as a proper name. And who was Worsley, who gave his name to Worsleyganj, in Gaya district? The name may perhaps be a corruption of Waris-ali-ganj.

About the others I have been able to collect some information.

Cox's Bazar was named after Captain Hiram Cox, who was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava by Lord Amherst, about 1820, shortly before the first Burmese war. He wrote an account of this mission, published in London in 1821, under the title of "*Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire, and more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah.*"

Dalhousie Island and Point were, of course, named after the great Governor-General, who ruled India from 1848 to 1856.

Daltonganj is named after Colonel Dalton, Commissioner of Chutia Nagpore in 1848. Edward Tuite Dalton entered the army in 1835, became Major-General in 1877, and died on 30th December 1880. His great work on the Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, published in 1872, is well known.

Forbesganj is named after the late Mr. Forbes, planter and zemindar in Purnea district. He came out to India in the early part of the nineteenth century, and spent the greater part of his life in Purnea, where he amassed a large fortune. He died, at or about the age of 84, in Calcutta on 9th July 1890 and is buried at Purnea.

Fort Hastings, a small mud fort long since fallen into ruins, and now barely visible, at Chakai, in the extreme south of the Monghyr district, was named after Warren Hastings. The name of the first and perhaps the greatest of the Governors-General is commemorated in one quarter of Calcutta, also in Hastings House at Alipur and Hastings House at Rishra, Serampur. But this insignificant and forgotten fort (once a frontier fort!) is the only place in India, as far as I know, outside Calcutta and its immediate vicinity, which bears this name.

Fort White, in the Lushai Hills, is named after Sir George White, Commander-in-Chief from 1893 to 1898.

Fraserganj, the new health resort in the Sunderbuns, is, of course, named after the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Fraser.

Grey Point, in the Sunderbuns, is, I presume, named after Sir William Grey, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1867 to 1871. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1840 and retired in 1871. Three years after his retirement he was appointed Governor of Jamaica, and held that post from 1874 to 1877. He died at Torquay on 15th May 1878.

Halliday Island is named after Sir Frederick James Halliday, first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He entered the Civil Service in 1824, governed Bengal from 1854 to 1859, and died so recently as 22nd October 1901, aged 94.

Henckelganj is a little village on the east bank of the Kalindi river, which separates the 24-Parganas from Khulna District. It lies some ten miles south of Hosainabad, the headquarters of the Sunderban Thana of Basirhat Sub-Division. It takes its name from Tilman Henckel of the Bengal Civil Service, who was Magistrate and Judge of Jessore from 1781 to 1786, and Collector of that district from 1786 to 1789, when he became Collector of Rajshahi.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, 24th April 1788, quoted Seton Karr's selections, Vol. I, page 253, contains the following note about Mr. Henckel:—"It is a fact that the conduct of Mr. H.—in the Sunderbuns has been so exemplary and mild towards the poor molungees or salt manufacturers, that to express their gratitude they have made a representation of his figure or image, which they worship amongst themselves. A strong proof that natives of this country are sensible of kind treatment and easily governed without coercive measures."

Unfortunately the Survey have changed the name of Henckelganj into Hingalganj, and in the district maps the latter name is given, thus destroying all trace of the etymology of the name.

Morrellganj, in the Khulna district, takes its name from the late Mr. Morrell, indigo planter and zemindar, by whom the estate was reclaimed about half a century ago. The settlement stands on the Panguchi river, a little to the west of its junction with the Baleswar, which divides Khulna from Bakerganj.

Palmerganj, a station on the Grand Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, is, I believe, named after Mr. Palmer, now Chief Engineer of the Calcutta Port Trust, but formerly of the E.I.R.

Port Canning is named after Lord Canning, Governor-General and first Viceroy of India.

Revelganj, seven miles west of Chapra, in the Saran district, stands on the north bank of the Gogra river. The town was formerly called Godna, and takes its present name from Mr. Henry Revel, Collector of Customs at Chapra, who opened a customhouse and bazar at Godna in 1788. Revel lies in the

town named after him, in a little garden on the south side of the main road through the town. Up to within the last twenty years a lamp used to be kept burning at his grave; probably the custom is still kept up. I do not know the date of his death. The tablet over his grave was put up by Babu Tara Prosad Mukerjee, Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, in 1882, after Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, when paying a visit to Revelganj in November 1881, had suggested that there should be some record to mark the tomb, which previously had no inscription.

Tollyganj is named after Colonel William Tolly of the Company's service, who cut the channel known as Tolly's nulla in 1775; or rather redug and improved an old silted up channel, said to have been the original bed of the Hughli. He purchased Belvedere from Warren Hastings in February 1780 and died in 1784.

Trowerland is, or rather was, for the name has now been entirely lost, a settlement in the northern part of Sagar Island in the Sunderbuns, on the east side of the main channel of the Hughli. It takes its name from Charles Trower of the Bengal Civil Service, Collector of the 24-Parganas from 1817 to 1823; who was the leading spirit in a project for the reclamation and settlement of the island. At first some success attended the experiment, but the settlement was destroyed by a stormwave, and the clearing soon relapsed into its original jungle. The history of the rise and fall of Trowerland, as told at intervals in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the time, would form an interesting subject for *Bengal; Past and Present*.

Every town and station in the province, I suppose, has several places, roads, ghats, etc., named after prominent European residents of bygone days. Here in Hughli and Chinsura there are three.

Smyth's Ghat is a very fine flight of steps, with large covered rooms at the top, on the bank of the Hughli, near the east end of Hughli *chauk* or bazar. It is close to the pontoon where the daily steamers, running from Calcutta to Kalna, call. Unfortunately, in the eighty years or so which have elapsed since the ghat was built, a *char* has formed in front of it, and it is only at high tide in the rainy season that the river reaches the foot of the steps. It is by far the finest *ghat* in the town, and, being borne on the books of the Public Works Department, it is kept in good repair. Several fine *ghats* in the town have fallen into ruin, owing to want of repairs. The *ghat* was built in 1829, by public subscription, under the auspices of David C. Smyth, who was "Register" of Hughli from 1817 to 1820, and afterwards Judge and Magistrate from 1823 to 1836.

Cockerell Road runs from Babuganj *ghat*, on the Hughli, opposite Gauripur factory, to the Grand Trunk Road, near Hughli station. For its whole length, a distance of about a mile and a half, there is a fine avenue of trees, chiefly

debdars, on each side. It is the best road in the station, and used to be the chief means of communication between Hughli and Chinsura and the East Indian Railway. Unfortunately, the changes made in 1903-04, when Bandel junction and Chinsura station were opened, and Hughli station reduced from a mail stopping place to a goods station, where only a few slow passenger trains now stop, has made the road of little use. It is called after Rowland Vyner Cockerell, who was Magistrate of Hughli in 1868-70.

Inglis Road. When the changes above mentioned were made in the Hughli railway stations, Chinsura station became the chief means of communication between Chinsura and the outside world. The station is over two miles from the *cutcheries*, and about a mile of the direct, almost the only route between the two, lay along a narrow lane, called Mukerjee's lane. This has since been widened and improved and called Inglis Road, after the late Mr. Thomas Inglis, who had successively held the posts of Assistant Magistrate, Joint-Magistrate, Magistrate and Collector (1899-1902), and Commissioner (1903-04). He died in 1907 shortly after his retirement.

I.—Bangal.

Name.	Place.	District.	After whom named.
1 Barnesghat	... Railway Station...	Jalpalguri ...	
2 Cox's Bazar	... Subdivision and Town.	Chittagong...	Captain Hiram Cox.
3 Dalhousie	... Island	... 24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	Lord Dalhousie, Govr.-Genl.
4 Dalhousie	... Point	... Do.	Ditto.
5 Daltonganj	... Town	... Palamau ...	Major-Genl. E. T. Dalton.
6 Ellenganj	... Village	... 24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	
7 Forbesganj	... Railway Station and Village.	Purnea ...	Mr. Forbes, indigo planter.
8 Fort Hastings	... Ruined fort	... Monghyr ...	Warren Hastings.
9 Fort White	... Fort	... Lushai Hills	Field Marshal Sir G. White.
10 Fraserganj	... Village and health resort.	24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Govr.
11 Goldinganj	... Railway Station	Saran ...	
12 Grant ...	... Point	... 24-Parganas Sundarbans.	Sir F. Halliday, Lt.-Govr.
13 Grey ...	... "	... Do.	Sir W. Grey, Lt.-Govr. (?)
14 Halliday ...	... Island	... Do.	
15 Hammett's	... Point	... Do.	
16 Henckelganj (Hingal-ganj)	... Village	... Do.	Tilman Henckel, I.C.S.
17 Hopetown	... "	... Darjeeling ...	
18 Lothian ...	... Island	... 24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	Marquis of Lothian (?)

	Name.	Place.	District.	After whom named.
19	Morrellganj	... Village	... Khulna	Mr. Morrell, planter.
20	Palmerganj	... Railway Station	Gaya	Mr. Palmer, Engineer.
21	Pitt's	... Point	... 24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	
22	Port Canning	... Railway Station	Do.	Lord Canning, Govt.-Genl.
23	Preston's...	... Point	... Do.	
24	Revelganj	... Town	... Saran	Henry Revel, I.C.S.
25	Tollyganj	... Suburb of Calcutta	24-Parganas	Colonel Tolly.
26	Trowerland	... Settlement	... 24-Parganas, Sundarbans.	Charles Trower, I.C.S.
27	Worsleyganj	... Village	... Gaya	

II.—United Provinces and Oudh.

1	Bridgmananj	... Village and Rail- way Station.	Basti	... Mr. Bridgman, planter.
2	Camplerganj	... Ditto	... Do.	
3	Fort Hastings	... Fort	... Almora	... Lord Hastings, Govt.-Genl.
4	Peppeganj	... Village and Rail- way Station.	Gorakhpur	... Mr. Peppe, planter.
5	Robertsganj	... Village	... Mi pur	... W. Roberts, I.C.S. (1846).

III.—Punjab.

1	Campbellpur	... Cantonment	... Rawalpindi	... Kamalpur (?)
2	Edwardesabad	... Town	... Banna	... Sir Herbert Edwardes.
3	Georgagarh	... Village	... Hoshiarpur	George Thomas.
4	Ellesabad	... Town	... Hissar (Sirsa)	
5	Lawrencepur	... Do.	... Rawalpindi	Lord Lawrence, Govt.-Genl.
6	Lyallpur	... Do.	... Jhang	... Sir James Lyall, Lieut.-Govt.
7	Mayo	... Mines	... Jhilmam	... Lord Mayo, Govt.-Genl.
8	Montgomery	... Town and District	Montgomery	Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieut.-Govt.
9	Wilsonpur	... Railway Station	Shahpur	(?)

IV.—North-West Frontier Province.

1	Abbottabad	... Town	... Hazara	... General Sir James Abbott.
2	Fort Cavagnari	... Fort	... Kohat frontier	Sir Louis Cavagnari.
3	Fort Lockhart	... Do.	... Do.	... Genl. Sir William Lockhart.
4	Fort Mackeson	... Do.	... Peshawar	... Colonel Mackeson, Comr.

V.—Baluchistan.

1	Fort Munro	... Fort	... —	...
2	Fort Sandeman	... Do.	... —	... Sir Robert Sandeman.
3	Fuller's Camp	... Railway Station	... —	...
4	Lindsay	... Do.	... —	...
5	Nuttall	... Do.	... —	...

VI.—Bombay, Sind and Aden.

Name.	Place.	District.	After whom named.
1 Balfe ...	... Point	... Perim ...	
2 Fort Victoria	... Fort	... Ratnagiri ...	
3 Jacobabad	... Town	... Upper Sind Frontier ...	General John Jacob.
4 Lee ...	... Point	... Perim ...	
5 Lushington	... Falls	... North Kanara	
6 Malcolm peth	... Town	... Satara ...	Sir John Malcolm, Governor.
7 Moody ...	... Bay ...	... Perim ...	
8 Murray ...	... Do. ...	... Do. ...	

VII.—Madras.

1 Macdonald's Choultry	Railway Station...	Salem ...	
2 Wellington	... Cantonment	... Nilgiris ...	Duke of Wellington.
3 Fraserpet	... Town	... Coorg ...	Lieut.-Genl. James Stuart Fraser.

VIII.—Central Provinces.

1 Sleemanabad	... Town	... Jabalpur ...	Sir William Sleeman.
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IX.—Burma.

1 Allanmyo	... Town	... Thyetmyo ...	Major Allan, who demarcated the frontier.
2 Amherst	... District	... Amherst ...	Lord Amherst, Governor-General.
3 Andrew ...	... Bay ...	... Sandoway ...	
4 Auckland	... Passage	... Mergui ...	Lord Auckland, Governor-General.
5 Bernardmyo	... Town	... Momeit ...	Sir Charles Bernard, I.C.S., Chief Commissioner.
6 Clara ...	... Island	... Mergui ...	
7 Denis ...	... Do.	... Do. ...	
8 Domel ...	... Do.	... Do. ...	
9 Elphinstone	... Do.	... Do. ...	
10 Forbes ...	... Do.	... Do. ...	
11 Forrest ...	... Passage	... Do. ...	
12 Fort Dufferin	... Fort...	... Shan States...	Lord Dufferin, Governor-General.
13 Fort Stedman	... Fort	... S. Shan States	Colonel Stedman.
14 James ...	... Island	... Mergui ...	
15 King ...	... Do.	... Do. ...	
16 Loughborough	... Do.	... Do. ...	
17 Maymyo	... Town	... Mandalay ...	
18 Owen ...	... Island	... Mergui ...	
19 Sir John...	... Do.	... Do. ...	Commodore Sir John Hayes (?)

	Name.	Place.	District.	After whom named.
20	Suifran's	... Island	... Mergui	...
21	Swinton's	... Do.	... Do.	...
22	Victoria...	... Point	... Do.	... Her Majesty the Queen.

X.—Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

1	Beresford	... Channel	... Nicobars.	
2	Campbell	... Bay	... Do.	Sir Colin Campbell (?)
3	Cleugh Passage	... Strait	... Andamans.	
4	Connaught	... Cape	... Nicobars	... Duke of Connaught (?)
5	Duncan Passage	... Strait	... Andamana	
6	Edinburgh Channel...	... Do.	... Nicobars	... Duke of Edinburgh (?)
7	Havelock	... Island	... Andamans	... Sir Henry Havelock.
8	Henry Lawrence	... Do.	... Do.	Sir Henry Lawrence.
9	Hopetown	... Settlement	... Do.	
10	Humphreys	... Strait	... Do.	
11	Hugh Rose	... Island	... Do.	Sir Hugh Rose.
12	Jackson	... Creek	... Do.	
13	Marpherson	... Strait	... Do.	
14	Manners	... Do.	... Do.	
15	Mount Harriet	... Hill	... Do.	Wife of a former Chief Commissioner.
16	Neill	... Island	... Do.	General Neill.
17	Outram	... Do.	... Do.	Sir James Outram.
18	Port Austin	... Port	... Do.	
19	Port Blair	... Do.	... Do.	Lieut. Blair (1789).
20	Port Campbell	... Do.	... Do.	Sir Colin Campbell (?)
21	Port Cornwallis	... Do.	... Do.	Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General.
22	Port Horace	... Do.	... Nicobars.	
23	Port Meadows	... Do.	... Andamans	... General Meadows (?)
24	Port Mount	... Do.	... Do.	Surgeon-Major F. J. Mount.
25	Portman	... Bay	... Do.	
26	Price	... Cape	... Do.	
27	Ross	... Island	... Do.	
28	Stewart	... Sound	... Do.	

XI.—Native States.

1	Bowringpet	... Town	... Mysore	... Mr. Lewis Bowring, I.C.S., Chief Commissioner.
2	Closepet	... Do.	... Do.	... Sir Barry Close, Resident.
3	Dalhousie	... Hill Station	... Chamba	... Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General.
4	Dora Peak	... Mountain	... Chitral.	
5	Everest	... Do.	... Nepal	... Sir George Everest, Surveyor-General.

Name	Place.	District.	After whom named.
6 Godwin Austen	... Mountain	... Baltistan, Kashmir ...	Colonel Godwin Austen.
7 McLeodganj	... Town	... Bahawalpur	Sir Donald McLeod, Lieutenant-Governor.

XII.—Aram.

1 Margherita	... Coal Mines	... Lakhimpur...	Queen of Italy
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D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.



Satgaon and Tribeni.



SATGAON or Saptagram (the seven villages) was one of the oldest cities in India; so old, in fact, that it has entirely disappeared. This portion of Bengal was known in early times as Rarh; the boundaries of Rarh are not known, but it is supposed to have included a large tract round the mouth of the Hughli river, comprising the modern districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, Hughli, Howrah, the 24-Parganas and Nadiya. Satgaon is supposed to be the "Ganges Regia," described by the geographer Ptolemy, the capital of the Gangaridae, a nation who dwelt in the tracts round the mouths of the Ganges. *Sarkar* Satgaon was one of the administrative divisions of the Mogul Empire, and included the 24-Parganas and Nadiya, as well as the present district of Hughli. Satgaon was the ancient royal port of Bengal. When the Portuguese first began to visit Bengal, about 1530, Satgaon was still a flourishing city. They called it Porto Piqueno, the Little Haven. But the silting up of the Saraswati appears to have begun about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and within fifty years Satgaon was getting to be difficult of access. It was still a place of some importance when *Cæsar Frederick* visited it, about 1565.* He describes Satgaon as follows:—

I departed from Orissa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orissa towards the east a hundred and seventie miles. They goe as it were rowing along the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges; from the mouth of this river, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselves together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteen houres with the increase of the water In the porte of Satagan every yeere lade thirte or fve and thirte ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of seseline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the King of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdom foure moneths.

Ralph Fitch† also visited Satgaon in the sixteenth century, but only makes two casual references to his visit:—

I went from Agra to Satagan in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and four-score boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge,‡ Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities downe the river Jemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles (p. 290) . . .

* *Cæsar Frederick's* travels (1563-1581) are included in *Hakluyt's Voyages*. Every Man's Library Edition, Vol. III, pages 198-209. Satgaon is mentioned on pages 236 and 237. The passage is given in *Bengal: P. & P.*, Vol. II, pages 383 and 384.

† Fitch's travels are also included in *Hakluyt's Voyages*. Every Man's Library Edition, Vol. III, pages 281-315. Satgaon is mentioned on pages 299 and 296, and Hughli on page 296.

‡ *Anasfortida*.



MOSQUE AT TRIBENI.

(Photo. by F. D. Bradley Birt, Esq., U.S.)



AT SATGAON.

(Photo. by F. D. Bradley Birt, Esq., U.S.)



I returned to Hogell, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23 degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan; they call it Porto Fiqueroa (p. 296).

The Rev. J. Long, in an article on *The Banks of the Bhagirathi*, in the *Calcutta Review* of 1846, quotes as follows from Di Barros:—

Satgaon is a great and noble city, though less frequented than Chittagong, on account of the port not being so convenient for the entrance and departure of ships.

After the Imperial forces captured the Portuguese fort at Hughli in 1632 Hughli became the royal port, and all public offices were transferred to that place from Satgaon, which gradually fell into decay. But Warwick, a Dutch admiral, quoted by Long, states that in 1667 Satgaon was still a great place of trade for the Portuguese.

The river Saraswati was once the boundary between the kingdom of Orissa and that of Bengal, but that was at a time which is almost prehistoric. In 1589, Raja Man Singh, Governor of Bengal under Akbar, in an expedition against the Afghans, who then held the kingdom of Orissa, halted for the rainy season at Jahanabad, now called Arambagh. In 1592, the Afghans from Orissa plundered Satgaon. The boundary of the kingdom of Orissa was then somewhere about Midnapur. In Akbar's time Satgaon was known as *Balghak-khana*, the house of revolt.

In the eighteenth century the Dutch Merchants of Chinsura are said to have had country houses at Satgaon, and to have walked out to them from Chinsura, a distance of fully six miles. Early in the nineteenth century there was a village at Satgaon celebrated for its manufacture of paper. But as tigers are also said to have been numerous at Satgaon at that time, evidently the greater part of the place must have been covered with jungle. The last report of a tiger being seen here was in 1830.

Satgaon, like Troja, *faul*. The town has now practically no existence. A few poor huts may be seen here and there, among jungle covered mounds, overgrown with *pipal*, *jharber*, etc., under which lie the remains of the ancient city. Satgaon stood on the south-east bank of the Saraswati, which is now a very small stream, but has still on each side a belt of low land, about a quarter of a mile broad, which is occasionally filled in the rains. The Grand Trunk Road passes through the ruins and crosses the river just after passing the 31st mile stone. The East Indian Railway also runs through the site of the old city, just after passing Trishbigha station, between that station and the Saraswati. On the east of the road and on the south-east of the low land beside the Saraswati is a large quadrangular mass of high ground, the soil of which seems to consist almost entirely of broken brick worn away to powder. This is known locally as the *gila* or fort. One can imagine that sea-going ships were once able to lie alongside its river wall and there discharge their cargoes. Further east are several tanks, one of which, known as

Jahangir's tank, is of considerable size. On the south-west of the road, just before it crosses the bridge over the Saraswati and at a distance of only a few yards, are the remains of a mosque, which is described as follows by Professor H. Blochmann in Vol. xxxix of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I for 1870, pp. 280, 281. (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 308.)

This mosque which, together with a few tombs near it, is the only remnant of the old capital of Lower Bengal, was built by Sayyid Jamaluddin, son of Sayyid Fakhruddin, who, according to inscriptions on the mosque, had come from Amul, a town on the Caspian Sea. The walls of the mosque are built of small bricks, and are handsomely adorned inside and outside with arabesques. The central *mihrab*, or niche, looks very fine; but the upper part of the west wall having fallen down, half the mosque is filled with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to see the whole of the niche. The arches and domes are in the later Pathan style. Over each entrance inside there is a crescent. Near the south-east angle of the mosque is an enclosure with three tombs, where Sayyid Fakhruddin, his wife and his eunuch, are said to be buried. The wall forming the enclosure is in many places broken down. I found two long basalt tablets placed slantingly against the inner side of the north wall. A third square basalt tablet is fixed into the wall; unfortunately it is broken in the middle, and the wall is half pierced to allow the customary lamp to be put into the cavity. These three inscriptions should be removed to a museum. It is impossible to say how they came into the enclosure. When the public buildings in Satgaon and Tribeni decayed, pious hands probably rescued the inscriptions, and stored them up in holy places, such as Fakhruddin's enclosure and Zafar Khan's mosque and tomb, or even fixed them into the walls at the time of repairs, thus converting each of these *astanahs* or tombs into a sort of museum. There is also an inscription on Fakhruddin's tomb, but it is illegible, although it could perhaps be deciphered if the letters were carefully painted.

It is perhaps hardly correct to say that these tombs and the mosque are remnants of the old capital. They can hardly be more than three or four centuries old. Satgaon must have been in its decline when they were first built.

Since the above description was written, nearly forty years ago, the mosque has fallen still further into ruin. It was, however, repaired as far as possible by the Public Works Department in the early part of 1908.

I visited Satgaon on the 17th November 1908, to see the repairs done by the P.W.D. The heaps of fallen rubbish which formerly half filled the mosque have been cleared away, and a lot of jungle has been cut down, so that the mosque is now visible from the Grand Trunk Road. The front (east) wall of the mosque has also been patched up. But the building has fallen too far into decay for any restoration to be of much use. Many young *pipal* trees are growing in the walls which remain standing, and must, before long, cause still further ruin.

There are three niches on the inside of the west wall of the mosque, two large, the third, at the northern end, small. Several broken basalt pillars also may be seen within the enclosure.

On the front of the east wall is a basalt slab, about four feet long by three high, with an inscription in Arabic, which should be legible to any one who can read that language; which I, unfortunately, cannot do. Beside the tombs three more basalt slabs are lying on the ground. Two are long slabs, about five feet long by one foot broad. The inscriptions on these slabs appear plain and should be easily legible. The third slab is about four feet long by three broad; and has a large hole in its centre, besides several other smaller holes. What remains of the inscription should be legible enough, but of course much of it has disappeared, owing to the breaking of slab. This is evidently the slab which Blochmann describes, nearly forty years ago, as fixed in the wall of the mosque. On the north end of the largest tomb is an Arabic inscription, the letters are much worn, but I should think that they might still be made out.

The enclosure surrounding the tombs has disappeared, at least it is only represented by a few heaps of rubbish. There are three tombs, about eight or ten yards south-east of the mosque. The largest tomb is on the west, it has an inscription on its north end, and is much ornamented with arabesques. These, and in fact the whole tomb, are in good preservation. The two other tombs lie east of the first and are much smaller, the smallest of the three being in the middle. They are not in such good preservation as the larger tomb and are also much less ornamented.

Some distance farther south may be found the pedestal of a large pillar.

Tribeni village stands on the north bank of the Saraswati, at its junction with the Hughli or Bhagirathi. The name means the three streams. The Bhagirathi and the Saraswati are plainly visible as two of the three streams. The third is called the Jamuna, but is better known to Europeans under the name of the Kanchrapara khal. It enters the Hughli on its east bank, opposite the southern extremity of a large island which lies in the river opposite Tribeni.

Tribeni is a place of great sanctity. Several important *melas*, or religious festivals, are held here; all of which are also utilized for purposes of trade.

(i) The *Makara Sankranti*, or *Uttarayan* (coming into the north) *mela* is held on the day on which the sun enters the Tropic of Capricorn. It lasts two days, the last day of *Push*, and the first of the month of *Magh*, which fall about the middle of January; but the accompanying fair lasts three days. Large numbers of pilgrims, among whom women predominate, visit the Tribeni temples and *ghat*, the tomb of Zafar Khan Ghazi at Tribeni, and the temple of Hamseswari at Bansbaria. Two of the three are Hindu temples, the third is a Musalman tomb; but most of the pilgrims visit all three indiscriminately. Hunter, in the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, put the attendance at about 8,000. I was told at Tribeni that fully a *lakh* of people attend during

the three days the *mela* lasts. This number is probably exaggerated, but I believe that the attendance is much larger than 8,000 a day.

(ii) The *Bisuva Sankranti*, held in honour of the sun at the time of the vernal equinox, on the last day of *Magh*, about the middle of February.

(iii) The *Baruni*, or more strictly *Varuna mela*, the great bathing festival of Bengal, held in March, in the month of *Phalgun*, in honour of *Varuna*, the God of the Waters. This *mela* lasts only one day. Hunter gives the attendance as about 6,000. I was told on the spot that it is about 25,000. This festival is especially popular with *Uriyas*.

(iv) The *Dasahara*, held in June, in the Hindu month of *Ashar*, in honour of the Goddess *Ganga*; lasts one day.

(v) The *Kartik Puja*, on the last day of the month of *Kartik*, falling in November, in honour of the God *Kartikeya*, the son of the Goddess *Durga*. The *mela* lasts only one day. Attendance about 6,000.

(vi) All such occurrences as eclipses are attended by great bathing festivals, large crowds assembling to bathe at *Tribeni*.

The great bathing festival called the *Ordhodoyo Jog*, which was celebrated on 8th February 1891, was attended by very large crowds, who assembled to bathe in the *Ganges* and *Hughli* at numerous places. The next celebration of this festival was on 2nd February 1908, but the crowds on this last occasion was not nearly so great as that of seventeen years ago.

Tribeni ghat consists of a very fine flight of stone steps, with a second, less imposing, flight to the south of the first. Only the northern of the two is sacred. It is said to have been built by *Mukund Deo*, the last independent king of *Orissa*, whose dominions extended up to this spot and were bounded by the *Saraswati*.

The temples stand about fifty yards from the river, on the north of the road. The chief temple is a small conical-roofed building, about 30 feet high and twelve square, with a *lingam* inside. It faces south; east and west are rows of similar but smaller temples, three on each side.

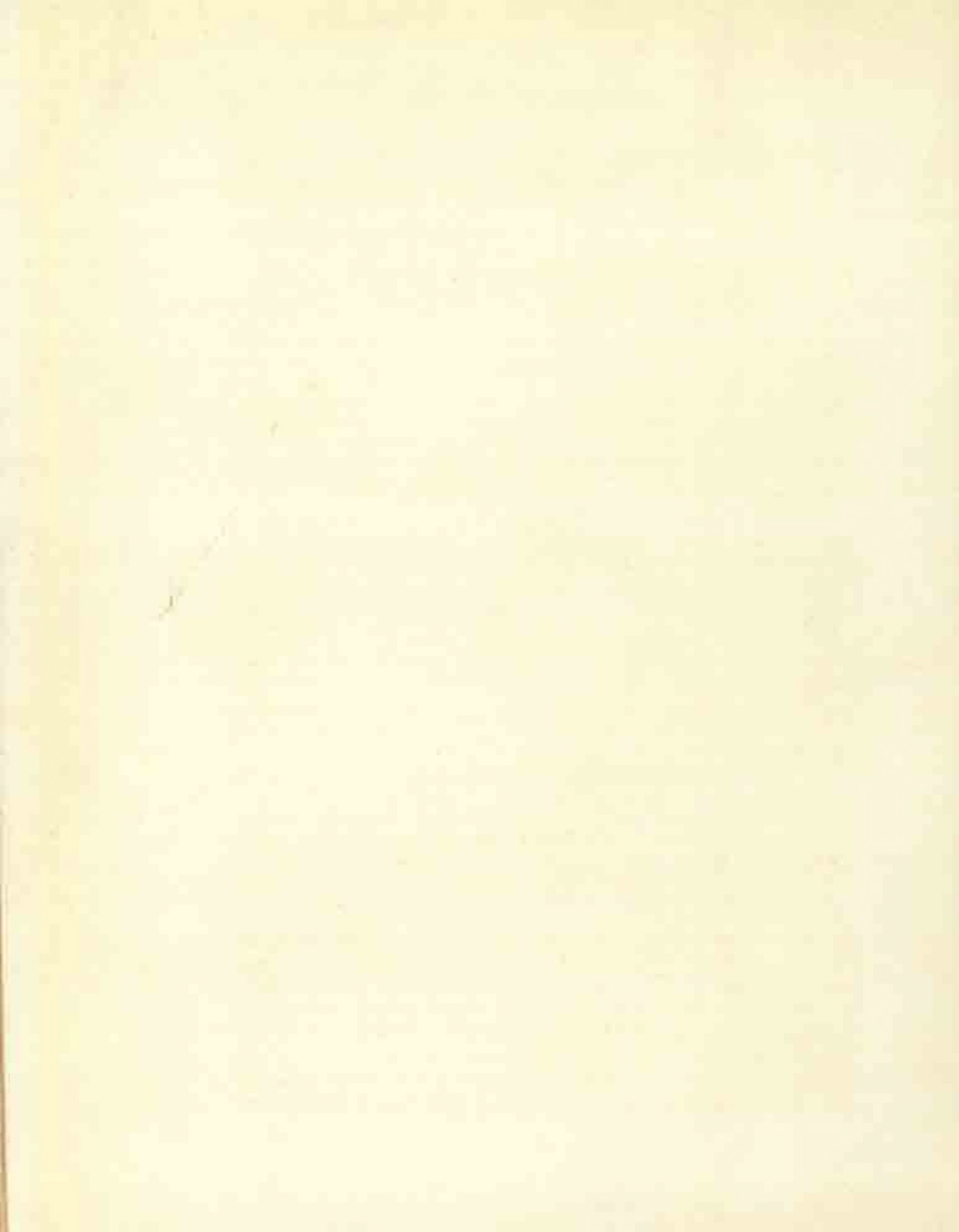
Tribeni is a place of great sanctity for the burning of the Hindu dead, bodies being brought from long distances to be cremated here. In spite of this fact, there is no *pakka* burning *ghat*. Bodies are burned on the riverside, north of the bathing *ghat*.

Tribeni is one of the four *tamaj*, or places famous for Hindu learning, the other three being *Guptipara*, *Santipur*, and *Novodwip* or *Nadiya*, all situated twenty to thirty miles north of *Tribeni*. *Babu Bholanath Chander*, in his *Travels of a Hindu*, states that *Tribeni* is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. The embassy sent by the East India Company to the Emperor *Farakhsiyar* at *Delhi*, in 1714, was received with great state at *Tribeni*, on its return, by the President, *Robert Hedges*, and four members of Council, about 20th



TRIBENI GHAT.

(Photo. by P. B. Bradley Birt, Esq., C.S.)



November 1717. This was the famous embassy of which Factor John Surman was chief and William Hamilton Surgeon, when, by his cure of Farakhsiyar, Hamilton obtained for his countrymen liberty to trade, free of duty, in Bengal, as well as the grant of the *saminadari* of certain villages. Hamilton returned only to die, in Calcutta, on 4th December 1717.

Stavorinus visited Tribeni in 1769-70 and gives the following account of the place. He and his party walked from Naya Sarai, on the Magra Khal, two miles north of Tribeni, to that town. He writes :—

About an hour before we came to Terbonee, we entered another wood, into which, having advanced a little, we met with an ancient building, of large square stones, which seemed as hard as iron; for whatever pains we took, we could not, with a hammer, break any pieces off. The building was an oblong square, 30 feet in length and 20 in breadth. The walls were 13 or 14 feet in height. It had no roof, and within it were three tombs four feet above the ground, made of a blackish kind of stone, and polished, with here and there some Persian characters engraved upon them. About 40 paces further was a large but very ruinous building, the roof of which consisted in five domes, or cupolas, which had been adorned with sculptured imagery, but which was much obliterated.

The above is evidently a description of Zafar Khan Ghazi's tomb and of the mosque behind it. But the tomb is about a quarter of a mile south of Tribeni, while Stavorinus calls it about an hour's walk further north. They must have walked very slowly, for Naya Sarai, from which they started, is little over two miles north of Tribeni. Of course the modern *pakka* roads were not then in existence. Possibly Stavorinus may have written his description from memory some time later. He does not mention the *ghat*, but saw the *mela*. He writes :—

The number of people, whom I saw arrive in the latter end of March, at Houghly and Terbonee for the above purpose (bathing in the river) was incredible. The concourse continued for three days together.

Hunter quotes the Rev. J. Long, writing in the *Calcutta Review*, as follows :—

Tribeni was formerly noted for its trade. Pliet mentions that the ships assembling near the Godavari sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, thence to Tentigale opposite Fulta, thence to Tribeni, and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni. Formerly there were over thirty *shals* or Sanskrit schools in the town. The famous *panthi*, Jagannath Tarkopanchanan, the Sanskrit tutor of Sir William Jones, was a native of this village, and in the time of Lord Cornwallis he took an active part in the publication of the Hindu laws.

It is probable that the seagoing ships which came to Tribeni were bound for Satgaon, which lies only three to four miles down the Saraswati. It is not likely that anything like a seagoing ship can ever have got up to Patna.

The tomb of Zafar Khan Ghazi is thus described by Hunter, quoting the account given by Professor Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXIX, Part I for 1870, page 222 :—

The *astanak* consists of two enclosures. The first, which lies near the road leading along the bank of the Hughli, is built of large basalt stones, said to have been taken from an

old Hindu temple, which Zafar Khan destroyed. Its east wall, which faces the river, shows clear traces of mutilated Hindu idols and dragons, and fixed into it, at a height of about six feet from the ground, is a piece of iron said to be the handle of Zafar Khan's battleaxe. The second enclosure, which is joined to the west wall of the first, is built of sandstone. The *Khadim*, or keeper of the *astanah*, a man not altogether illiterate, told me that the western tomb was that of Zafar Khan. The other three, he said, are those of Ain Khan Ghazi and Ghais Khan Ghazi, sons of Zafar Khan, and of the wife of Bar Khan Ghazi. The first enclosure contains the tombs of Bar Khan Ghazi, third son of Zafar Khan, and of Rahim Khan Ghazi and Karim Khan Ghazi, sons of Bar Khan.

About twenty yards to the west of the second enclosure are the ruins of a mosque, likewise built with the materials of an old Hindu temple. The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes are built of successive rings of masonry, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone covering the small remaining aperture. Two of the domes are broken; on the western wall there are several inscriptions. According to the Arabic verses written about the principal *mikrah*, the mosque was built by Khan Muhammad Zafar Khan who is called a Turk, in A.H. 698, or A.D. 1298. The ground about the mosque is very uneven; several basalt pillars lie about; and there are foundations of several structures, as also a few tombs, which are said to be the restingplaces of former *khadims*.

This mosque has five domes. Part of the roof has now fallen in. There are three Arabic inscriptions in the mosque. Two are on large upright basalt slabs, one on each side of the *mikrah*, the third on a small oblong basalt slab, a little to the south. Two of these inscriptions are quite legible, the third, that on the southern upright slab, is too worn in parts to be legible. A good deal of jungle has lately been cleared away, so that the mosque is now (December 1908) plainly visible from the road. Some small attempts at repairs are also being made, but the building is too far gone in ruin for repairs to be of much use.

Zafar Khan is said to have been the uncle of Shah Safi, the conqueror of Pandua. The date of 1298 on Zafar Khan's mosque is over forty years earlier than the date usually supposed to be that of the battle of Pandua, which is placed about 1340 A.D., but the date of the conquest of Pandua is quite uncertain. Zafar Khan is said to have been killed in a battle fought with Raja Bhudea. Zafar Khan's third son, Bar Khan Ghazi, conquered the Hindu Raja of Hughli, and married his daughter, who is buried within the shrine. This is said to be the reason why Hindus visit this tomb, as well as the Tribeni and Bansbaria temples, during the January *mela*. Zafar Khan, although a Musalman, is also said to have worshipped the Ganges.

The tomb stands on the west of the main road from Hughli to Kalna, which here runs close to the Hughli river, just south of the Saraswati suspension bridge, the tombs are in good order, but the inscriptions are illegible. The surrounding wall is made of large black stones, some carved, but the outer wall is in ruins. The *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* gives a few more particulars about the tomb. It says the building is oblong and

contains two nearly square chambers, each about 30 feet in length and breadth. Its greatest length is from east to west. It is constructed of massive stones, some of which are basalt, probably brought from the Rajmahal hills; other parts are built of sandstone. Many of the materials are of Hindu workmanship, being covered with carvings, representing living creatures, and were probably taken from some old Hindu temple. The design of the building externally is simple and symmetrical. A doorway or window occupies the centre of the side wall of each square, flanked by a shallow recess with an ogee canopy. The greater part of the wall surface is quite plain. Zafar Khan Ghazi, the occupant of the shrine, is said to have assisted Shah Safi against the Pandua Raja. The *dargah* is supposed to date from that time, about 1300 A.D., but some of the tombs inside are comparatively modern. Many of the basalt slabs which face the brick, of which part of the enclosure is built, have now fallen down.

A quarter of a mile or more south of Zafar Khan's tomb, a large two storied *pakka* house stands on the river bank, between the river and the road. This house, though little more than half a century old, has also a history. After the conquest of Sind, Sir James Outram received Rs. 6,000 as prize-money. As he disapproved of the annexation of Sind, he did not wish to keep the money, and at the same time could hardly refuse it, without reflecting on others.* Accordingly he offered it to Dr. Duff, who with this sum built this house, as a Free Kirk Mission School. The school has been given up many years ago, about 1882, and the building sold to a neighbouring native gentleman, Babu Lolit Mohan Sinha, late Vice-Chairman of the Hughli District Board. He died recently and the house is now the property of his son.

At Balagarh, twelve miles north of Tribeni, and about a mile inland from the river bank, is a temple which contains some most exquisite carved work. This temple, which is called the Durgā Chandī *Mandal*, is the property of the Mustafi family of Balagarh. It stands about a hundred yards west of the road which runs through Balagarh village, the path to the temple leaving the road almost opposite to (a few yards south of) the dispensary. The building has no architectural pretensions, it is built of brick, with a high arched roof of thatch; outwardly it looks like a rather poor *pakka* house. It consists of a hall, some thirty feet long by fifteen broad, facing to and open to the south, *i.e.*, it has no south wall. At each end of this hall is a small closed room. The three walls of the hall display a number of large bricks, each about two feet high by one foot broad, beautifully carved with human figures and flowers. These bricks are said to have been carved on the ground, and

* See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., p. 81.

afterwards built into the wall. The pillars and beams of this hall are made of jack-wood. All are beautifully carved into figures and intricate tracery. One pillar, that on the west, is somewhat decayed, the rest seem as good as new. The carving appeared to me as well done as any I have ever seen executed by Burmese or Chinese. I was informed that all the carving was done locally, when the temple was erected, about 150 years ago. Certainly there are no workmen in the district who could execute carving anything like this at the present time.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Col., I. M. S.



Selections from the Note Books of Justice John Hyde. I.

I. INTRODUCTION.



AT the Bar Library of Calcutta there are preserved, as we all know, the note books kept by Justice Hyde during his long term of office (1774-1796), as Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court. There are no less than seventy-three volumes; fourteen of rough notes dating from 1780 to 1794, and fifty-nine in fair copy dating from 1775 to 1796. It may, perhaps, have been the case that Hyde was at times an exceedingly misguided and obdurate person—his Chief made not a few complaints as to his conduct on the Bench—but no one can study these notes without forming the highest opinion as to the writer's personal integrity, and, above all, his extraordinary diligence as a public servant. Sir Elijah Impey was often away, and occupied at another post of great importance. Chambers was invariably late in his attendance at Court, often sick, and often absent. Sir William Jones, strenuous worker that he was, had predilections for Chittagong, Krishnagar and Chinsurah: but Hyde is almost always on the spot and there the first of all. His note books are, therefore, a mine of historical and legal information. Morton, in his *Decisions of the Supreme Court of Judicature* (Preface to the First Edition), writes: "Had the more important of the cases scattered through the note books of Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde been published fifty years ago, much contrariety of judgment would probably have been avoided." Very much the same thing may be said as to the importance of Hyde's note books to the historians—if the contents of the note books had been better known, the historians as well as the lawyers, might have been spared "much contrariety of judgment."

To attempt to estimate the importance of Hyde's note books to the student of history would necessitate in the first place a review of the constitutional position of the Honorable East India Company in the earliest years following the establishment of the Supreme Court—and for such a task, had the present writer the ability, he has not, in this year of grace, the requisite leisure. It may, perhaps, be the case that we shall be best prepared to estimate the value of Hyde's notes if we adopt the *solvitur ambulando* principle, avoid prolegomena,

and make up our minds "as we toddle along." The selections I give in the present issue of *Bengal : Past and Present* are, perhaps, of antiquarian and local rather than of historical and imperial interest. In future selections this order will be reversed, and I shall deal with those cases, commented on or reported by Hyde, which are all important as illustrations of the very divergent opinions entertained by the men who, in despite of themselves, erected a British Sovereign power in India. For the present, the extracts I shall serve up in this present number will be more of an antiquarian than of historical interest.

Before proceeding to work, I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my friend, Mr. K. Shelly Bonnerjee, who granted me access to the note books, and did everything he could on my behalf. My thanks are also due to Mr. B. Acharya for much kind and scholarly assistance.

2. THE CONDITION OF THE NOTE BOOKS.

The present endeavour to secure for students of Anglo-Indian history an easily accessible record of Hyde's evidence, however poorly it may be conducted, is not certainly inopportune. The note books have been most diligently cared for by the authorities of the Bar Library, but the paper in some of the more important volumes is now decayed by time. To open them beneath an electric fan would be to court their ruin; a paper weight placed on a page would force its way through the sheet. I had, therefore, to make nearly all my transcriptions, on painfully hot days, away from the fans, and standing up at a window sill. The fact that not a single page is insect-eaten is in itself a tribute to the care of the successive Librarians, but to preserve all this bulk of paper from decay would have been a feat beyond their power. The paper of some of the volumes remains as sound to-day as it was in the days of Puisne Justice Hyde; but, on the whole, it must be said that if this rich mine of historical evidence cannot be worked soon and speedily, the opportunity is to be regarded as lost for ever. As will be noted below, Hyde was inclined to believe that his reports would survive when the names of Hastings and Francis were forgotten!

3. DISAPPOINTMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES.

It was in search of light on (1) the Nunda Kumar forgery case, and (2) the Kasijora case, I originally sought permission to consult these volumes. In each of these instances I met with disappointment. The Fowke—Nunda Kumar conspiracy trials are recorded in a volume, which, I am afraid I must say, has been ruined by indiscreet attempts—not by the Bar Library—to restore it. There is now nothing in the Hyde MSS. as preserved at the Bar Library which throws any light whatsoever on the famous issue of the

so-called "Judicial murder." I cannot doubt that there was a volume in which the proceedings in regard to the famous commitment of North Naylor were set out at large and commented on by Hyde, but the volume for the First Term of 1780 is not to be found at the Bar Library.

Then, also, Hyde is always referring to loose sheets, to "a small volume with a brass clasp," etc., etc., and these have disappeared. In the famous case of *Grand vs. Francis*, Dr. Busted in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* gives us most of what is to be found in the existing note books of Justice Hyde, but Hyde refers to a small note book, in which, he says, *all* the evidence is given. Alas! this small note book is not to be found.

A further difficulty arises from the introduction into the notes of an antiquated system of shorthand. How exasperating this difficulty has proved can best be illustrated by the following example:—

A note written this 21st December 1780, concerning the foregoing trial of Joseph Fowke, Maharaja Nundocomar and Roy Radha Churn for a conspiracy against Richard Barwell, Esq., my note of which trial begins in this volume at page 152 and ends at page 182.

Sir Robert Chambers told me yesterday what I had never known before that the reason the punishment on Mr. Fowke for the crime of which he was convicted on this indictment was so small, was that the Court were informed that Mr. Barwell, the prosecutor, desired the Court would only pronounce a judgment for some very small punishment, and that the reason why Mr. Barwell desired the punishment might be so mild:—

Here, just where the interest begins, Hyde breaks off into shorthand: but this particular passage in shorthand has been deciphered by Mr. Nichol of the British Museum, and reads:—

"That Mr. Holland, who was Fowke's nephew, wrote to Mr. Barwell that he did not like the character of an informer, but that if any severe or infamous punishment was inflicted on Mr. Fowke he would come to Calcutta and inform against Mr. Barwell for his practice in taking money at Dacca and would carry it to the utmost by carrying to the Government at—; that Mr. Holland would go to England to prosecute the same charge."*

A passage of Hyde's shorthand having been deciphered, it will probably be possible to decipher the remainder without having recourse to expert assistance: the task will however call for much diligence and patience.

4. THE HISTORY OF THE NOTE BOOKS.

"It was the intention of Mr. Justice Hyde to have printed his notes had he survived to reach England, but on his death in India they were taken charge of by Sir Robert Chambers (Puisne Judge from 1774-1791 and Chief Justice from September 1791 to 8th August 1798 when he resigned) who, had his health permitted, would have arranged and published the whole.

* Sir J. F. Stephen *Huncester and Jemay*, Vol. I, p. 263.

When Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, the nephew of Sir Robert, was appointed a Puisne Judge at Bombay, these books were given to him by Lady Chambers, and on his death they came again into her hands, and she delivered them to the late Sir Wm. Russell (Chief Justice, Calcutta Supreme Court, July 1832—January 1833). She presented these notes to the Supreme Court and after the death of Sir Wm. Russell they came into the custody of Sir Edward Ryan, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta.*

5. HYDE'S OWN WISHES AS TO THESE BOOKS.

IN a note entered on 12th December 1777, Hyde gives expression to his own wishes in respect to his note books. He writes:—

Note.—If I should die out of England, which must probably will be my fate, though I am now thank God in very good health, I desire these my reports or note books, may be sent to England and correctly and handsomely printed, though I do not suppose that they would be books that many persons would read, but conceive it may be of some public utility, and therefore I desire those interested in my fortune will pay that charge out of it, and will give, as a legacy from me, three copies to whoever shall be appointed one of the Judges in Bengal on the vacancy made by my death and three copies to Sir Elijah Impey or to whosoever else will be Chief Justice of this Court at the time the books are printed, and three copies to each of the other Judges of that Court, and two copies to the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, and one to each of the Council General, if at that time they do not exceed seven in number, and two for the use of the Supreme Court of Judicature in General, one of them to be kept by the Keeper of the Records, the other by the Prothonotary, and one copy to each advocate not exceeding ten in number. And I desire other copies may be sent for sale to Bengal at least twenty in number. And that one copy may be given to the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain for the time being. One to each of the twelve Judges of England, one to the Master of the Rolls, one to the Attorney, and one to the Solicitor-General. One to the Recorder of London, and one to the Deputy Recorder, if there is one at that time; one to the Common Sergeant of London, one to each of the Judges of the Sheriffs' Court of London, and one to each of the four City Council.

JOHN HYDE.

12th December, 1777.

6. HYDE'S DIVERGENCES FROM IMPEY.

This subject has been dealt with by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in his *Nuncomar and Impey* and by Dr. Buxted in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. I shall not in this place attempt to go further into the subject, but will at once give three illustrations.

A.

1776. Sitting after the fourth term. Friday 23.

Odaram Mullick vs. Joseph Hickey.

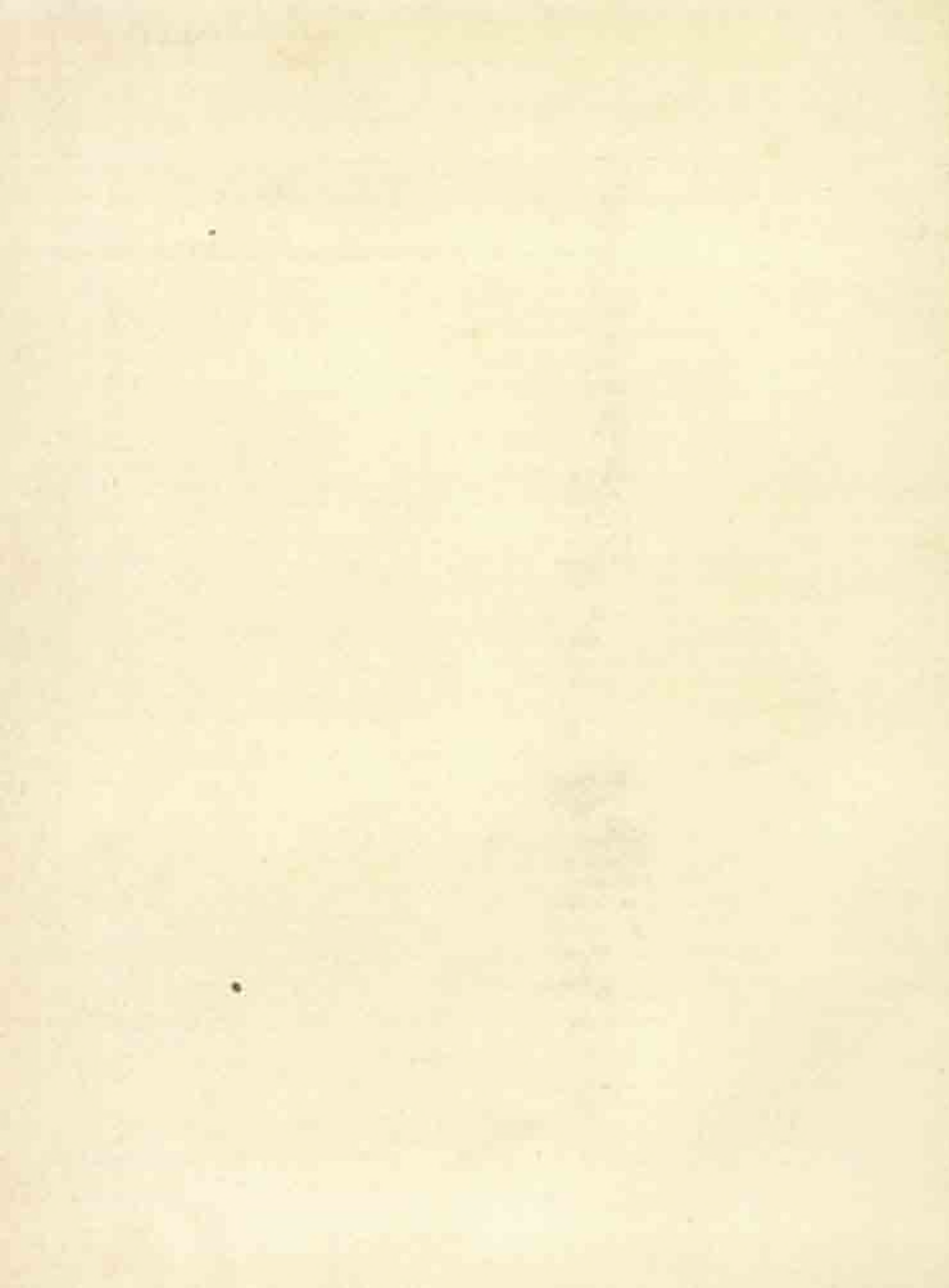
Chief Justice (addressing himself to Chamber, I having been just then looking over two petitions of prisoners written within his sight and having spoken to Yandke, the

* Smoot and Rym's *Rules and Orders* (1839 ed.). Preface xxvii.



Portrait by Kettle.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.



Gaoler about them). "I (the Chief Justice) must speak to Yandle to prevent the prisoners writing to me, as they do every day. If they will write, it should be to Mr. Prichard my clerk."

The first was meant to reflect on my conduct. The second alluded to a scheme mentioned lately of a jobb (*sic*) contrived to put a good salary into the pocket of Mr. William Chambers for an office to be receiver of petitions, which is to be, I suppose, the reward for Robert Chambers being of the same opinion as the Chief Justice, as my brother, R. Chambers has since about the first of April last, become a great favour with Impey.

B.

Monday 15th April, 1776.

Monr. Sanson's Case on a writ of Habeas Corpus.

Ld. Ch. J. : I shall acknowledge Mobarick-ul-dowlah as nominal Nabob.

I think, if it is not now formal, the Hon. Governor and Council should have time to amend it if they think fit.

I understand the Nabob Subah and all officers under him are subject to the jurisdiction of this Court. Therefore, I think the writ rightly directed as the jurisdiction does not extend—

Chambers,

I do not determine whether the writ is rightly directed. I think he should not be discharged.

Lemaistre,

I cannot shut my eyes. I apprehend the English, French and Dutch had exceptions. He considers this as a Court of Justice.

[It was on this case of Sanson that Impey and I first disagreed. He appeared to have altered his principles, and at this time to begin to be desirous to support the Governor-General and Council in the exercise of tyranny in the name of the Country Government.]

17th December, 1776.

Mr. Lawrence : It seems to be designed to intrap the Court into a declaration which they would abhor ; that Mobarick-ul-dowlah has real authority and may direct the Courts of Justice. The Court in the case of Radha Churn declared Mobarick-ul-dowlah not a real Sovereign.

[L. Ch. J. : This order must be reviewed by the Privy Council.]

L. Ch. We would not let a criminal, subject to the jurisdiction of this Court, be protected by the shadow of a Prince Mobarick-ul-dowlah. This man is amenable to the Black Courts we are now applied to protect him against justice.

C.

The third illustration is taken from the notes on the case of *Commund-ul-Din Alli Khan vs. Charles Goring, John Shore and Peter Moore*, which case I hope to give in its entirety in a future instalment of these Selections.

Tuesday, 1st April

The appeal in this cause having been in last term, allowed, and the Proceedings in the cause being now ready were this day certified to His Majesty, as the Charter by which this Court is established, in the 14th year of His Reign requires.

There were 254 small folio sheets of paper, but they were not all filled with writing. There would have been much more if the two writs of *habeas corpus* which had been issued

for Commaul, and the two returns had been entered among the evidence as they ought to have been, those returns having been... and produced as evidence for the Defendant, and having been admitted but, (those) returns were omitted to be entered as evidence, either by contrivance on purpose to prejudice the case of the Plaintiff, or to conceal what Impey did not choose should appear, the whole of his conduct on those two occasions so entirely inconsistent with his conduct at the trial of this cause and at the time of his pronouncing judgment (as I think); his conduct at the time of issuing and deciding on those writs being to do justice against an act of power in the Company's servants, and his conduct during the trial, and his doctrine in delivering his opinion on it tending to support the power of the Company against justice, by which I do not mean only against justice in this cause, but to establish as a right their power to do injustice whenever they chose so to do on the pretence of revenue.

It is remarkable that now his doctrine (since 22nd January when he delivered his opinion *Commaul vs. Goring and others*) seems to be altered and to return again to what it appeared to me to be before Commaul's cause began, that is, to control and overturn acts done under the Company's authority, when they appear unjust. This may be seen by the several causes against Coja Gavorke Simon which were tried last term, and by what he said in several causes in last term and during the present sittings. About the time of Commaul's cause, Impey was very fond of the word Government applied to the Company's power; now if there is any mention of the Provincial Chiefs and Councils, or of the Dewanny Adauluts held by them he says: "What are the Provincial Councils? Prove by what authority they act. What is the Dewanny Adaulut? I do not know; if they have any judicial authority prove from whom it is derived."

These dicta of Impey's were not indeed indirectly Revenue Causes, but they were in cases where the power of the Provincial Councils came in question, or the power of persons acting under the authority of the Provincial Councils in making their collections. It is said that the Provincial Council of Dacca have written to the Governor-General and Council, that all the cruelties and oppressions practised by Coja Gavorke Simon were justified by being done by the authority of "Government."

I have no doubt but the case of extorting twenty-five thousand rupees from a woman by means of a false charge of having murdered her own bastard child, or of being with child of a bastard, and intending to murder it (see the case at page 280 *Biby Sockun vs. Anderam Mullick*) would be supposed as a just and right act, consistent to the usual practice of the Provincial Councils and Dewans employed by them.

Independent of the question in *Commaul's Cause* whether he could as an inhabitant of Calcutta be subject to the jurisdiction of any other authority than this Court, I charge the substantial injustice of the demand against him to have been the compelling him (or attempting by imprisonment to compel him) to pay sixty rupees per hundred maunds for salt short of the quantity he was by his pottah to deliver, when they only allowed him to take fourteen rupees per hundred maunds with interest, from the molungee salt-workers, fourteen rupees being the price paid to them in advance before the making the salt. I charge the Defendants, in my own opinion, with a designed injustice and oppression in thus overcharging Commaul, thereby to gratify Clavering, Monson and Francis who were enemies to Commaul, because they believed him to be a friend to Hastings, and especially for giving evidence against Nundcumar, who by them was supposed to have been prosecuted because he gave them information against Hastings, and for giving evidence against Nundcumar and Mr. Fowke, who was a favourite of Clavering's, for extorting by threats from Commaul-ud-din a false accusation of bribes

given by him to Hastings, Barwell and Vansittart, and I think it a very strong proof that they did thus designedly act unjustly, because they would confine Commaul and would not confine Bussiat Roy, who was a rich man and would have paid rather than have endured confinement, and if Commaul owed the money, Bussiat Roy owed it either to the Company or to Commaul.

I know that Clavering and Francis (Monson has been dead some months) say that the deficiency of salt delivered by Commaul was not occasioned by its being melted by the rain, as Commaul alledged, as to part, or by its not being possible to make it because the molungees had deserted, which Commaul alledged as to the rest of the deficiency, but that in truth all the salt was made and was sold by Commaul to Mr. Barwell.

Everybody here now knows who I mean by Hastings, Clavering, Monson, Barwell and Francis, but as this book of my Reports may possibly last long after I and they are forgotten, I will here explain who they are.

They are the Governor-General and Council of this Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. By the Act of Parliament in consequence of which this Court was established, the 13th of George the Third, Chapter 63, Warren Hastings, Esq., is appointed Governor-General. Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Hon. George Monson, Richard Barwell Esq., and Philip Francis, Esq., were appointed Council. Hastings was before this Act, President and Governor and Barwell was one of the Council, the other three were new.

Whether the story be true that Barwell had the salt or not, I do not know, but I think it is not improbable.

The true reason as it appears to me, of the several changes of Impey's doctrine is this: Hastings was a school-fellow of Impey's at Westminster School, and as soon as Impey came here there was an immediate close union and friendship between them, in consequence of which Impey openly and strongly joined with Hastings and gave him all the assistance he could against Clavering, Monson and Francis, who immediately on their coming entered into a very violent opposition to Hastings and Barwell, and Commaul was supposed to be a victim to his being supposed to side with Hastings against Clavering and his party, and therefore Hastings and consequently Impey wished to protect him from the oppression of Clavering and his party and this will account for his conduct and doctrine on the two writs of *Habeas Corpus*. When the cause came on, the very different conduct may be traced to the same source of adhering to the wishes of Hastings, for though Hastings wished to support Commaul against Clavering, yet he wished yet more to support the authority of the Revenue Committee, which was of his own establishment, and was in effect supporting his own power, and therefore Impey asserted in effect the right of the Governor-General and Council to exercise despotic power under the name of Revenue Cases.

Now again, Impey having been, since that cause was tried, at variance with the Governor-General, takes all opportunities of making declarations against the authority of the Provincial Council in their judicial capacities, which are in effect so many declarations against the Company's power.

When Impey and Hastings are again reconciled, it is not improbable Impey will again change his conduct and again give all the support he can to the tyranny of the Company's servants.

7. SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS.

Chittagong, or Islamabad as the place was frequently called, seems to have been regarded with much favour as a health resort. We know that it was

a place for which Sir William Jones had much affection, and that the ruins of his bungalow are still pointed out in the neighbourhood. Writes Mr. W. S. Burke in his useful (*Bicycling in Bengal*): "The intermediate villages are Phoria and Merpur, after leaving which behind, we discover a remarkable ruin on our left. This is what remains of the bungalow of Sir William Jones' 'Belvedere' or 'Bellevue' as it was called. The place built on one of the highest of the neighbouring hills, is now a complete and picturesque ruin, the walls inside and out are so overgrown with creepers, moss, and peepul trees, that the whole pile might easily be mistaken from the road side for a clump of trees. Here Sir William Jones lived for many years, and here he wrote most of his more important works. The original road over half a mile long, leading from the bungalow to the main road, is still in existence, and the spot is occasionally resorted to by picnic parties."

On the 18th, January weread of Chambers being taken ill in Court. We note the following entries:—

1777, 1st March, Mr. Justice Chambers was absent to-day and is likely to be so for all this term and sittings, having sate out last Thursday for to go to Chittagong for his health and amusement, and not intending to return until near the 10th of June, which is the first of the Session of Oyer and Terminer.

1777, 28th March. Chambers having been absent the whole of the term on a voyage up the river and down again for his own and his wife's health and amusement.

On October 22nd we find Chambers back again at Calcutta.

In 1779 occurred the famous cause of *Grand vs. Francis*. The reader will remember that Sir Robert dissented, and so far as Mrs. Grand was concerned, one would venture to say very rightly, from the conclusions of his colleagues on the bench. Against Philip Francis a charge of trespass with *intention* to seduce might very justly have been brought in, but nothing more. Dr. Busteed has given us, from *Hicky's Gazette*:* "Sir Roberts' opinion or protest in the cause of *Grand vs. Francis*," which, as it tends to clear the memory of one who was then but a mere girl, it is but chivalry to reproduce in this place.

I am fully of opinion that the charge in the plaint is not proved:—

1st.—Because it appears to me that there is no proof, either positive or circumstantial that Mrs. Grand knew of, or previously consented to his (Mr. Francis') coming for any purpose, much less for the purpose of adultery.

2nd.—Because there is no proof, either direct or founded on violent presumption, that they were actually together, much less was there any proof that they committed any crime together.

3rd.—Because the evidence appears to me to fall short of what is ordinarily considered as proof of any fact, and especially of any crime.

4th.—Because it falls exceedingly short of what our Common Law considers as proof of adultery.

And lastly, because I never read or heard of any action for *crim. con.* in which a verdict had been given for the plaintiff on such presumptions of guilt.

* Busteed: *Extracts from Old Calcutta* (4th edition). P. 260.

It is noteworthy that Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen agrees with Chambers "I think Impey wrong. The evidence fell far short of adultery, although after the action Mrs. Grand was unquestionably Francis' mistress." Sir James' opinion is all the more important because he was clearly unaware how feeble the evidence against Mrs. Grand was. He writes: "It was proved that he got into her bedroom by a ladder in her husband's absence."* Nothing of the kind was proved. The ladder, a small one, was found by Grand's servants inside the compound but resting against the compound wall; it was obviously used by Francis in order to enter the compound but not the house. That he got inside the house is unquestionable: that he got access to Mrs. Grand's room is not proved. The only thing is that Grand's servants swore to Francis having come down the stairs; but according, to their admissions, these witnesses were outside the house at the time!

On 19th January 1779, Hyde records: "Chambers came into Court yesterday because the cause of *Grand vs. Francis* was appointed for that day; he now intends staying at home to go on reading the papers in *Nanderah Begum's Case*." This last case is the famous "Patna Case," to which attention will be directed in a future selection of these papers.

1779, 22nd December, Thursday. Sir Robert Chambers wrote me a note that he was not quite well, and, therefore, staid away to-day, and night, perhaps, stay away to-morrow, but he came on Friday.

On the 10th June 1780, Hyde records Chambers' carriage accident. (See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*, p. 142.) On 20th November 1780, a tragedy occurred at Chambers' house: "This is the first day of the sittings. Sir Robert Chambers was absent, by reason of illness, occasioned by his servant Philip, an Italian by birth, having killed himself in a fit of madness, by cutting his throat, yesterday, the shock of which has affected Sir Robert Chambers very much."

1781, 22nd October. Sir E. Impey was on his way between Boglepore and Banares to see Mr. Hastings. Sir Robert Chambers was at Chinsurah on the business of his new office as Judge there.

1781, 9th November. Sir Robert Chambers' youngest child, named Edward is dead, and therefore Sir Robert does not come into Court to-day.

1783, 12th July. Sir Robert Chambers has been very ill, and has not been in Court since the 18th of June. He has been very ill of that kind of fever called the jungle fever.

The Chambers evidently believed in Birkul as a health resort. Mrs. Fay, on her homeward journey from Calcutta in April 1782, went as far as Ingill with the Chambers, who were on their way to Birkul. "I left Calcutta," she writes, "on Tuesday, the 9th instant, with Sir Robert and Lady Chambers, but trust sea-bathing will be beneficial. We had a boisterous trip of it down to Ingill, and everyone but myself was dreadfully sea-sick. My kind friends

* Sir J. F. Stephen: *Macaulay and Impey*. Vol. II, p. 412.

quitted me on Saturday evening. I felt quite forlorn at our separation." Warren Hastings also was fond of Birkul, (on the sea-coast about ten miles below Contai), but on 19th October 1780, he wrote: "My Marian, I saw an alligator yesterday with a mouth as large as a *budget*, and was told it was of a sort which is very common about Balasore, but this is not so large. I shall never consent to your going again to Beercool." Another visit of the Chambers is recorded.

1783, 10th June. Sir Robert Chambers absent on the way from Beercool, to which place he had been for his health. He was expected to have arrived in town yesterday, but is not yet come. It was the turn of Sir Robert Chambers to give the charge to the Grand Jury, but he being absent Sir E. Impey gave the charge. He told the Grand Jury he was sorry that by the absence of Sir Robert Chambers they would lose the opportunity of hearing a charge which if it did not instruct them, because they were already perfectly acquainted with their duty, would certainly entertain them.

Here, for the present, we must quit Sir Robert.

8. THE NEW COURT HOUSE.

On p. 101 of (the new edition) his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, Dr. Busted writes:—"Mrs. Fay, writing from Calcutta in 1780, says that 'on the first day of every term the professional gentlemen all met at a public breakfast at Mr. Justice Hyde's house, and went thence in procession to the Court House.' Fortunately the procession had not far to go, as Hyde lived next to the Supreme Court, in a house the site of the present Town Hall, for which he is said to have paid twelve hundred rupees a month." This is an anachronism. In 1780 the Supreme Court usually met in a room, previously used by the Mayor's Court, in the Court House—the parish school of Old St. Anne's—on the site of the present Andrew's Kirk; it also on occasions met at the Judges' houses. On January 2nd 1782, Hyde records:—

We sat this day for the first time at the New Court House, which has been taken by the Company for the use of the Court at the monthly rent of two thousand five hundred rupees. This New Court House is near Chand Paul Gant, and is near the road which bounds the Esplanade on the one side. The House is the property of Archibald Keir, Esq., and is let by him to the Company for five years.

The procession, therefore, had to go all the way from the site of the Town Hall to the present site of St. Andrew's Kirk.

Sir Elijah Impey's house, as we all know, is now the Loreto Convent in Middleton Row, and it had formerly been the official residence of Vansittart when Governor-General. In 1783 Impey seems to have transferred his residence to the New Court House.

1783, Monday, July 15. Sir E. Impey being going *out* from this House (the Court House) where he now lives and has lived ever since Wednesday last, to talk with the Governor-General, desired me to go into the Court that the cause might go on, and said he should return from the Governor-General before Sir Robert Chambers would be in

Court, because although he lives in the house next to the north part of this house and comes through the garden to it, so little distance as does not require so much as half a minute to come in his palankin, yet he rarely gets into Court before eleven o'clock.

This passage shows us the whereabouts of Chambers' town house. The records at St. John's show that the long row of godowns, which have been turned into shops, were part of Chambers' estate. Apparently Chambers took possession of this town house in November 1780, for Mrs. Fay writes in that month, "My first patroness, Lady Chambers, has returned from her tour, but Sir Robert, having purchased an elegant mansion in Calcutta (for which he is to pay £ 6,000 in England), her Ladyship has employment in arranging and fitting up her new abode." On May 9th, 1777, Hyde wrote that his house was "the only one of the Judges' which was in the common acceptation of the term within the town, although all our houses are within the Marrattah Ditch which we esteem the limits of the town." The following extract will indicate Hyde's conception of the limits of the town.

1779. February 6. *Kinner Chunder Goswul and Goral Chander Goswul v. Henry Watson.*

Kidderpore is a village, about two miles from the Court House, lying close to a small river, commonly called by the English Kidderpore Nullah. This river is the boundary southward of the town of Calcutta, of which the River commonly called the Houghly River is the boundary north-westward, and the Marrattah Ditch, which exists in many parts, and the line where it once was, in other places, are the boundaries, north-eastward, eastward, and south-eastward; to the place where that ditch or line where it once existed meets the Kidderpore Nullah, and from that place that rivulet is the boundary. This rivulet was a little to the southward of the new Fort, which is considered as within the town of Calcutta, and I consider Fort William to be the English name of the town. Calcutta is the Bengally name of one of many villages of which the town of Calcutta consists.

Bishop Heber, who on the whole seems to have been an easily contented person, proved restless in the matter of house accommodation. Chambers, we may suppose, suffered from a similar infirmity. He undoubtedly had a house at Chitpore, and another at Bhowanipore and in the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 8th, 1785, we find the following advertisement.

To be Let from October 1st.

That large and convenient Garden House to the southward of Chirengee, for several years occupied by Sir Robert Chambers. The monthly rent is 400 sicca rupees.

9. JUSTICE STEPHEN CÆSAR LEMAISTRE.

1777. October 27th. Mr. Justice Lemaistre was absent this day and every day this term (except the first day), he being now very ill, and having been ill here and at Garretty above a month past.

November 5th. At half an hour after five in the afternoon he died, at his own house called the Wilderness, otherwise May's Gardens, within the limits of Calcutta, which is the Marratha Ditch. He was buried the same day at midnight. By order of the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, minute guns were fired the time of the funeral;

thirty-nine guns, as I told Captain Palmer, who was sent to me by Mr. Hastings to say that he would show all possible respect, that thirty-nine was my brother Lemaistre's age.]

10. SIR ELIJAH IMPEY'S TRIP TO CHITTAGONG.

"From the 6th of July, 1778, to the 15th of March, in the following year my father was with his family at Chittagong, above 316 miles north-west from Calcutta. He was in ill-health, and my mother was brought to bed at that place, which will account for so long an absence." So writes Elijah Barwell Impey in his *Memorials of Sir Elijah Impey*. The purpose of the passage is to prove an *alibi* on behalf of the Chief Justice in the matter of the commitment of North Naylor. "It was Hyde therefore who committed Naylor to prison."

The apologist thus takes his father away from Calcutta from July 6th, 1778 to March 15th, 1779. If this *alibi* could be established, we might still well ask what purpose can it serve? According to the apologist Naylor was committed on the March 1st, 1780! But what are the facts? On Tuesday, March 17th, 1778, Hyde notes:—

Sir Elijah Impey was absent from court to-day, because he is preparing to set out to-morrow to Ballengant (?) only about two miles from Calcutta on the Salt Water Lake where his budgro now is, with the intention to proceed on the Salt Water Lake into the river, and so on to Luckipoor by water in his budgro, and thence to finish his journey to Chittagong by land. He goes to Chittagong for his health, though he thinks he is somewhat better of the disorder which first occasioned him to go thither, and I think so too.

The chief symptom of his disorder was a numbness or slight pain in his right hand, wrist, and arm, and some degree of difficulty in moving it. This had lasted from the beginning of October last or thereabout, without being considerably better or worse, to the present time. He hopes it is only a rheumatic pain, and possibly it is so, but other people are apt to think it a paralytic disorder.

To-morrow morning Impey sits (*sic*) out on his journey and voyage to Chittagong, and he does not propose returning sooner than October next.

On April 6th, 1778, Sir E. Impey left Calcutta, Wednesday, March 18th, to go to Chittagong, and he arrived at Luckypore on his way to Chittagong on Monday, March 30th, at three in the afternoon, as appear'd by his letter to Sir Robert Chambers dated April 6th, 1778.

It is significant to find that Impey was not inactive while at Chittagong. The incident of Lucknow affidavits will come to the reader's mind, and he will be interested to know that, while at Chittagong, Impey took affidavits in June 1778. In December 1778, Impey was again sitting in the Calcutta Court.

On Monday, the 18th, 1779, the *Grand vs. Francis* case came up for trial, Impey, Chambers and Hyde all sitting. The cause was resumed on 8th February and on 6th March judgment was given. On the 22nd October Hyde notes:—

Mem. Sir E. Impey, Chief Justice, was absent by reason of illness. He has a swelling of the double chin. It came after he had the epidemic fever which prevailed here in

September and this month and still does prevail here, but Dr. Campbell told me he did not think the swelling any part of the disorder usually following that fever, but a nervous disorder of the nature of that Sir E. Impey had before he went to Chittagong which then affected his arm and head.

Sir Robert Chambers was also absent by reason of his illness; yesterday the fever began with him.

I (John Hyde) have had the fever and am not yet perfectly free from the consequences, for I have a slight degree of pain and weakness in my left foot and a slight degree of dimness still affects my head.

Most people say this fever was brought by infection from Bombay hither, and it is said to have been brought from Surat to Bombay and to have spread all along the Coast of Malabar. It is said to have spread from this Town of Fort William to Moorshedabad and Patna, and from thence to Cawnpore about nine hundred miles distant from hence, in the district of Agra, where there is a camp and cantonments of the Company's forces. Futtiagar is also in the Province of Agra, and is, according to Major Rennell's map (printed in London 1777), about three miles from Furruckabad, and about sixty-six miles from Cawnpore, on the banks of the same branch of the Ganges, in a line from Cawnpore some degrees to the west of the direct north.

Impey, however, was in Court again in December, 1779.

11. "LEGALLIS THE COOK."

I do not know whether the "Legallis" of the following extract may be identified with the Francis Legallais* who in 1791 was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, and whose advertisements of elegant suppers are to be found in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

1776, March 29, *Legallis vs. Mohun Persaud*.

An action to recover from Mohun Persaud Legallis the Cook's bills for the dinners and other entertainments provided by his orders for the Council attorneys and those they should invite, during the trial of Nundcomar, Rs. 629 for eight dinners and nine suppers for 16 persons each.

12. A WAY OF MAKING A FORTUNE.

1779, 1 Term, January 19th.

In the goods of Ambrose Roche, deceased.

James Dolman, an English hairdresser and barber, petition'd for administration as being a friend or creditor of the deceased. He swore the value of the effects would not exceed fifteen thousand rupees. This petition was opposed and a caveat entered by Samuel Oldham the undertaker.† The *causet* now came to be argued.

Ambrose Roche, who was by trade a butcher, was one among many here of whom it is not known who were his relations in England, and in Bengal it was said he had none. The real object of the contest is which of these men, Dolman or Oldham should get possession of the effects of Roche, and if no relations applied, should consequently

* The "Legallais" at whose tavern the Club—Barwell and his friends—in 1778 were wont to sup—the house at which the tillage were sent to C. F. Grand of Francis' trespass. *Cp. Busted's Echoes*, p. 244.

† For Samuel Oldham see Busted: *Sketches from Old Calcutta*, of 4th Edition, p. 172.

remain to his own use all the fortune of Roche, which it is notorious is often the case here, and several people have made their fortunes by getting administrations.

13. HOUSE SELLING EXTRAORDINARY.

1783. 1 Term. March 20th.

John Doe on the Demise of Ram Rotton Tagore

versus

Robert Holme.

This is an ejectment for the house on the Esplanade of this Fort next to the eastward of the present Court House. The house in question in this ejectment was inhabited for many years by Mr. John Holme until he died. The present Court House is the property of Mr. Archibald Keir, at a place call'd Chand Paul Gaur, near to the River, and near the north-west end of the road by the side of the Esplanade.

Mr. Davies, Advocate for the Plaintiff, stated that, about the year 1780, while Mr. Vanrixel was Sheriff, the house in question had been taken in execution by the Sheriff, as the property of Joynarain and as late the property of Gouze Gosaul. That it was publicly advertised as their property to be sold, by advertisements stuck up, at the Court House, at the gate of the Church, at the gate of the Old Fort, and at the Banks Hall,* which are the usual places for putting up advertisements, and that no person made any claim, or gave any notice to the Sheriff that the house was not the property of Gouze Gosaul or of Joynarain† his administrator.

Mr. Davies further stated that Gyanchand Bonnerjee was the best bidder at the sale by the Sheriff, and bought the house, and the Sheriff made a bill of sale to him of the house, and delivered possession to him, soon afterward it was sold by Gyanchand to Ram Rotton Tagore, and was conveyed to him by lease and released from Gyanchand Bonnerjee.

Ram Rotton was in possession and let the house, first to Colonel Owen, or to some of the Company's servants for his use at the rate of eight hundred sicca rupees a month, afterward Ram Rotton let it to Mr. Cottrell, and Mr. Cottrell lived several months in it, and paid rent to Ram Rotton, and when Mr. Cottrell moved out of the house, the servant of Ram Rotton directed a darwan or doorkeeper to take care of the house and not to let any person to come into the house without his leave. But Mr. Cottrell had given notice to Mr. Robert Holme, the defendant in this cause, and he had come into the house with a numerous sewarry or train of servants, and had pushed the darwan, and had gone upstairs into the house and taken possession, and a Moonshee, who came in the train of Mr. Holme, told the darwan if he did not go away he would be beat, on which the darwan went away, and told his master, and soon after a servant of Ram Rotton came, and demanded possession of Mr. Holme, who answered from within side of the house that he would not let him in. Mr. Davies said that Ram Rotton had applied to Mr. Scot, the Collector, who granted pottahs for Calcutta and a certain district about it, and desired to have a pottah, but was refused.

Mr. Davies called witnesses who proved these facts and the several deeds mentioned.

* Banksall, Messrs. Vule and Burnel inform us it is "one of the oldest of the words taken up by foreign traders in India." See the article on this term in *Tobson Jahon*. The word in Calcutta properly means a jetty.

† The name of the Benefactor of the C.M.S. College at Benares.

Mr. Dunkin * and Mr. Church, Advocates for the defendant, insisted that the plaintiff would show no title without first producing a pottah, which they insisted, and particularly Mr. Church with great vehemence insisted, the Court had laid down as the invariable rule. But the Chief Justice and all the Judges denied that such doctrine had ever been asserted, all that had been said they all three agreed was that the plaintiff must produce a pottah or account for his not having one; and Mr. Justice Hyde in particular said that this very case of a title of sale by the Sheriff had often been mentioned in Court as one of the instances in which it now would not be necessary to produce a pottah, but after proving a demand and refusal as had been done here, the plaintiff, or defendant, as the case might be, might go on to have the rest of his title.

Then the defendant, having first taken the opinion of the Court that the plaintiff had proved such a title as would be sufficient, if it remained unanswered, went on to prove the title of the defendant. Mr. Dunkin stated that Mr. John Holme, late Registrar of the Mayor's Court, bought the house and land in question for fifty-four thousand rupees about the year 1769, and had a pottah for it in his own name which was now produced; that Mr. John Holme, his son, was in possession and lived in the house several years till he died; and that Mr. Robert Holme is now in possession and has the pottah.†

Mr. Peter Moore proved the handwriting of the Collector whose signature was to the pottah, and said the Persian Seal which was to the pottah appeared to be the seal of the office, but he could not be sure for the mark of it was so imperfect he could not read it.

It was insisted for the plaintiff that the pottah was not sufficiently proved, because the seal was not proved; but the Chief Justice said, the Collector by signing had adopted the seal, and therefore the pottah was sufficiently proved, and the Court assented to this.

However, though this is right, if the seal is the Collector's seal, it is wrong, I think, if the putting the seal ought to be the act of any other person as his own act, and not as the seal and act of the Collector.

Hyde's note books do not give a complete history of the transactions concerning this house, but the following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, 5th May, 1785, is significant.

To be let yearly, or for six months.

The House on the Esplanade to the East of the Court House. Monthly rent Rs. 500, which is reduced from Rs. 600. Apply to Ram Rotton Tagore, the Proprietor of the House.

14. GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

Those who have read my *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal* will be interested in the following extracts concerning the Provincial Grand Master, whose appointment caused a historical schism in the Craft in Calcutta. We also obtain in one of them some light on the history of the old Lal Bazar Playhouse.

1776, July 21, Robert Dobson vs. G. Williamson.

The claret was sold as damaged, and the price was accordingly twenty-three rupees a dozen, when at that time the price was about forty rupees. Mr. Williamson, probably from

* Afterwards a Paine Judge of the Supreme Court and knighted.

† Hyde's notes in regard to the subject of pottahs have been made of much use by R. C. Stendale in his *History of the Calcutta Collectorate*.

coming early in life from England, was not much acquainted with the taste of hock, and when he came to taste it, thought it damn'd bad stuff. He consulted some of his friends, and among them Mr. Levett, who being of opinion that new arrack was better than old hock, advised him to throw the hock out in the street, and he did so.

1782. 1 Term. January 30th.

Robert Palk vs. George Williamson.

An action for the use and occupation of an house called the Old Playhouse. This house had belonged to Robert Dobinson, formerly the Company's auctioneer and vendor master, and had been mortgaged to Mr. Palk by Dobinson. Mr. Palk * last year obtain'd a decree of foreclosure for this house, and Mr. Williamson was then in possession of the house, and, as I have heard, would not quit the possession until he was turned out by the Sheriff on an order founded on the decree, signed by me in the vacation. It was heard that Mr. Williamson was put into possession by Mr. Palk's servant in June 1777, and remain'd in possession till 1st October, 1781.

A letter from Mr. Williamson to Mr. Palk was produced in which Mr. Williamson says fourteen thousand rupees are due for rent after deducting three thousand rupees for repairs. He says he wonders Mr. Palk should ask him for an order on the Board of Trade, to pay Mr. Palk out of money due from them to Mr. Williamson, which he says he will on no account give, and he concludes his letter thus: "Had the Council-General made such a requisition of you for the payment of your bond to the Company, would you have thought it reasonable?"

Mr. Lawrence, for the defendant, objected to this letter having been produced in evidence, and said it was entrapping the defendant to produce a letter written on occasion of a negotiation, for accommodating a demand.

Sir E. Impey: This is not a negotiation, but appears to be merely an answer to a letter demanding the rent; besides it is not amicable, but must be intended to irritate Mr. Palk, because if Mr. Lawrence does not understand the allusion of the bond from Mr. Palk to the Company, yet Mr. Williamson certainly did understand it, and had good reason so to do, if no other person could; but it is a fact very publicly known.

Sir E. Impey meant by this that some years ago Mr. Palk and Mr. Williamson were both charged with having defrauded the Company of considerable sums, and an order came out from the Directors that they should refund; and for that refusal was turn'd out. Mr.

* Mr. Julian Cotton, in *Calcutta: Old and New*, writes in regard to the Park Street Cemeteries: "The visitor should not miss at the end of the right hand with the wately monument to Lucia (1779), the young wife of Robert Palk, who as Judge of the Court of Catcherry first convicted Nandomar for forgery. A visit to this tomb inspired the famous but altogether imaginative lily to 'Lucia' in the last chapter of Rudyard Kipling's *City of the Dreadful Night*:-

'The tender pity she would oft betray,
Shall be with interest at her shrine returned,
Connubial love connubial tears repay,
And Lucia lov'd shall still be Lucia mourned.'

The alleged commital of Nanda Kumar by Palk, is still one of the most obscure points in the great controversy as to Impey and Nanda Kumar. See Sir J. F. Stephen's *Nandumar vs. Impey*, Vol. I, p. 92. Mr. Cotton writes "Judge of the Catcherry;" Sir E. Impey said: "Judge of the Adalat;" but I suppose this was very much one and the same thing. The inscription on Lucia's grave will be found on p. 69 of the *Bengal Observer*. She married Palk on June 12th, 1770, and her maiden name was Lucia Stonehouse.

Palk gave a bond to the Company for the money he was ordered to refund, which bond he never paid any part of, and this is the bond Mr. Williamson alludes to in his note.

The witnesses proved more due than was demanded.

Judgment for the plaintiff.

Damages—16,416 Arcot rupees.

15. THE DEARTH OF ADVOCATES.

The following extract contains a reference to the Kasijora episode. The Mr. Uvedale mentioned had been Francis' advocate in the Grand case.

1782. 3 Term, June 23rd.

The first business of the Court to-day was the admission of three advocates, which the Court agreed to do, although none of the gentlemen were barristers in England nor in Ireland. The reason of the Court's departing from their general rule to admit none such as were barristers was partly that although there is very little business in the Court since the opposition given to the process of the Court by the Military Forces of the Company, by order of the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Barwell, Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, Counsellors, for which opposition it is said an Act of Parliament passed on August 18th, 1781, to indemnify them and yet there are not advocates enough who are willing to do but little business and partly because we were strongly solicited to admit Mr. Hall and Mr. Young, and Mr. Uvedale had been promised long ago that, if we admitted any who were not barristers, he should be admitted an advocate, he appearing to all the Judges very well qualified.

Mr. Uvedale is of genteel family in Ireland and his father is a Captain of His Majesty's Navy.

16. UNSUCCESSFUL PRIVATEERING.

1783. 2 Term, Saturday, March 15th.

Present:

Sir E. Impey ... at 9-30.

Sir Robert Chambers ... at 11-0.

Mr. Justice Hyde ... at 9-30.

Francisco Xavier De Castro, Agostino, Antonio Spada, and Antonio Battello

versus

Page Kells, John Petrie, and Charles Pasley.

Treuer and conversion of a ship lately call'd the *Santa Maria Mayor*, now call'd the *York*.

Mr. Davies stated that the plaintiffs were Portuguese subjects and the owners of this ship, and that the ship was taken from them by force at sea, near Macao in China; and on coming hither in search of their ship, they find it in possession of the defendants who refuse to return it to the owners, and say they have purchased the ship from Mr. Maclary.* What right Mr. Maclary had to that ship it is incumbent on the defendants to show.

The first witness said he knew the ship, and he valued the ship at 30,000 Spanish dollars.

The second witness proved that, in the Straits of Banca, Captain Maclary fired as hot at the ship *Santa Maria Mayor* and brought her to, and took her and carried her away, putting the men into a small Malay sloop.

The third witness proved the property of the ship to be the plaintiffs. He valued the ship at one hundred and twenty-five thousand sicca rupees, and said it was of the same value now, as at the time the ship was taken in February 1781.

*Of this Mr. Maclary, or more usually McLary, I shall very shortly have a good deal of record. He wrote his own name Macklary.

Then the letter of Mr. Geo. Wroughton was admitted and read and the answer of the defendants was also admitted and read.

Mr. Dunkin said the letter was no demand, and the answer was no refusal.

But the Court thought differently on both letters.

Mr. Dunkin stated a case which he said was in *Bulstrode*, page 312, in which it was determined that a man who had found a horse, being required by the owner to give him the horse, and having answered that he kept the horse for the right owner, was not by that answer guilty of the conversion; but on looking into the book, that did not appear to be the case before the Court, as Mr. Dunkin stated, but all that seems to be implied in that page was that a refusal to deliver was not itself a conversion, but was only *prima facie* evidence of conversion.

The opinion of the Court being against Mr. Dunkin on the point, he next contended that the damages the plaintiff ought to recover were the value or price of the ship at Macao, for that it was sold here at a great price because it was supposed great advantage could be made by sending rice to Madras in that ship but the Court were of opinion the price agreed by the defendants to be paid for the ship was proper evidence of the value of the ship, and that the plaintiff was entitled to recover the value as it was here, unless it is shown that the ship is increased in value by money expended on the ship by the defendants or by some other person than the plaintiff.

It was not attempted on the part of the defendants to show that Mr. Maclary had made a lawful prize of this ship.

The defendants in their answer to the letter of demand had said that they bought the ship for one hundred and ten thousand sicca rupees.

There was therefore judgment for the plaintiff.—

Damages 1,10,000 sicca rupees.

In fact Mr. Maclary did not pretend this ship was the property of the subjects of the King of Spain, of the King of France, or of the Republic of Holland, with all which Powers the King of Great Britain is now in a state of hostility, as well as against the rebels in America; but Mr. Maclary had been at Macao, and his ship has been stopped there and himself put in prison, and for the release of his ship and of himself he was obliged to pay a great sum of money, and in fact, though it was not in proof in this cause, Mr. Maclary had taken this ship as a reprisal for the injuries which he said had been done him by the Portuguese Governor at Macao. The imprisonment at Macao of Mr. Maclary was a charge of his having, before he went into that Port, taken some other Portuguese ship. Mr. Maclary wrote and delivered to the Captain of this ship, the *Santa Marta Mayor*, a declaration that he took the ship by way of reprisal for injuries done to him at Macao. This paper was not produced in this cause.

Mr. Maclary's ship, the *Dodaly* was I believe, one of those to which the Governor-General and Council gave commissions as privateers which I think they had no right to do, although they have a right to give commissions to the Company's ships, as ships of war, to certain purposes. It was said that great enormities were committed by those ships, under pretence of these commissions as privateers, not only against Europeans with whom there was no war, but against Malays and Chinese.

17. WARREN HASTINGS' DEPARTURE FROM BENGAL.

In the recently republished *Hardy House* the reader will find a good deal about the circumstances of Hastings' departure from Calcutta, and the

reader may also refer to Sydney Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 418, where the farewell dinner at the Powder Mills, about 8 miles below the city, is referred to.

1785, February 21, Tuesday, 7 a.m.

Nothing was done in court to-day, but only Mr. Justice Hyde came for form sake, and held the Court, and the Prothonotary enter'd in his minute book that the Court was held and nothing done.

The occasion of his coming so early into Court was that he and Sir Robert Chambers were both engaged to dine at Mr. Hay's at the Powder Mills, eight miles to the southward of Fort William, on the same side of the river, and just opposite a point commonly called Melancholy Point* from a corruption of the Bengal name of the place which is *Mallean Collah* or some such name.

They were to dine there with a large company as a parting visit to Mr. Warren Hastings, Governor-General, who was to dine there on his way down the river, to embark on board the *Berrington*—Captain Johnson—a ship in the service of the Company.

The Governor-General goes on board his boat from the Powder Mills at four o'clock in the afternoon this day. Before Mr. Hastings went from the town of Fort William, he resigned to John Macpherson, Esq., and John Stables, Esq. (as I heard) in Council the key of the new Fort, and John Macpherson the key of the Company's Treasury; but Mr. Hastings did not at that time resign entirely his office of Governor-General; but, as it is said, intended to send from the ship, when the ship was got as far as the pilot attended the ship, a resignation by deed or writing.

18. JAMES AUGUSTUS HICKY.

For the transcription of these pages of Hyde's notes, I am deeply indebted to the generosity of my friend Mr. B. Acharya of the Calcutta Bar. It would not indeed be easy to express my full sense of the obligation I am under to Mr. Acharya for his assistance to me in my labours at the Bar Library. My friend points out that the following extracts clear up two difficulties of old standing, the first of which may best be elucidated by Mr. Acharya himself. He writes.

"One of these points is the question whether Hicky was a clerk to Serjeant Davy in England or whether he had the training of a lawyer. Sir James Stephen thinks Hicky was a clerk to Serjeant Davy and in a note at page 36, Vol. I, of *Naucoomar and Impey* he says that he found in one of Impey's letters that Impey had known Hicky on Western circuit as clerk to Serjeant Davy, a well-known lawyer of his day. But Dr. Busted thinks otherwise, and, in a note at page 173 of *Echoes from Old Calcutta*,† says

* Yule writes "Moonsepore (also Maunsepore in Hutton's *Directions*), Manikpore opposite Akra Manik Khail Point, corrupted into Moonse Kolly and Melancholy Point, is close to this and no doubt connected in name."

† Mr. Acharya refers to the 3rd and not to the present edition of the *Echoes*.

Certainly the occasional affectation of legal phrasology on the part of the editor of the *Bengal Gazette* lends some probability to his having had an early apprenticeship to its use. But there was a contemporary of his in Calcutta, an attorney named Hickey, a correspondence about whom I remember of meeting with in Impey's MSS.; possibly this was the former clerk to Serjeant Davy. The newspaper man spelled his name without an *e*." But for the following reasons it is clear that Sir James Stephen's view is correct: (a) That during Hicky's trials Sir E. Impey said more than once that Hicky was once a clerk to a learned Serjeant (Mr. Justice Hyde added 'meaning Serjeant Davy'); (b) That during the discussion of points of law both Sir E. Impey and Mr. Justice Hyde said several times that Hicky should know that was the law on the subject, showing that he had legal training (see the proceedings of 29th June 1781, p. 17); (c) That Mr. Hicky did once actually take away his case from the hands of his Counsel, Mr. Fay, and addressed the Court, saying 'I had rather read my own defence, you do not seem to understand my Counsel.' On another occasion (28th June, 1781) he examined his witness, Mr. Robert Harvey, and addressed the Court."

In regard to the second question, Mr. Acharya writes:—

"Another disputed point is whether Hicky was sent to Calcutta Jail in Lal Bazar or to what still is our Presidency Jail. It appears from Mr. Justice Hyde's notes that he was imprisoned in the Calcutta Jail "amongst thieves and murderers," though there was no accommodation for European prisoners, and not in the existing Jail. One of his petitions to the Judges of the Supreme Court was sent from "Calcutta Jail: Amongst Felons." Then again Mr. Hicky's communications with the Judges were always through the Deputy Sheriff and not through any officer of the jail. Thus, Mr. Bagshawe, a Deputy Sheriff, presented Hicky's petition on 23rd January, 1782, and on the same day Sir E. Impey 'proposed and the Court assented to it, that Mr. Brampton, the Deputy Sheriff, should be sent to the Prison to see Mr. James Augustus Hicky and to bring him into Court if he chose to come, or else to report to the Court what appeared to be his state of health.'"

I venture to think that the following extract from a recent contribution of my own to the *Calcutta Review* will set this matter at rest. It refers, of course, to the durance of Nanda Kumar, but it will apply to Hicky's earliest imprisonments.

"Old Calcutta had two jails: one in the Lal Bazar, the jail proper for convicted felons and debtors, and one in the Burra Bazar, the House of Correction (Hurrinbari as the natives called it), for petty offenders. A letter from the Board to the Court of Directors shows that

the present (Birjee) jail was commenced in the year 1778.* In the Original Consultations of the Government for 1st February, 1718, are to be found—

"(1.) List of Frenchmen to be confined in the upper apartment of the building *lately* erected for a jail.†

"(2.) List of Frenchmen who are to be confined in the lower rooms of the building *lately* erected for a jail.

"(3.) Establishment for a *new* jail.

"The Original Consultations for 13th March provide similar lists, and show that a number of French prisoners had been sent to the new jail from Chandernagore. We also find a copy of a petition from the French captives in the lower apartments of the jail, representing the impossibility of living on the subsistence allowance ordered for them. From time to time, in 1781, we meet with reports on the state of the health of the French prisoners drawn up by the Surgeon of the new prison, Mr. Charles Allen. On 4th November, we find Mr. A. Maloney, Commissary at Chandernagore, had released all the French prisoners on parole, and therefore inquiring whether or no the keeper of the new prison is to be dismissed. On 6th April, 1782, there is a 'letter from Mr. J. Hare, Sheriff, reporting that he has been ordered by the Supreme Court to remove the prisoners from the old gaol to the new one, but that he has refrained from doing so as the new gaol is not secure enough for the custody of the prisoners, suggesting that a large wall will be built round the new gaol to prevent the escape of prisoners, and requesting that the wall of the Hurrinbari, or House of Correction, may also be repaired.' On the 17th February 1783, Mr. Jeremiah Church, Sheriff of Calcutta, writes for orders for the removal of prisoners to the new gaol after it has been properly whitewashed. In August, 1783, the truculent father of Calcutta journalism, J. A. Hicky, who 'had already been two years in jail,' sent a petition from the High Court from 'the Birjee Jail,' i.e., the present prison on the maidan. It may be said with confidence that Nuncomar was not confined in the Birjee Jail."

In the notebooks of Mr. Justice Hyde we find four criminal prosecutions and one civil suit for damages against Hicky mentioned. Of four criminal prosecutions we have the proceedings of three cases in. Two of these were for libel against Warren Hastings, one against the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander. The civil suit for damages was also by Warren Hastings. The first mention of Mr. Hicky in these notes is on 29th July 1778.

* In *Hicky's Gazette*, April 1781, we find a reference to 'a house " built for a common gaol though hitherto not used as such."

† Among the prisoners to be confined in the upper apartments was Pierre Jean Werlé (he spells his name Virée), the aged father of Mrs. Grand, the future Princess de Talleyrand.

29th July, 1772.

John Nalley, Executor of Hester

versus

James Augustus Hicky.

An action on several promissory notes given by Hicky to Hester, who was chief mate of a ship, and a set off by Hicky of money due to him for lodging and boarding Hester.

Hicky at his desire was brought out of prison to attend his cause, he being in execution, was brought by writ of *Habeas Corpus* which was made returnable before me at my chambers at the Court House, though used to bring him into court at the sitting.

This was the *Habeas Corpus* to do and receive, and was issued in the cause in which he was in execution, and was issued from the office of the Prothonotary and ought to be also signed by the Judge who orders it to be issued, as I think.

We estimated the lodging, boarding attendance and physick by Mr. Hicky at four sicca rupees a day and deducted that from the balance due on the promissory notes and gave judgment for the difference.

Damages for the Plaintiff, about 600 sicca rupees.

19th June, 1871.

<i>Present.</i> —Sir E. Impey	...	...	...	at	9"
Sir Robert Chambers	...	...	...	at	10' 40
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	...	at	10' 10

"I John Hyde was not in Court till after the business of the Term was over, and till after James Augustus Hicky had been brought from the prison into court, and it had been settled between him and Mr. Davies, that the trials of Mr. Hicky for the libels published in his newspaper called *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* should be on Tuesday next, being June 26th 1781."

On the 18th June, 1781, Hicky sent the following petition from Calcutta Jail:—

To the Hon'ble Sir Elijah Impey, Kt., Chief Justice, and to his Hon'ble brothers, the Hon'ble Sir R. Chambers and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde.

Most humbly sheweth—The Humble petition of J. A. Hicky.

That the bail demanded of your Petitioner being so enormous, he cannot procure it, as your petitioner would wish to know why such bail should not be mitigated, or that a reasonable number of days may allowed him to prepare for his defence.

Your Petitioner humbly prays that your Lordships may order him to Court this day for the above purpose, and your Petitioner will every pray.

Calcutta Jail amongst Felons, 18th June, 1781.

J. A. HICKY.

On this petition Mr. Justice Hyde made the following note: "Memo. The original is so written 'may allowed him' instead of may be allowed him. Hicky said it was true he had a room to himself, but felons were confined in the same Gaol."

Tuesday, June 26th, 1781.

<i>Present</i> —Sir E. Impey ...	...	...	...	at 9 ^h 8'
Sir Robert Chambers ...	...	...	...	at 9 ^h 8'
Mr. Justice Hyde ...	...	...	...	at 9 ^h 8'

Rex vs. Hicky.

James Augustus Hicky.—I have an objection to mention before my trial goes on. My enemies report I have treated the Lord Chief Justice with disrespect in some publications. I am not conscious of any such offence, for I have the highest respect for his Lordship's abilities and private character. Yet as some prejudice may have been taken from those publications, I object to Sir Elijah Impey sitting on my trial.

Sir E. Impey, Chief Justice. This cannot be meant as a serious objection. Let the trial go on.

Mr. Justice Hyde. Mr. Hicky must know he has no right to make this objection.

Afterward the Chief Justice said: "No popular clamour will ever make me neglect my duty. I think myself man enough not to be affected with any threats thrown out, and honest enough not to let any prejudice affect my conduct in this cause."

Then the jury was empanelled in the following way—

Jeremiah Doharty called and sworn, Robert Man challenged by the Prosecutor, John Bondfield challenged by the Prisoner, but the challenge given up, Mr. Davies for the prosecutor insisting the prisoner had not right to challenge, but for cause.

Impey. Perhaps Mr. Davies is right *stricti juris*, but in practice, I believe, it is usual to let any jurors who are objected to, whether for the Crown or the prisoner, be set by, till it is seen whether there are enough attend to make a jury, and if there are enough without them, the cause of the challenge is never enquired into.

Both parties assented to this method of going on, and many challenges were made on each side.

The defendant mentioned his objection to a juror who was called, that he was a Company's servant.

Impey. This must be taken as a peremptory challenge.

The other Judges said nothing to this.

In first going through the panel, there were only eight jurors sworn.

Mr. Benezet was first objected to, as being a servant of the Company employed in a Public Office under the Governor-General and Council. Afterwards the defendant took objection to Mr. Benezet as being under the age of twenty-one years, and after some discourse how the fact should be known to the Court, Sir E. Impey said Mr. Benezet will have no objection to answer the question whether he is of age.

Mr. Claud Benezet being asked said he was not twenty-one.

Mr. Turner Macan was afterwards objected to as a Company's servant, but afterward the objection was given up by the defendant and Mr. Fay, his Counsel. The being in the service of the Company was mentioned as an objection by Hicky the defendant, to every one who was called; but was in every case given up, without the Court deciding on it.

The names of jurors who tried this indictment (for a Libel on Mr. Hastings, Governor-General, published in the *Bengal Gazette*, No. IX, March 24, 1781) are:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Jeremiah Doharty, | 5. Turner Macan. |
| 2. William Bondfield, | 6. Robert Rishton. |
| 3. Antonio D'Conto. | 7. Alexander Colvin. |
| 4. Roso Boul. | 8. John Stewart. |

9. William Phillips.
10. Peter Sokeas.

11. Patrick Heatby.
12. Joseph Baretto.

The Jury were all twelve sworn, by twenty minutes after ten. The indictment was read to the Jury by Mr. Smout, acting as a Clerk of the Crown for Mr. Johnson, who was ill.

Mr. Davies. This indictment presented by Mr. Hastings, Governor General, to bring Mr. Hicky to punishment for a Libel to this effect—"Patna the 8th of March 1781."^{*}

Mr. Davis read this letter through from his brief. Two points will be for your consideration, whether Mr. Hicky published this paper and whether the successor of Lord Clive means Mr. Hastings. The reason of the Law taking notice of them, is the tendency to break the Peace by Private Revenge, and to preserve the rest and quiet of all persons, not only protects such as might be likely to revenge themselves, but also those whose sex and station prevent their defending themselves. Can anything be more contemptuous than the words "miserable successor?" He says also Mr. Hastings has reduced the name of Briton to contumely and contempt. All the mean and paltry arts, which have been used in England to cajole the lowest of the people, are repeated here to prejudice a Jury of the Gentlemen of Calcutta. You are to be intimidated by the abuse on the Grand Jury in Mr. Hicky's paper by the description of Slaves, Train-Bearers, Toad-Eaters and Sycophants, and to be cajoled as the Honest Petty Jury who have not yet found him guilty, by the description of Liberty Boys, the Honest Independent Petty Jury.

Mr. John Baxter was called and sworn. I bought this paper of Mr. Hicky. I put a mark on it at the time I bought it, by which I know it. I paid a rupee for it.

Cross-examined for the defendant by Mr. Fay. I bought it from Mr. Hicky himself. The mark on it is my own handwriting.

Thomas Motte, Esq., was next called and sworn. Mr. Motte swore to the several meanings put on the Libel in the indictment.

Cross-examined by Mr. Fay. I know no company who had land or territory in Midnapur except the East India Company unless it may be the French who had some small settlement, which I do not know whether they possessed or farmed.

Mr. Fay. Do you not think the words "miserable successor" might as well be applied to the Military Officer who commands in Midnapur.

Mr. Motte. I do not think it can be applied to the Military Commander in Midnapur. The successor must mean the person now in possession of the place Lord Clive held, because he uses the word "disgraces" the seat in the present tense.

Mr. Motte questioned by Mr. Justice Chambers. I believe the French Company have not been in possession of any territory in India since the beginning of March 1781.

Mr. Charles Wilkins sworn. Mr. Wilkins swore to the like meaning of the several passages in the Libel as Mr. Motte had sworn to, and as was put on them by the indictment. He said he had read the paper before, and understood it, the first time he read it exactly as he now does.

Cross-examined by Mr. Fay. Do not you think it possible other than the East India Company may be meant by the word "Employers?"

Mr. Wilkins. It is possible but not probable.

Mr. Fay. Do you know of any other person beside Lord Clive that may answer the description of "the Immortal Clive?"

Mr. Wilkins. I know no other who can answer to the epithet of Immortal but Lord Clive.

* For the text of the libel see *Editor's Note Book*.

Mr. Fay. May not there be some other Person who may deserve that epithet, though your knowledge does not extend so far?

Mr. Wilkins. Everything is possible, but I know no other.

Mr. Fay. Why do you apply the opprobrious word "miserable" to the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings?

Mr. Wilkins. I have before sworn that the word successor meant Mr. Hastings and "miserable" must be applied to the same person. I do not think the word successor can be applied to the Military Commander at Midnapur.

Mr. Fay for the defendant began at 12^o 15'. I must beg your indulgence and also that which I have often experienced from the Court. It must require great ingenuity to form these innuendoes. There can be no Libel where there is not some person reflected on. If it is uncertain as to the person, it is like a random shot that seldom does any execution. It is like an indictment for murder without saying who the person was who has lost his life. It does not appear except by innuendo that the newspaper concerns Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Hicky. I had rather read my own defence, you do not seem to understand my Counsel. My newspapers have been arbitrarily stopped at the Public Post Office. I was taken by above two hundred constables and peons and without any ceremony dragged to a stinking prison under the same roof with thieves and murderers.

Mr. D'Costa and Mr. Fowke could have procured bail to any amount, but only very small sums were demanded. Sir Elijah Impey, Lord Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Superintendent of the Sudder Dwanney Adawlat: The best security of the Press is an honest and disinterested jury.

The mere writing, printing and publishing is no proof of guilt. The malicious or seditious tendency must be proved. Otherwise they ought to acquit the defendant. If an Englishman now speaks truth he is immediately prosecuted for a Libel.

At 1^o 22' Hicky concluded abruptly.

Impey. The defendant Hicky stands indicted for a malicious and false libel. In this heat, and at this time of day, I will not trouble you with more than is absolutely necessary. If the paper has not the meaning which the drawer of the indictment puts, you cannot find him guilty: you are to enquire whether in common understanding the meaning is such as is alleged, not whether they might possibly have some other meaning. Whether the paper is criminal or not, whether it is a libel or not, is not for you to determine. The paper is on the record, it will remain on the record; if it be no libel, the defendant may avail himself of it in arrest of judgment. The Governor-General applies to you for justice like one of the lowest of the people. Then Sir E. Impey read from his own Note Book in the Court of King's Bench in the case of *Rex vs. Woodfall, Michaelmas, 11 G. 3rd 1770*. Impey cited from Hawkins 194 and from Blackstone 151, 2, 3 Book 4.

At 1^o 57' the Jury went out. At 3^o 47' being told the Jury were not likely to agree soon, the Court was adjourned to my house. 11-3.

Wednesday, 27th June, 1781.

Present—Sir E. Impey	...	...	...	at 9 ^o
Sir Robert Chambers	...	...	—	at 9 ^o 50'
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	...	at 9 ^o 30'

The Court had been adjourned to the house of Mr. Justice Hyde yesterday, and the jury there had brought in a verdict Not Guilty. They had then been told to appear in Court to-day. When they were all in Court, Mr. Smout, who officiated as Clerk of the Crown, after their names had been called over, said—Gentlemen of Jury, Harken to your verdict as the Court has recorded it, you say the defendant is not guilty of the Misdemean

whereof he stands indicted and so you say all. [Hyde]. And I think this was the right way, for I think the verdict was complete yesterday, the Court being adjourned to my house and the verdict there given, which was not a Privy Verdict, but a Verdict in open Court. But I think it would have been better—]

There is a blank page and the note book No. 7 in which the above proceedings appear ends. No. 8. Note Book covers the period 28th June to 5th July. But first few pages of the Note Book No. 8 are missing. The next entry is,—

1781 Sessions 21-28th June.

Libel on the Rev. J. Kiernander.

Impey. Prove that Mr. Rider said so. Call those who told you.

Hicky. Mr. Watts told me so: but he is not now in Court. If you give me time I can prove it.

Impey. Do you mean to put off your trial? Call your witnesses.

Hicky. I have another objection to Mr. Rider. He is very intimate in your Lordship's family. He buys caps and millinery for Lady Impey.

Impey. This is the highest degree of insolence; but in the situation in which you are, I do not know how the Court can punish it. Let the words be recorded.

Hicky. I don't mean any insolence.

Mr. Justice Hyde. No man that heard the words can doubt they were meant for insolence.

Impey. If thou didst not mean insolence, thou must be the most stupid ignorant wretch that ever was heard.

Hicky. Everything a poor man says is insolence. If Mr. Rider does not buy caps for Lady Impey, at least she never wears anything but what Mr. Rider approves.

The indictment was begun to be read at fifty-three minutes after eleven and the trial began. The names of the jurors sworn on this trial are:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. George Musson. | 7. Michael De Rozio. |
| 2. George Greenley. | 8. Benjamin Whitehead. |
| 3. John Lewis Auriol. | 9. Charles Guthrie. |
| 4. James Wittit. | 10. Solomon Pyefinch. |
| 5. George Roach. | 11. James Barrey. |
| 6. George Dandridge. | 12. John David Patterson. |

The evidence in this and other indictments against James Augustus Hicky was taken in writing, question and answer,

Kiernander sworn (He was ordained in 1739).

Impey. Take care Mr. Hicky, are you going to prove express malice.

At 3⁵ Hicky began examining Mr. Robert Harvey in the defence.

At 5²⁰ Hicky began his speech with Parson Prick.

At 4⁴⁰ the jury retired.

At 4⁵⁰ the jury returned.

Verdict. Not guilty on the first count. Guilty on the second.

Note. The second count differed from the first only in ending with the words "Pious Samaritan," leaving out the latter paragraphs, which were inserted in the First Count. And it seems to me the jury were right in acquitting the defendant of the charge in the first count, because I believe the reproaches in the latter part of the paper, copied into the first count, were intended for the Rev. Mr. William Johnson and not for the Rev. Mr. Kiernander.

Third Trial. For libel against Hastings. Indictment on *Bengal Gazette*, 28th April 1781
 "A Hint to the Proprietors at a distance."

Friday, 29th June.

Rex vs. James Augustus Hicky.

Sir E. Impey and Mr. Justice Hyde came into Court at 9^h 32^m and the business of the Term lasted very little time. There the business of the Court began, and at 10^h 27^m, the jury were all sworn; and Sir Chambers came into Court before the reading of the indictment began. The names of the jurors are:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. John Scott. | 7. Benjamin Whitehead. |
| 2. William Greenway. | 8. Michael D'Kozio. |
| 3. James William Flaxman. | 9. Solomon Pyefinch. |
| 4. Alexander Berkhill. | 10. George Greenley. |
| 5. William Dent. | 11. George Dandridge. |
| 6. Charles Short. | 12. John David Patterson. |

Sir E. Impey. Brother Chambers I will report to you what has passed before you came into court. A gentleman has been called to be sworn on the Jury, Mr. John Rider. He was objected to by Mr. Hicky, and in support of the objection Mr. Hicky produced and read to the Court a paper which he said was an affidavit which a gentleman Mr. Watts was ready to swear. The substance of the paper was, that Mr. John Rider, in conversation at Serampore or some other place, in the hearing of Mr. Watts, had said that he thought many of Mr. Hicky's papers were libelous, and particularly those against Government and that he (Mr. Rider) thought it would go hard with Mr. Hicky, if he should be brought before the Court, and if he Mr. Rider were on the Jury, he should think they were libels and should find him guilty. Mr. Hicky said Mr. Watts would come if process of the Court were sent to him, but he would not come without. He said Mr. Watts, if he came, would swear to the contents of the paper. Mr. Hicky must know no compulsory process could be sent to compel Mr. Watts to appear in court to swear such an affidavit for Mr. Hicky was once clerk to a learned Serjeant (meaning Serjeant Davy), therefore he must know no such process could be issued, and must merely intend the reading the paper as the means of publishing a libel.

Mr. Davies opened the Indictment.

The first count charges the Tendency.

Four counts. The innuendoes are the same in each of the counts.

[Memo. by Hyde J. I have a copy of the paper read by Hicky and intended to have it copied to be added to my note of this case.*]

This libel calling on the whole Army to mutiny is much worse than erecting the standard of sedition in one camp. The other part, though it might injure Mr. Hastings in the opinion of people in England, and is therefore very deserving of punishment, is not of so enormous a nature as the part of the paper concerning the Company's Military Officers.

Impey. You have said in the first count that Mr. Wheeler is the only Counsellor of the Presidency; I take it to be a mistake, for Sir Eyre Coote is one of the Counsellors, though he is not present.

Mr. Davies admitted it was a mistake.

*But this was not done—there are few blank pages in Mr. Justice Hyde's notes where it should have been copied.

Impey. Perhaps under the other counts you may be at liberty to prove the fact that Mr. Wheeler is the only Counsellor present in Bengal, and that thereby Mr. Hastings has in all cases a casting vote.

Hicky cited Parson Prick. Croke's Reports, Vol. 2.

At 1^o 31' Impey began summing up "Mr. Hicky a man among the Dogs of the People, keeps Sepoys at his house."

At 3^o 24 the Jury retired.

At 4^o 5' they returned.

Guilty of publishing the paper laid in the indictment.

Impey. Guilty of the Misdemeanour laid in the indictment.

Monday, July 2nd, 1871.

Present.—Sir E. Impey at 9^o 40'

Sir Robert Chambers at 9^o 40'

And Mr. Justice Hyde

The Motion in aggravation and for judgment against Hicky was delayed until Sir Robert Chambers should arrive.

Impey. Mr. Hare, Mr. Hicky has said in the last trial that his Counsel and Attorney were intimidated, now we desired to speak to you in Court to-day to know whether there is any foundation for what Mr. Hicky said.

Mr. Hare, Advocate, and Mr. Charles Eaton, Attorney, both declared they were not intimidated.

At 10^o 13' Chambers came.

Mr. Davies. I humbly move your Lordship for judgment against Mr. Hicky on the several indictments for libels of which he has been found guilty. In aggravation I propose to produce several papers published and sold at Mr. Hicky's house. One of them was published on June 16, 1781.

Impey. Let him be put to the bar.

[Here Mr. Justice Hyde notes "News arrived that I had won Stark's house."]

Hicky was placed at the Bar without side of it, in the crib where felons are usually placed.

Then several *Gazettes* of Hicky, which were annexed to the affidavit sworn this day, were read.

Impey. It is within the knowledge of the Court, that a still more infamous paper was dispersed, called "Hicky's Gazette Extraordinary." The Prosecutor certainly can show on affidavit that such a paper was circulated and at what time.

1781, Tuesday, July 3rd.

Present.—Hyde ... at 10.

The affidavit with the *Gazette Extraordinary* said to be dispersed for Hicky on the day of his first trial, was filed before the rising of the Court, according to the terms mentioned yesterday, for Hicky to take a copy of this affidavit, as well as of the others, and to answer all the affidavits by affidavits of his own if he thought fit so to do. The affidavit now filed was not read in Court, nor was the defendant now present in Court. The other affidavit with other *Gazettes* annexed published after the first indictment for a Libel against Warren Hastings, Governor-General, had been found by the Grand Jury, were read in open Court

while Hicky was present and he was told he might if he would take copies and answer the affidavits by affidavits of his own.

1781. Sessions. Monday July 9.

Present.—Sir E. Impey.

Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde.

Res vs. Hicky.

Hicky was placed at the Bar on a motion for Judgment on the indictment for Libel on the prosecution of the Rev. Mr. Kiernander. Another *Gazette* was produced and read, published before the indictment was found.

Impey. You cannot produce this in aggravation of the offence. This is the boasted Liberty of the Press, the produce of a real slavery. Mr. Hicky threatens those who prosecute. Mr. Kiernander swore he had great difficulty to get any lawyer to undertake his cause.

It is now a very complicated case of crimes and misdemeanours and contempt. I have not as yet so far considered the case as to be ready to give judgment. If my brothers are prepared they will say so.

Chambers and Hyde. We are not.

Impey. Then the Court will take time to consider of the sentences, till the adjourned day of the Sessions, and in the meantime the Prisoner may derive some benefit for the delay, for probably the Prosecutor, on the adjourned day when he moves for judgment will consider what does or does not proceed from the Press in the meantime. And certainly it is no disadvantage to the Prisoner, for the three or four months which will elapse between this day and the adjournment, will certainly be a very small part of the imprisonment he must expect. Let the Sessions be adjourned to the first day of the next Term. Let the prisoner be remanded. The sessions was adjourned till Monday, 22nd October, 1781, which is the first day of the next Term. The prisoner said not a word in Court to-day.

The 22nd October 1781.

Present.—Hyde, J. alone.

Sir E. Impey was on his way between Boylepore and Benares to see Mr. Hastings.

Sir Robert Chambers was at Chinsurah on the business of his new office of a Judge there. Hyde, J. was alone till 28th March.

The 29th October 1781.

Sir Robert Chambers	...	...	...	at 11 ^o 30'
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	...	at 11 ^o 30'
Sessions opened	...	...	...	at 10 ^o 20'

Res. vs. J. A. Hicky.

Sir Robert Chambers pronounced judgment against him.

The first conviction.

Plaintiff sinking

2 months from this day

Fine. 1000 S.R. and imprisonment till paid.

The second. Kiernander, four months from the end of the two. Fine 500 S.R. and imprisonment till paid.

The third conviction. On the prosecution of Mr. Hastings' judgments to be imprisoned six months from the end of the imprisonment on Mr. Kiermader's prosecution, to pay a fine of 1000 S.R. and to be imprisoned till paid. On these three convictions the defendant James Augustus Hicky will therefore be imprisoned twelve calendar months from this day. The four months he has been imprisoned since the day of the first conviction was deducted from the six months, during which he would have been sentenced to be imprisoned for the first Libel against Mr. Hastings, if he had suffered no imprisonment, and therefore the sentence of the first Libel is only to be imprisoned two months from this day.

Friday, 2nd November 1781.

Present.—Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice, Hyde.

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

Order was made in this cause to bring the defendant into Court. He said he could get no Attorney. Mr. Wroughton, the Attorney for the Plaintiff, had, according to the Rule of Court, entered the appearance of defendant by G. Wroughton, the attorney also of the Plaintiff.

He said he was not guilty that he never had published a Libel. The Court directed that if Mr. Hicky did not send any Plea regularly drawn in writing the Prothonotary should enter Mr. Hicky's plea of the general issue in each cause, as pleaded by Hicky in Person in each Cause in the usual form.

Then Hicky was remanded to Prison.

The 12th January 1782, Saturday.

Present.—Sir E. Impey and Mr Justice Hyde

... at 9^o 45'

Warren Hastings, Governor-General

vs.

James Augustus Hicky

Sir E. Impey mentioned, at the sitting of the Court, the petition he yesterday received in Court from Hicky, the printer of the Newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette*. I have a copy of this petition which I intended to have copied my notebook. Sir E. Impey said :—The Court will certainly take no notice of this paper further than to mention there was such an one brought. Mr. Hicky knows very well that this is not the proper mode of application. What purpose he may suppose it may answer to endeavour to raise a clamour I do not know, but that seems to be the intention of this paper. Besides complaining he can get either attorney nor counsel, he says, several things which he cannot imagine would tend to palliate his offence against the Governor-General or incline him to drop the actions he has commenced. Though I have listened to him as if it were said on a Regular Motion in the Cause, yet there was no motion before the Court, nor was in any proceeding in the cause, and therefore it will not appear among the records of the Court.

Sir E. Impey put the original petition into his bag among other papers. I have a copy written by Ramjoy, in my folio book bound in Rough Brown Calf, called, "Rough Copy Book, No. 4." and marked on the outside "Peter Pallock * October 1777. At page 328 in that book (there is also the following in this book after the entry just quoted). "A copy of a petition from James Augustus Hicky, Printer; given in a sealed cover directed like a letter to Sir E. Impey while he was sitting in court on Friday, January 11th, 1782.

To the Hon'ble Sir Elijah Impey; the Hon'ble Sir Robert Chambers and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde.

The humble petition of J. A. Hicky.

Most humbly sheweth—

That your Lordships, petitioner finds it impossible for him to procure a counsel and an attorney to assist him this Term in making his defence against the different actions brought against him by Mr. Hastings. That your Lordships, petitioner knows of no more than five counsel belonging to the Supreme Court of Judicature and that one out of that number is Mr. Hare, who from motives of public spirit, temper with humanity, last June did assist (unprepared) your petitioner in defending one of the prosecutions brought against him at that time by Mr. Hastings, but from an apprehension that he had incurred (by so doing) the displeasure of some great men in power in this settlement, the said Mr. Hare did at that time, at the conclusion of the said trial beg leave to decline being concerned any further for your petitioner, in the different prosecutions at that time hanging over his head at the suit of Mr. Hastings, every one of which seemed to breathe destruction towards your petitioner, or any one that might from motives of Honor, Justice or Humanity exert their abilities in his defence in a Court of Justice.

And out of the remaining four, three of them are in the pay of Government, namely Messrs. Brix, Davies, Lawrence, and out of said three two of them were employed against your Lordships, Petitioner, and Mr. Lawrence, My Lords, having made an application for being your Petitioner's Counsel did buoy up your Petitioner's expectations until the last day, when he took a public opportunity of declaring that he would not, nor could not be concerned against Mr. Hastings.

Now, my Lords, this brings the matter near a conclusion, and the end of which your Lordships will find a strong loop——. The only counsel now remaining undescribed is Mr. Sealy, and this Gentleman your Petitioner understands is not in Calcutta, and if he were, he could not in gratitude act as counsel against Mr. Hastings, who has given him a very lucrative salt agency, and in whose power it is to deprive him of it in an instant.

Out of the numbers of attorneys belonging to the Supreme Court two are employed of your Petitioner, and out of the remaining four your Petitioner has applied to three of them, any of these Gentlemen might have done your Petitioner's business, but they all declined under various pretences. Their names are as follows:—Mr. Twedale, Mr. Brampton and Mr. Eaton. Such my Lords were your Petitioner's case last June, and such his case at present, and the only dawn of hope or prospect he has now in view that can possibly assist him in his present distressed situation in making a defence against those different actions brought against him by Mr. Hastings is to get a copy of the notes taken on his different trials, which he hopes your Lordships will be pleased to grant him, the expenses of which he is willing to pay, and hopes his small request will not be deemed by your Lordships either illegal or unreasonable, as it is the only mode of assistance that he can possibly have, circumstanced as your petitioner is, and if had both counsel and attorney it would necessary for him to have a copy of his different trials for the instruction of his said counsel and attorney. And hopes your Lordships will be pleased to grant your Petitioner *in forma* filled up with the names of the following Gentlemen, viz., W. Hastings, Esq., John Petrie, Simeon Droze, Mr. Yates, Colonel Carnac, Capt. Lawrence Gaul, Bernard Messink, John Baxter, Charles Wilkins, and Thomas Motte, providing the three latter do not attend as witnesses on the side of Mr. Hastings.

Calcutta.....) And your Lordship's Petitioner will as in duty bound ever
The.....January 1782) pray.

Wednesday, 23rd January, 1782.

Present.—Sir E. Impey

Sir Robert Chambers}

Mr. Justice Hyde } at 10-20.

Warren Hastings, Governor-General

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

Mr. Bagshawe, a deputy of the Sheriff, presented to the Court a petition from James Augustus Hicky, a prisoner on judgment against him for Libels. His petition stated that he had difficulties in procuring advocates and attornies, and that he had pain for which he desired leave to go to the Hammums?

Sir E. Impey, though he began by observing the Petition was not properly addressed to the Court, but to the Judges by their names, yet directed it to be read by the reading Clerk, and directed the Prothonotary to enter a Minute of the answer which answer should be communicated by the Sheriff.

(Memo. by Hyde, J. Intend to get a copy of the minute taken by the Prothonotary. I have the copy.)

Sir E. Impey proposed and the Court assented to it, that Mr. Brampton, the Deputy Sheriff, should be sent to the prison to see Mr. James Augustus Hicky, and to bring him into Court, if he chose to come, or else to report to the Court what appeared to be his state of health.

He came and did not appear to me to be ill.

Hicky denied that the first Petition he sent was sealed in a cover. Then both the Petitions (first one was sent to the Judges direct and is in this book, but the second one sent through Mr. Bagshawe has not been copied in this book) were read in the hearing of Hicky.

Sir E. Impey remarked that Hicky's complaint of want of the assistance of advocates and attornies, for there were two of the advocates, Mr. Bria and Mr. Hare, who if he desired it, had no objection to being his counsel, if he would permit them to conduct the defence as they judged proper. And there were several of the attornies now present who had no objection to being his attornies if he desired it. He was also told that if he desired the trial of the cause to be put off he must make an affidavit to lay proper ground on which the Court could put off the trial and that if it were put off it must be on payment of costs. Hicky desired Mr. Twedale to prepare an affidavit, and while Mr. Twedale was writing it, Hicky said to the Court that Mr. Twedale told him the costs of putting off the trial would be ten Gold Mohurs for this day, and that he could not afford it. Sir E. Impey then said, if he could not afford to pay costs, he must make a proper affidavit to be admitted a pauper, this Hicky declined doing and said he would rather the case should now go on. And it did so.

—:O:—

23rd June, 1782.

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

An action for Libel published in the Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser. Nos. . . . From Saturday, March 17th, 1781, to Saturday, March 24th, 1781. Beginning with the words "To Mr. Hicky, Sir, Patna, 8th March 1781" and ending with the words "contumely and contempt."

The first witness was Baxter.

Hicky put a question to Baxter whether Mr. Yates did not come from Bombay.

Mr. Davies, the leading Advocate for the plaintiff, objected to the question, as having no relation to the cause.

The Court called on Hicky to shew to the court that the question was material to the cause, but he did not, each of the three Judges then declared his opinion that the question ought not to be put.

Charles Wilkins, Esq., was the next witness. Hicky called Mr. Motte as his witness. Motte done his evidence by 2^o 15'.

Hicky. If there had been papers in praise of Mr. Hastings or of another certain Gentleman in the settlement, I should have inserted them with great pleasure.

The prophecy was proved true in the Massacre at Benares.

After Mr. Hicky had finished his speech (in which he said "I used to make Rs. 2,000 a month by my paper") the Court proceeded in giving judgment:

Impey. The only two questions in this cause are whether this paper is a Libel on Mr. Hastings and whether Hicky published it. Mr. Hicky is not charged with being the author, nor with knowing who the author is.

The Court agreed unanimously that the judgment must be for the Plaintiff, but chose to defer the consideration of costs.

The real reason, though the court did not openly declare it, was that we chose to hear the evidence in the other cause, before we rate the damages in this, because in the next cause the defendant might give evidence if he would of his being poor. And it was agreed among us to defer naming the damages until after the trial of the other cause, which is now in the paper and intended for trial to-morrow.

—: o :—

Thursday, January 24th, 1782.

<i>Present.</i> —Sir E. Impey	...	...	...	at 9 ^o 40'
Sir Robert Chambers	...	...	...	at 10 ^o 40'
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	...	at 9 ^o 40'

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

This cause stood in the paper for Trial to-day, we were informed by Mr. Davies the cause was stricken out, but Mr. Davies did not alledge (?) any reason why it was stricken out. After Sir Robert Chambers came the Court pronounced judgment in this cause which was tried yesterday. We all agreed that the dammages (?) ought not to be less than five thousand sicca Rupees.

Sir E. Impey. The Court agreed yesterday that there must be judgment for the Plaintiff, but we chose to take time to consider of the damages (?) and we have considered and are agreed on them. The Court have considered the nature of the offence and the circumstances of both parties. A libel on a mean person is not the same injury to him as on a person in an high office. We have also considered what the defendant said himself yesterday, that he used to get two thousand Rupees a Month by the publication of the very newspaper, for the publication of one of which this action is brought. Damages (?) in a civil Action are not at all in the nature of a fine; they are not for punishment, but a recompence to the plaintiff for an injury received, and when proved the damages are so much a civil right in him, as a debt would be if he brought an action for it.

Damages (?) 5000 Sicca Rupees.

March 6th, 1782.

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

The defendant had petitioned to be brought and wanted to be admitted to appear and defend in *forma pauperis*, but had not his affidavit ready. Time was given him till to-morrow to prepare an affidavit, and Mr. Davies, advocate for the plaintiff in all the four causes, which have now lately been commenced against Hicky for Libels printed in his *Gazette*, undertook that the causes should not till after to-morrow be set down *as parte*.

Thursday, 7th March, 1782.

<i>Present.</i> —Sir E. Impey	...	...	...	at 10 ^h 25'
Sir Robert Chambers	...	...	...	at 10 ^h 47'
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	...	at 10 ^h 25'

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

Hicky was brought into Court by an order made yesterday. He produced an affidavit written I believe in his own handwriting, in the usual form, swearing that he was not "after paying his just debts worth one hundred current rupees, his wearing apparel, and the implements of his trade excepted." He swore before the Court an affidavit in each cause in the same words. It was then said he ought also to petition in each cause to defend in *forma pauperis* and his affidavit should be annexed to his petition. But that not being ready the Chief Justice said, it may also be granted on Motion, and if Mr. Hicky will move it probably the Court will grant it. He did move that he might be admitted to defend in *forma pauperis* and it was granted. He then appeared to all the four actions. He did not plead to them. He was told he had four days to plead. He said he desired time. The Chief Justice said without an affidavit showing sufficient cause for giving time, his cause must proceed in the usual course.

9th March, 1782.

Hicky had applied by petition delivered by the Sheriff, to be brought into Court to appear to an action in which he had received a summons, and he was by order of Court now brought into Court. He desired to have Mr. Johnson, the attorney for paupers, to be his attorney; nothing was done on it, but he was directed to be brought into Court again on Monday.

Monday, March 11th, 1782.

<i>Present.</i> —Sir Robert Chambers...	...	...	at 11 ^h
Mr. Justice Hyde	...	...	at 11 ^h

Warren Hastings, Esq.

vs.

James Augustus Hicky.

The defendant was brought into Court by an order made yesterday.

He repeated his motion to have Mr. Johnson, the paupers' attorney, to be his attorney and it was granted in all the causes. Hicky said, I am sure the Governor does not know of these actions. For the sake of himself and his family and not for my own sake, I hope he will not go on with these actions.

Before leaving the Hicky case, it will be worth while to print here a letter of old Padre Kiernander and its official reply. These two documents appear on Original Consultations of Government of date May 13th, 1782, and for permission to publish them I am indebted to the courtesy of the Government of India.

TO THE HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
ETC., AND COUNCIL.

Calcutta, 13th May, 1781.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

That most scandalous libel which James Augustus Hicky had published against me, in his *Bengal Gazette* of March 31st, 1781, being of such a nature that I am under an absolute necessity to print and publish his Tryal and conviction before the Supreme Court of Judicature. And whereas I have been told that although strictly could not prove what he has laid to my charge, yet many, particularly in other parts, who are unacquainted with my character, may be of opinion that there still must be some truth in it. I am, therefore, under an absolute necessity to call upon such evidences, who have it fully in their power to testify the falsity of such charges, and who at the time of the Tryal could not be called upon for that purpose.

As he therefore has in the said libel laid to my charge that I haveto offer the Mission Church for sale or hire [to the Governor] and Council of Bengal, although refutedas.....saith. Being anxious that I innocent of this charge, I therefore request that your Honourable Board would favour me with an evidence concerning this matter, that I may print and publish it annexed to the Judicial proceedings in the Supreme Court, in order to justify my conduct before the publick.

I am, etc.,

JOHN ZACH. KIERNANDER.

TO THE REVEREND MR. JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER.

FORT WILLIAM, 13th May, 1782.

SIR,—

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor-General and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your address to them dated this day, and to acquaint you in reply that it does not appear you ever made any offer of the Mission Church for sale or hire to the Board for the Company, nor do they individually know of your having had such an intention.

(84.) I am obediently,

J. P. AURIOL,

Secretary.

To Mr. John Hare and Anthony Fay, the reader of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*, will have needed no introduction. The Mr. Davies in the Hicky cases was the gentleman nicknamed "Counsellor Feeble" in the *Bengal Gazette*, and is in that out-spoken, not to say scurrilous, journal, persistently twit'd on the score of his passion for the reigning *belle*—Emma Wrangham. Like to Anthony Fay, Davies, afterwards Advocate-General, came out

India without having secured the Company's permission to reside as the following letters will show :—

[1780 O. C. 29th February, No. 10.]

26th February, 1780.

TO—MR. J. P. AURIOL, Secretary.

SIR,—

The Chief Justice directs me to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th instant, written by the direction of the Governor-General and Council, enclosing the 49th paragraph of a letter of the Court of Directors, dated 27th May last, acquainting him that Thomas Henry Davies has come to India without the license of the Directors and is arrived in Calcutta, and that the Governor-General and Council have required him to return to England.

As this paragraph no wise relates personally to him on the business of the Court, and he is not honored with the reasons which have induced the Governor-General and Council to make a notification to him of a paragraph which simply conveys an order to them; the only purpose for which he can surmise that it is intended is, that it may operate to prevent the assent of the Chief Justice to the admission of Mr. Davies to be an Advocate of the Court. If that be the intention of it, he desires you to acquaint the Governor-General and Council, that the admission of advocates is an act of Court which has ever been done in open Court in full form, and not of any individual Judge, that if they should esteem the admission of Mr. Davies to be repugnant to any rights of the East India Company, in his opinion the proper mode of preventing it is not by private letter written by the Secretary to a Judge but by instructing their Advocate to oppose it, if Mr. Davies should offer himself to the Court for that purpose by which means the claim of the Company will be publicly discussed. And if the admission or the non-admission of Mr. Davies should solely be determined on the matter of right of the East India Company to prevent it, the party which may be dissatisfied may be left to such remedy as they may be advised to pursue.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

JAMES FORBES,

Clark to the Chief Justice.

[1780 O. C. 29th February, No. 11.]

Calcutta, 27th February, 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,—

An extract of a General Letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, date 27th May 1779, stating that I had petitioned that Court for leave to proceed to Bengal, to practice as a Barrister in the Supreme Court, and had taken my passage for India without leave by them, and therefore ordering, that if I should appear in Bengal, and not at your requisition produce the Company's authority for residing there, that I should be forthwith required to return home in the manner directed by Law, and compelled so to do, if I should refuse or neglect to comply with such requisition, and also your requisition in pursuance of that order having been communicated to me by your direction, I have the misfortune to find that I have fallen under the displeasure of the Court of Directors.

I will not attempt to conceal the uneasiness I feel at being the subject of such an order, as, if enforced must be productive of the most ruinous consequences to me, and I believe, that if at the time it was issued by the Court of Directors, that had been acquainted

with the manner and motives, of my going out without waiting for their permission, they would not have withheld the leave, I was given to believe, they meant to have granted me.

As the execution of this order is committed to you, I must take the liberty to beg your patience for a few minutes, hoping that by laying before you the circumstances of my coming out, I shall acquit myself of blame, and of every intention of giving the smaller offence to the Company; and I trust I shall set my conduct in such a light, as will induce you to represent it favourably to the Court of Directors, and in the meantime to suspend the execution of the order.

My first application to the Court of Directors, was some time in November when my petition was referred to the Committee of Correspondence. Previous to my presenting the petition, as well as while it lay before the Committee, I was uniformly told that I should find no difficulties in obtaining my request; and when I pressed one of my friends in the direction, to endeavour to get it taken up early enough for me to go out in the first fleet, which was then expected to sail, in the beginning of January, he told me, that business was brought on in the Committee of Correspondence, according as it stood in the Chairman's List, that they were anxious to expedite the embarkation of the Highland Troops, and therefore postponed every other business to that; but whenever it should be dispatched, he should be able to bring on my petition, and that he could not frame or conceive an objection which could be made to it.

Relying upon these assurances, I scarcely took a single step to strengthen my interest in the India House, but was so fully satisfied by them, that I announced my intentions to all my friends in my own profession, relinquished my apartments upon the circuit, discontinued my attendance at the Sessions, and desired some attorneys who had been my constant clients, to transfer their business to another hand. From the moment I left England, to the very moment I received the intelligence of the order in India, I did not entertain a doubt of the Court of Directors granting me their permission to come out here, and the last letter I wrote before I embarked was to the Gentleman, who has the care of my affairs in England, to watch for the first opportunity of transmitting the License of the Company to me.

It has been hinted to me since my arrival here, that the Court of Directors understood I meant to set their authority at defiance, and that I came here with intentions hostile to them, and determined to contest their exclusive privilege. If any one suggested such ideas to them, it must have been with a design to do me a wilful injury, as I never for a moment harboured such a thought, much less had the impudence to give it utterance. I should esteem it a heavy misfortune to be engaged in such a dispute, and had I foreseen that the Court of Directors would have been averse to my going to Bengal, and would have refused their consent, nothing would have induced me to have attempted it. If the belief of the designs that were imputed to me, originated from my coming out in a Man-of-War, the presumption arising from thence, would have vanished, had they known that I had actually engaged my passage in the *Worcester* India-man, that it was not till after her destination was altered, and I had to seek again for a passage, that I entertain'd the smallest thought of going out any other way than in one of the Company's ships: but when the advantages which appeared to attend my coming out in the first fleet presented themselves, as I then thought it would have made the difference of a season in my arrival here, and to these I added the security of sailing with a large convoy and the conveniences and accommodations of a Man-of-War, I became very anxious to obtain a passage, with some one of the Captains who were going out in Sir Ed. Hughes's Squadron. The friendship of Captain Flatwell of the Navy recommended me to Captain Ralsler, with whom I had

the honour of living upwards of ten months, that we were upon our way of Madras. As I was firmly persuaded from the assurances I had received, that my petition wanted only the form of being brought on, to be granted, I did not know that in leaving England before that took place I should be so unfortunate as to excite the resentment of the Court of Directors, and forfeit those hopes I had been taught to entertain of their favourable disposition to me. As I had no sentiments but what were respectful to the Company, I harboured no suspicion of meeting with the smallest obstacles here, and when the Fleet, which sailed from England in June, arrived at the Cape, I was in the highest spirits from supposing that the permission of the Company would reach Bengal at the same time with myself. How much I was mistaken, the occasion upon which I am now under the disagreeable necessity of troubling you has convinced me. But I hope from the candor, the moderation, and the humanity of the Honorable Board, that my situation may be so represented to the Court of Directors, that they may be satisfied there is nothing I more earnestly wish, than to be a peaceable citizen under their Government, nothing I would more carefully avoid, than to invade their rights, or to agitate questions which might involve their privileges. I left England as well affected to the interests of the East India Company as any man could be, not meditating an attack upon their authority but holding it my duty, under whatever Government I may be placed, to pay a scrupulous obedience to the Laws, and a most respectful deference to the ruling powers. If in any respect I have been deficient to the Court of Directors I again affirm that it was without intention, and I have such a reliance in their justice and humanity that I am persuaded if these circumstances had been before them when they considered my petition, they would not have sent out an order by which I may suffer so severely. To be sent back to England compulsively, must to any man be discreditable; as the world unacquainted with the causes of it would suspect with reason, that there was something dishonorable in his character, his conduct, or his principle, which rendered him a dangerous member of the Society he had got into; besides the disgrace that would attend it, its effects would be still more pernicious to me, as in coming here, I relinquished every prospect, which I had in my profession at home, I broke those connections, which lead to business there and which in so long an absence as mine has been, must irrevocably turned into another channel. I venture, therefore, to urge again my humble request, that you will be pleased to suspend for a while the execution of the order, and to make such a report of me to the Hon'ble Court of Directors as may induce them to take my situation favourably into consideration and to revoke their censure. As a further proof of the sincerity of my profession, I pledge myself to you, that if upon your representation to the Court of Directors, they should still insist upon this order being enforced, whatever prejudice, whatever detriment it may be to me, however ruinous to my future expectations in life, I will not give you any trouble with it, but will most readily withdraw myself from the Settlement. Should I be so happy through your mediation as to obtain their consent to my residence here, I presume to hope that I shall so demean myself as to give neither you nor them cause to regret your indulgence to me.

I have, etc.,

THOMAS HENRY DAVIES.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery.

PART II.—(Continued.)



ON the 13th October 1780, Sir Eyre Coote sailed for Madras, with 530 European Infantry, two companies of Artillery of 100 men each, 630 Lascars, and between 40 and 50 Gentlemen volunteers; and arrived at Madras on the 5th November. Colonel Pearse in the meantime, made preparations for fitting out his army to march overland. The army was ordered to assemble at Midnapore, but Colonel Pearse remained in Fort William, exerting himself in getting the stores and equipments prepared and forwarded to camp.

A letter appears written at this time to a Captain Erskine, in reply to an application to go on service with the detachment; it exhibits the high and honorable spirit which directed the actions of Colonel Pearse. It is as follows:—

TO—CAPTAIN ERSKINE.

" 6th November, 1780.

" Sir,—

" I received your obliging letter this morning about nine, and consider it an honor that you are pleased to express a wish to go on the detachment I am about to command. He assured it would give me great pleasure; (for I am no stranger to your merits and abilities, and should be very happy to benefit by them), if it should have pleased our superiors so to direct it; but in the present case, what can I do to promote it? were I to mention it here, I run a great risk of offending two persons whom I wish to please; the reasons you mention, shew it would be so with the Governor, though upon my word your own letter is the only ground for the supposition, and any interference of mine might be construed into an attempt to invade the rights of the Commander-in-Chief; for the *right* to recommend such measures is his undoubtedly, and I too well know that many would endeavour to persuade him, that forgetting the distance between us; I had grown intoxicated with my appointment, and aimed at giving laws to him, from whom I ought to receive them. These considerations are the cause why I must be thankful for your kind good wishes, rather than gratify my own inclinations by promoting yours, to which I hope you will believe me when I assure you I add, my own.

" I am much concerned to find that some officers of the Infantry have conceived so ill-grounded a jealousy against my going on my tour of command; every other duty I have done with them; ever since I have been in the service: could they suppose I could have

submitted to do the drudgery of the service, and not share the honors of it? Surely no one could entertain so mean an opinion of me; I hope I never gave room for such a supposition.

"Jennings here, Horn at Madras, and Keating at Bombay, have before been in command; and Phillips in the present war in America under Burgoiné, are all instances that it is not a novelty, consequently not an innovation; but admitting it to have been the very first instance, it is no reason why I, as an officer of the Artillery, should not go; for if I am an officer, I must have every right of an officer. In this service Lieutenant Colonels do the duty of Generals at home; and who ever heard of prescription there? Commands are given there either from interest, or favour; generally the former, the latter has its season.

"As you did me the honor to mention this subject, I hope you will excuse my shewing, that it is neither new, nor wrong; and the consequence is, that to have passed me over in the Rolster of duties of honor, would have been treating me with an indignity that I trust I shall never deserve, or submit to

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very obedient humble Servant,

"(Signed) T. D. PEARSE."

TO—SIR ROBERT BARBER.

"Fort William, 27th November, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I am now in tents opposite the Government House waiting for my final orders to set out and join a detachment of six Battalions of Sepoys, who are, with a train of sixteen Pieces of ordnance, to set out under my command for Madras. To-day, news of the fall of Arcot has arrived; the whole force of Madras consists of about 1,500 Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys, the relics of the army that marched out to meet Hyder. I need not tell you that the disaster which befell Munro's army, is the cause of sending the detachment."

It was necessary to make up now the greater part of the camp equipage and stores required for the equipment of Colonel Pearse's army, a sufficient supply in a serviceable condition not being in store. During the delay in preparing these, and while waiting the final instructions from the Supreme Government, several letters passed between Colonel Pearse and Major Edmonstone, who was second in command, and had proceeded with the army to Midnapore. In one of these letters, Colonel Pearse writes the following paragraph, and if the spirit of it was acted up to generally, there is no doubt, but that Camp Followers would occasionally prove an useful defensive force.

"Fort William, 4th December, 1780.

"As I wish every man in camp to be armed with a spear, and distinguished with a plate of brass, copper, or other metal, with the name of the officer, or other European or Native to whom each individual belongs; or of the Battalion and company, if to the Sepoys, or of the Battalion and bazar, if to the followers, I request that you will give the necessary orders, as it will take some time to get them ready. This is intended for the security of the people, baggage, and bazar; with such assistance as we can spare.

"We shall be permitted to entertain an hundred Mogul Horse, if we can get them with horses, if any should offer, pray let me know their numbers, and whether their horses are





THE EMBASSY OF HYDERABAD FROM THE VIZIER OF OUDH TO CALCUTTA BY THE WAY OF PATNA TO MEET LORD CORNWALLIS.

By J. Lubbock, R.A.

fit for the service, and so far engage them, that when the order is passed, they may be embodied.

"Such very extraordinary reports are circulated here concerning Captain Grant's Battalion,* that though from your total silence on the matter, I am led to conclude either that they are groundless, or extremely exaggerated, yet, as it is of high importance to the service to be more fully informed, I request you to let me know as many particulars of that affair which it is said did happen, as came to your knowledge.

"I am,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"(Signed) T. D. PEARSE."

In a subsequent letter to Major Edmonstone, Colonel Pearse writes as follows:—

"17th December, 1780.

"I am very happy to have my mind at ease with regard to Captain Grant's Battalion, for the reports that did prevail, filled me with most disagreeable apprehensions.

"The camp equipage is surveying to-day, to-morrow, and the next day; whatever is fit to be received will be embarked, and sent off under Lieutenant Gooch, who is ordered by General Sibbert to proceed with it by water to Balasore.

"I wish to leave this place, but I am detained for my final instructions, these depend on news from Nagreepore, so that though I wish to go, I must be patient.

"A company of Colundass is added to the detachment, and formed; the Horse will be granted, and the order passed.

"The Governor-General sent an express to you to-day, apprising you to be on your guard, as Chinnagee has crossed the river with his whole army; yet he wishes not to spread alarm.

"I am still of opinion that the Mahrattas are not our enemies; but such an armed force must be watched; more especially as there is a lad of about 20 at their head, and he is head-strong and violent; it is true he has a man of experience and abilities to assist him, but there is no knowing what he may do.

"The rabble in Cuttack, will certainly never dare to look us in the face; the very attempt may cost them dear, and I hope my instructions will be positive as to the thing to be done, discretionary as to the mode, with license to act according to circumstances.

"Fort William, 21st December, 1780.

"General Sibbert apprised me that the Mahrattas have advanced towards Balasore, and were within 15 *coss* of it; if you should hear of their attempting to attack Captain M'Pherson, or entering the provinces, it may be necessary to make a motion with the whole detachment, to be at hand to support him; and in case of such an event, unless you should receive orders from hence to the contrary, I recommend it to march the whole, rather than to divide the detachment by sending away a part of it."

After all the delays and trouble experienced by Colonel Pearse, it appears, that the new supply of camp equipage was made of very inferior materials,

* This Battalion committed many acts of insubordination, and showed such an unmilitary spirit, that it was reduced, and the Native Officers discharged from the service. Captain Grant was also dismissed from the service by the sentence of a Court Martial.

and of a different pattern from that established by Sir Eyre Coote. Two letters appear upon this subject, addressed to Mr. Hastings.

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
AND THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

" Fort William, 15th December, 1780.

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

"I lay before you a report of the camp equipage, received by the Quarter-Master General of the detachment under my command. None of the tents are made agreeable to the pattern approved of by Sir Eyre Coote, and I should have returned all of them that are inferior in quality to those which have been hitherto delivered, but that the necessity of getting ready, obliged me to keep them such as they are. Permit me to say, that the same must be expected on every future occasion, unless you should be pleased to order every corps to be complete, and the Commanding Officer thereof responsible that it is kept so; and also to have a reserve in store to supply occasional wants.

"I am, etc., etc."

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
AND THE BOARD OF ORDNANCE.

" Fort William, 9th January, 1781.

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

"I think it a duty incumbent on me, to lay before you the two accompanying letters, from the officers of the detachment under my command, complaining of the badness of the camp equipage. These letters most fully support the report of the survey which I ordered to be made here, and submitted to your consideration, so that if there were any doubts, they will now I trust be utterly removed.

"I am,

"Honored Sir and Sirs, etc., etc."

TO—MAJOR EDMONSTONE.

" Fort William, 7th January, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I have the pleasure to inform you, that I shall set out for Camp to-morrow at ebb, and should have taken my departure this night, if my tents had been ready. I shall proceed *vid Gonga-colly*.

"Be so good as to carry the orders of the Board into execution, as far as you can, that no time may be lost; particularly too, that the native officers of Grant's Battalion may be sent off, as soon as possible.

"Stibbert says, there are no more elephants at Plassey, or none fit; the English of which is, that we shall not get any more in exchange. So we must look out for camels, if it is to be had, or elephants I will hire as soon as we get over the river.

"We shall have some days to halt yet, as the instructions do not accompany me.

"I am, etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."

Colonel Pearse left Fort William early on the 9th, and on the 11th January he joined the army in camp near Midnapur, whence he writes to General Stibbert.

TO—BRIGADIER-GENERAL STUBERT.

"Camp, near Midnapore, 12th January, 1781.

SIR,—

"I beg to inform you of my arrival at this place, and of my having taken charge. To-day I had the pleasure to see the troops, and had every reason to be pleased with so fine a body of men.

"Our elephants are really not adequate to the camp equipage: one died last night, and two or three others are in a bad state: I have ordered a survey, and will transmit it to you and hope that you will be pleased to order others.

"We shall need some more tents for the Field Officers: the things that were sent down are indeed most wretched ones, as the last reports will certify.

"If it should be determined to allow tentage and carriage money to those Captains who are promoted, I should be glad, and they would with pleasure provide for themselves; indeed it is much to be wished that it were made general through the detachment, immediately as to carriage, and hereafter as to tents; but it will be necessary to fix only six months for the Captains and Subalterns' tents, instead of eighteen as the regulations direct; and if it be well authorized, everybody will be well provided in a very short time, for all seem equally desirous of it, as they are now not sheltered from the weather.

"I am, Sir, etc., etc."

On the 14th January Colonel Pearse addressed the following letter to Mr. Hastings:—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"Camp, near Midnapore, 14th January, 1781.

SIR,—

"I beg leave to trouble you on the subject of the train, which I am now more fully persuaded is not sufficient for the detachment; permit me to observe, that when the detachment was first talked of, and previously to its being ordered, I gave in a list of 16 six Pounders, 4 twelve Pounders, and 4 Howitzers, which I then assured you, I conceived necessary for us. At that time it was only to consist of 6 Battalions, and proportion being made according to that number, only 12 six Pounders were allowed me; the change on the establishment now gives me 10 Battalions, and according to that proportion, 20 six Pounders are become necessary, admitting precedents to be drawn from what has been customary; if these be allowed, I shall have precisely the number of ordnance I first asked for, and I give you my word, that I do not think the number too great, but deem it necessary for the good of the service, that we should have them.

"Give me leave further to observe, that when Colonel Leslie went, I observed the same proportions. I proposed 4 twelve Pounders, and 4 Howitzers, besides his Battalion guns; the four former he had, but only two of the latter, because there were no more at the station; accordingly, he marched with 12 sixes, 4 twelves, and 2 Howitzers; these he found insufficient, and after the attack on Mowe, he carried with him all the guns that were fit, which were taken from the enemy.

"If it be objected that it will lengthen the train, I admit it; but must observe, we already have the bullocks, and that the total length added, will only be that of 8 guns, and 10 Tumbrils, in all 200 feet, the guns and Tumbrils; these and their ammunition are ready, and only want to be sent for.

"I need not say, Sir, that we may expect to be opposed by very numerous bodies of horse and foot, with well appointed trains, and that the stress of the action must be on the

Artillery ; because, as Hyder Ali has a very large army, and with, I conceive, use powerful means to prevent the junction of so respectable a detachment, the thing is self-evident. Opposed as we shall be by horse, the safety of the army will require two lines and guns with each ; and whether we attack or defend, our fire of Artillery must of course be very weak ; on the contrary, with the train I humbly ask for, and I hope you will grant, I think our fire will be superior to anything he can oppose to us, and without presumption may flatter myself with success proportionable to it. I therefore take the liberty of enclosing an indent, for 8 more six Pounders, and 10 Tumbrils, with ammunition in proportion, and with a small addition to the Musquet ammunition."

"Some more camp equipage will also be wanted ; that I have sent to the Board of Ordnance, as it is not a matter for your consideration, being only a necessary consequence of change of establishment."

"I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient and humble Servant,

T. D. PEARSE."

On the 21st of January, 1781, Colonel Pearse received orders from Mr. Hastings to commence his march towards the Soobanreeka, but not to cross until he received further instructions. The army, in consequence, marched on that day from the Midnapore camp to Carruckpore, a short distance off, at which place Colonel Pearse was obliged to halt a few days for supplies.

Major Edmonstone was second in command and Major Blane the third officer in rank in the army. Major Grant, whose Battalion (the 20th) had been disbanded, was directed to remain at Midnapore until final orders from the Commander-in-Chief or Supreme Council arrived concerning him.

Previous to marching, and on the march, a great number of the sepoy deserters from the army, especially those men who had formerly belonged to the 20th. A Court of Enquiry, and subsequently a Court Martial, was held upon several of the deserters who were taken prisoners, and the cause of the frequent and serious desertions, was as far as practicable, enquired into. Several of the ringleaders were sentenced to suffer death, but Colonel Pearse was very reluctant to enforce capital punishment at the time, as appears from the conclusion of a letter to General Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief in Bengal.

"I find that sentence of death is passed on some. Though the example is so necessary at this juncture, I confess that nothing but a positive order from the Board will influence me to carry it into execution. I must approve the proceedings, and for this reason, though I shall approve and sign, I shall wait for the Board to fix the punishment that I am to inflict ; and indeed I recommend it to them to be pleased to approve of a general pardon, since a sense of honor is a principle, which, when once fully established, will make our army perfect, and I do not doubt but that the present regulations will most fully establish it.

"It is my opinion of the natives of this country, that they are soldiers at heart,* and may with proper management be made as fine soldiers as any in the world.

* Of course Colonel Pearse alluded to the natives of the Upper Provinces, who were, generally speaking, the only men enlisted as sepoy.

"The army reached Muchurumpore on the 28th January, Hutnagar on the 30th, and Dantoon, on the 31st."

On the 2nd of February, Colonel Pearse writes to Mr. Hastings as follows:—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,—

"The receipt of your orders, and the explanation has given me the greatest happiness, the line of my conduct is so clearly drawn, that I have no doubts to trouble me; but the provisions, are to me, as to every other person in command, a severe trouble. I have renounced all emolument from the hazard myself, and will not let any body else receive any. Yet some small duties must be collected to pay for the persons who superintend the bazar, and the collections must be sufficient to defray the expense. Whatever may be collected shall be reported to me, and an account regularly kept, which, as I declare I ask no benefit, I shall be ready to lay before the whole world. The trouble I shall take, I see will be very great; be it so, I am devoted to the service I am going on, and I will perform it if it be possible, and my labors day and night may complete it. I enclose you the orders I have been obliged to issue already, by which you may see what is likely to happen; for, if with every assurance of protection, I cannot get necessaries for money, and within the Company's provinces am obliged to send out foraging parties, what am I to expect elsewhere? Doubtless there will be complaints, and you will hear of what the people call ravages; but when the orders I have given are before you, you will see the necessity I am driven to. With respect to the bullocks, before I received the orders of the Board, I had sent away the hired ones, and have now ordered all the rest away, except such as may be indispensably necessary; to what cause it is to be attributed, I do not exactly know, but the fact is, the Midnapore Battalions had no bazars worth a cowrie as to the uses of an army; those that came from Berhampore were tolerably well off. We have had rain in torrents here, and are knee-deep, to-day it has gone off and we are drying again. By the orders I have given about musters, you will see I have struck the evil at the root. I have mustered in the form, but it was such miserable weather that all was not regular; besides it was new, and therefore not so well performed as it might be and shall be hereafter. If these orders are not followed up by a regulation of Government to the like effect, I shall be deemed a Devil, so I hope to see the regulations. I sent a copy of them to Stubbert, for I am aware there will be applications to him, I know the practice of subsistence was general: to have forbid it here, would have only created discontent, and perhaps desertion, so I continued it by order, under regulations subject to the orders of Government; thus I have put every sepoy in the way of knowing his rights, which were always hidden before by every art. I will set to work with Kenneway's assistance, to do what you desire, but it cannot be done in a day.

"I am, etc."

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, etc., etc.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I find it has given some umbrage, that I counted the files of the regiments, for it is asserted, that now officers sign upon honor, which was not the case before, and those who have the payment have no possible emolument from false musters; admit the principle, the consequence is, that the appearance of the commanding officer of the troops on the parade is useless, and he can never muster the troops under his command at all. But what is still worse, the Major must never examine his Regiment, nor the Captains their Companies; so that all checks will be destroyed, instead of established. However, as I do not wish to do any thing to hurt any soul

living, but I must and will know the strength of my little army, by ocular proofs: pray let the modes of muster be prescribed in such a manner, that there may be no offence taken; but this I plainly tell you, you must not trust any man's honour who has a possibility of playing tricks with your troops, because the whole may be lost, and every man's honour buried with his body in the general ruin that must follow having an army on paper only. Suppose a bad man at the head of a regiment, the recruits under him, and he their paymaster, as was wanted, who could check him but the Commanding Officer? Suppose the files are not to be counted by the Commanding Officer, that there is no Major, and only one Subaltern in each Battalion, (a case possible) what is to be the check if the Commanding Officer is not to count the Files? It would be impossible he could stand to hear the roll of each corps called over, and yet if he does neither, he cannot be said to muster the troops. There is indeed one mode of making the troops march before him by fours, or sixes, in which case he may see them, and count them also; and it will have this good effect, that it will show that the people can march, and therefore could answer a double purpose, but it would be tiresome and tedious to the troops and the reviewing officer and therefore ill done. I mean with a body no larger than the one I have; if done only at different times, it might as well be let alone altogether: all this passed in my mind before I gave the order that I sent you yesterday, to-day I hear it gives umbrage, and therefore beg that the mode may be settled before the next muster. I march to-morrow part of the way to Rangegaut, the next day I shall reach that place, where I shall wait for the drafts, and the day after I get them, I shall set off.

"I am, etc., etc.

On the 6th February, the army reached Jellalore; on the 9th crossed the River Soobanreeka, and entering into the Mahratta Territories, encamped at Raugegaut, on the south bank of the river.

The crime of desertion had as yet been treated with lenity, but so seriously was the army weakened by the repetition of it, that Colonel Pearse found it necessary at this place to make a public example of a deserter, by blowing him from a gun; which circumstance he relates in the following letter to Mr. Hastings:—

"I was forced to blow a deserter from a gun this day, that it had great weight I conclude, from the dead silence that prevailed. I hope it will put a total stop to desertions, the man had no excuse, he delivered 32 rupees to me for his family; he was tried at the Drum Head, in the centre of the troops paraded for the purpose, and executed on the spot: my feelings very nearly made me say pardon, instead of giving the signal, but this is not a time to give way; so I laid aside the man, and let the officer prevail.

"I am, etc., etc.

"South Bank of the Soobanreeka, 10th February, 1781."

On the 11th, the army reached Bustah, and on the 12th Ramchunderpore at this place Bissember Pundit, paid Colonel Pearse a visit in his camp, which circumstance is thus detailed.

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

DEAR SIR,—

"Bissember Pundit came into my camp to-day, just as the advanced guard arrived; I found there were spies enough, and as attempting to conceal any thing would have been

betraying fear, I let the whole march whilst he was sitting with me. Chinnagee has been making long marches towards the high road again; he was about 16 miles west of it, when the Hurkarruh, who wrote the inclosed, came away. He seems to threaten to enter Bengal, but I believe he will not come near us. I have written a letter proposing friendship and a desire to pass peaceably through the Mahratta dominions, and assuring him that if any cause of dispute arises between the armies, the fault shall not be mine; that all I wish is, to pass peaceably to Madras, to which place, by the orders I have received from the Council, I am bound to proceed, and that I desire he will give orders to prevent them, as I on my part will do. I shall send a copy of my letter to you as soon as it is translated. I punished with much severity, before Bisseem Pundit, some people who had destroyed a chopper; he had heard I had done the same at Dusat, and he saw how carefully I posted safeguards everywhere, this must convince him we are friends till made otherwise. I desired he would send to the Rajah an account of what he saw. I saluted him with 11 guns out of respect to Chinnagee, as he goes with a commission from him. Mr. Anderson accompanies him. This is the first day I have felt fatigued."

On the 14th the army arrived at Balasore, whence Colonel Pearse writes the following letter to Mr. Hastings:—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"Camp near Balasore, 14th February, 1781.

"SIR,—

"I have the honor to inform you, that I arrived at this place about 12 o'clock, after a very fatiguing march, for though the distance was only 11 miles, by reason of the swamps we met with in the way, we were no less than nine hours in performing it. It appeared to me to be a matter of so much importance to get to Balasore, that I was determined to push on, as my future supply of provisions depended on it. I had heard that Chinnagee was in full march this way, and though in the Jungles, still I reflected, that as he was four days ago so near as Jauzepoor, had he been active, and desirous of preventing me from getting provisions, he had only to push on, and take post at Balasore, and oblige me either to submit to the danger of starving, or come to extremities to get victuals for my troops. The former would have stripped me of half my army, the latter I knew it was the desire of yourself and the Council, that I should avoid by any honorable means, and therefore getting to Balasore, before his army, was what answered every purpose. I acquainted you that I had written to Nana Row, the Phouder of this place; in consequence of my letter, he returned post haste to his Government to meet me, and this evening I have had the pleasure of an interview. In order that I might avoid paying more compliment than I supposed he was entitled to, I fixed on an hour after sunset for his coming, and besides I was so fatigued, that I could not have paid proper attention to him, till I got a little refreshment. He came about eight o'clock, and his attendants were stopped by my pickets, which I was glad of, as it showed that though we proceed like friends, we still keep on our guard. He left his horsemen on the other side of a small Nullah, and came on with his foot attendants. I received him at the tents, and after having discoursed about provisions, he desired to retire with me, which was accordingly done. He asked me what I had written to Rajah Ram Pundit, for he knew I had sent a Camel express, I therefore showed him a copy of my letter; he was much pleased: he told me that Rajah Chinnagee had expressed a great desire to see Mr. Anderson, but that he could not persuade him to return; I told him, it would have been to no purpose if he had, for that Mr. Anderson was charged with

a Commission to apprise the Rajah of our march ; but not having got sight of the Rajah, who was shut up in the jungles, he had sent his letters on, and in obedience to the orders of Council, was returned : that after receiving such orders, had he gone to the Rajah, it must have been a fruitless visit, for that he could not have said more than his letters contained, and these he has sent. He agreed that the reasoning was good, but begged I would write to desire from him, on the part of Rajah, that a person of confidence might be sent to confirm the amity, and that if such person was sent he was persuaded that amity would be firmly established. I promised to inform you of what he said, which gave him great satisfaction. He asked me, if I was going to Madras, I told him it was all I wished, or had orders to do, and that it should not be my fault, if I did not go on as I had begun as the closest friendship between the English and the Rajah of Behar was long established and it would be a subject of much pain, if ever it should be broken : we had experienced the effects of a like desire on the part of the Rajah, and were sincere in ours. He said, the Peishwah had sent repeated orders for him to join, and act against the English, but hitherto without effect ; I said I was fully informed of it, and very happy that the amity had never been broken, that the urgency of our affairs had made the march necessary, but he saw plainly, from the care I took to prevent mischief from any part of the army, that I had orders to proceed like a friend. He said his master would incur the displeasure of the Peishwah for adhering to us : I told him in reply, that I hoped peace would soon be established between him and the English, that the fall of Basseen would, I hoped, be the means of effecting it speedily ; and in that case, he would be pleased that the Rajah had not joined against us. He asked me in very pointed terms, if I had heard anything from the coast ; I told him, I had heard there had been an engagement between part of the army under Hyder Naig and the English, and that his son was killed ; he turned it off, and did not absolutely deny it, nor admit that it was true. I told him a force was arrived from Europe, and that our army had taken the field : he observed, that we should be late, and that the rains would be beginning before we could arrive. I said, we certainly should suffer from the heat, but should be there long before the rains. This was all that passed on politics, except that he asked, if the French had joined Hyder. I told him, they neither had, nor could ; for our ships would prevent it, that it was my opinion that the French never intended it, or if they did intend to do so, it must have been before they were driven out from India, and that now they could not do any thing of consequence ; for even supposing that two or three should ever escape our fleet, they would be no real strength, for we had received much greater numbers than they could possibly send, and had more coming. The rest was only about provisions, which he promised to let me have ; and Mr. Wadsworth told me, he had collected 6,000 maunds of rice, that was ready. In his last visit, I presented him with pawn and beetle, and promised to return his visit to-morrow ; what passes at that interview, if any way different from what I now relate, I will immediately communicate : thus far I wrote last night. To-day my Hurkarrubs brought me word, that the night before the last, Chinnagee marched from the encampment near Jausepore, with 2,000 chosen men ; and marched away ordering his followers to come after him ; he had given out, that he was going to Balasore to meet me, but his soldiers say he marched to engage ; this is more probable, as I have not heard a word from his camp, as I conclude, I should have done, if he had intended a visit : he took two days' provisions, so that if Balasore was his destination, I must hear of him to-night, and friend or foe, I have prepared for his reception. I send away the proceedings of the Court Martial to-day. Yesterday Lieutenant Skinner returned to attend the Court Martial on Major Grant ; he tells me, that Captains

Bruce and Knudson are two others who will be as necessary. The proceedings of the enquiry will show, which of the native officers have most to say; however, Loi Sing, and the Commandant, the Adjutant, and the Havildar Major, can give full information of every thing else, but you have the whole set at the Presidency.

"I am, etc."

On the 16th, the Army halted near Esthiapore, hence the following letter is dated.

TO—WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"Camp East of Neelgurree Hills, 16th February, 1781.

"Sir,—

"I am passing through a country as little known, as if it were in the midst of China. We always understood that the whole country was a wilderness, from Jellalore to Balasore. My march lay to the end of that wood, through plains so extensive that I saw the sun rise from a fair horizon, and I found the country in the highest state of cultivation. We followed the bullock road, by the track of their feet, they must have passed in thousands to have beaten it so much, to the southward of Ranchunderpore. We marched due west, to get to the ford, which we passed at low water, with only 18 inches: at full tide there are 15 feet. To-day, we set out through a plain, with as fine a road as any army could wish to find, but the plain was only a mile and half long, from thence the road lay through a town, and a wood extending a mile: there we again entered a plain, and I hoped our troubles were at an end, but it was only about a mile across, the rest of the march was through a close wood, so thick we could hardly move along; in short, we were six hours going six miles, and having passed two *mullas* to get to the place where I am, we were obliged to halt. Tatar Rhawn, with 10,000 men, lies just behind the Neelgurree hills, on our right, which is west from us. Dhumdurea has a body of about 16 or 20,000 more; and he is before us, where, I cannot say, however, in spite of all the assurances of Chinnagee, we may very likely come to blows; and though I will never break your orders, yet I do heartily wish to hear half a dozen rockets, that my orders may be set aside; as for Chinnagee and Rajah Ram Fundit, I believe, they are sincere in their professions, but those I speak of, are the Poonah Chiefs; and report says, they will attack, so you may probably hear of us, as we all wish; for whilst all others are gathering laurels, we are only marching in the heat of the sun. I do not pretend from seeing a narrow strip of a country, to judge of the whole of it; but I do think, from what I have seen, that it would, in the hands of our Government, be a valuable province. It would at least pay for its defence, by which our settlements would be connected, and our boundaries further removed from places, which are subject to alarm from the vicinity of the Maharattas. I verily believe, if they do strike a single stroke at this army, that everybody will then wish to help us, not that I covet such assistance..... After such a statement, only consider what I must feel should we be attacked, that afterwards I must leave Cuttack in their hands; but in such an event, I hope the exercise of a little discretion will not be considered as a crime, since the world will judge from facts, and not from my orders, which they may never see or hear of: possibly after all, there may be no occasion for any remarks of mine.

"I shall be nine days more, getting to Cuttack; perhaps I may hear from you before I reach it, if anything in this letter should seem to be worthy of an immediate answer.....Rajah Ram Fundit, has answered my letter with professions of friendship, and thanks for the good

order, I preserve in my march, which certainly proves, that I mean to pass as a friend; but still they know that I go ready for war at all points.....

"I am etc., etc."

From Bigoneah, the next halting place, Colonel Pearse writes to Mr. Hastings, and to General Stibbert.

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, etc., etc.

"Bigoneah, 17th February, 1781.

"SIR,—

"I had the honor to receive your letter of the 13th instant, yesterday about 9 at night, too late to answer it as we were to march at 4 the next morning, and I was fatigued as well as the troops, by having been on the road from five in the morning, till past eleven, and the rear guard passed my tent at four. Yet the march, as I told you in my letter of yesterday, was only six miles, but the difficulties we had to encounter, are inconceivable to all who did not witness them. To-day we marched at four, and I intended to reach Surong, being told we had only six *cos* to go, which, as I understood it, was but twelve miles. At 8 o'clock the advanced guard reached the place of our present encampment: here expecting to learn that Surong was just at hand, I learnt that it was four *cos* distance, and that we had travelled somewhat less than two *cos*, by the actual measurement we travelled eight miles and half, therefore according to the country mode of estimating, we had four more such *cos* to travel; (as we had marched two) that is sixteen miles; it would have killed all the cattle to have attempted it, for we could not have found a halting-place, with water sufficient for us, nearer than Surong, and only one plain capable of containing the army, and that quite destitute of water. Such was the information I received, the truth or falsehood of which, I shall judge of to-morrow.

"I am thus particular to shew, that I make all the haste that the country will permit me to do. I so fully enter into all your views, with respect to this Government, that you yourself cannot be more anxious than I am to pass on peaceably; for I conceive, that if I am able to accomplish it, and indeed I expect it now (as the people come with grain and sell it cheap, and freely to us) the peace between the English, and Mahanjee Boosta, will be established on such a firm footing, that I should rather expect to hear Chinnagee had received orders to join us, than to attack: still however, I keep on my guard, and will do so, for I well know, that peace may be more easily established by preventing the probability of a successful war, than by battles gained. From your last letter I think you expected to hear of my being at Rangegaut, waiting for something: never was anything further from my thoughts; my desire is, to get to the busy scene, and join General Coote, or act under his orders against the enemy. I feel very much, that at present I have nothing to encounter, but heat and bad roads: could we have passed without any Artillery, to be sure we could have marched faster, for all the roads are very fine for foot passengers and so you will hear; but people who walk straight forward, on their own business, seldom take the trouble to consider whether an army could travel as they do, or not; and all are not qualified to judge, because it is a subject which has no kind of connection with their occupations, and, consequently has not a place in their minds; but if a judgment is to be formed by such persons, doubtless the motions of an army must appear very slow, and the Commanding Officer will be loaded with censure. To me it is a matter of perfect indifference, because I am certain you will not give ear to such observations.

"Last night, Nana Row sent me a letter from himself, and another from Rajah Ram Pundit; the latter expressing his satisfaction at the accounts he hears of our peaceable and orderly progress through the country, and the great care taken to prevent mischief: the

former tells me, he will send a confidential person to accompany me the rest of the journey through the district, and expressing the desire of the Rajah, that I should not cross at Cuttack, but at another place he mentions. I wrote to both : to the Rajah that all routes were indifferent to me, my desire was to pass on to Madras, and I would cross either above or below Cuttack as he pleased, if he only would be kind enough to send somebody to show me the road, and order boats, if necessary to pass us across the river, as well as a regular supply of provisions.

"I told him that I was very happy to find that our method of marching gave satisfaction, he might be assured that I should continue it.

"To Rana Row. I wrote word, that it was much my desire to have a confidential person of his Government in camp ; and that I would order everything in my power to make his abode amongst us as comfortable as possible. I begged him to forward my letter to the Rajah, as I supposed that his conveyance would be quicker than mine. It was reported to me yesterday, that an officer's baggage had been carried off by some plunderers from the camp. I disbelieved it at the time, but as I had seen some straggling horse, I thought it was possible, more especially, as I find it an endless labor to keep the baggage in its place, and in regular order ; in consequence, I ordered that if any straggling horse should again attempt to carry away any part of the baggage, the nearest guards should fire a few single shots at them, to keep them off, at the proper distance. I sent word of it to Nana Row, and told him these horsemen were as much enemies to the Rajah's army and country, as to mine, and that I had therefore ordered them to be fired at, if they repeated their attempts. I keep my pickets out, first to prevent mischief, secondly and chiefly, to instruct the young officers and men in their duties, that when we really want to use them, they may know what they have to do. I also oblige them for the same reason, to march by secret signals, in silence, and give out, that I do it to prevent giving notice to the plunderers ; thus I hope to lay the foundation of that discipline, which will be necessary when we have a real enemy to deal with, and by degrees we shall get things in the order I wish. To you all this is very intelligible, you know that two-thirds of the officers never marched with an army at all, and not one fourth of them ever saw an enemy.

"Excuse the long detail of matters that may seem foreign, I take the liberty to declare the whole to you, because I dare say you will hear silly remarks made, and because I hear the whole town is in an uproar, in consequence of my not blowing from a gun the Jamadar, who had the sentence passed on him, and that they maliciously add that I have pardoned him though he was convicted of having sent intelligence to our enemies ; the very Commander-in-Chief by his letters to me, through his Secretary, seems to be in a mistake, and to censure me for what I did, by saying that he could have wished the first sentence passed on him, had been carried into execution.

"It was always understood in the King's army, that sentence of death cannot be passed on any man, in consequence of any act that subjects him to any one of the articles of war, in which the punishment is not expressly declared, to be *Death*.....Budloo Sing, could only come under the 4th article of the 3th section, in which the law deems, 'such punishment as shall be inflicted by sentence of a court martial,' and the word *death*, is not in it. If any doubt remains about the article, the first of the same section explains it : for it says, 'any man guilty of desertion shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be inflicted by sentence of court martial : ' but to put the matter beyond all doubt let any person look at the 1st article, 2nd section, where the sentence for an officer is cashiering, for a non-commissioned officer or soldier, 'such punishment as shall be awarded by, etc., etc.,' and the crime itself, is not capital in any one.

"I have just learnt that Chinnagee's parties, are all called in, his whole army reassembled under his personal command, and all are gone further away from our route : one of his head spies was taken to-day and brought to me. I told him to go all over my camp, if he pleased ; I had nothing in it but what Bissember Pundit had told him of by my desire ; that I only wanted to pass in a friendly manner through the country to seek for Hyder's army. He had a long discourse afterwards with my Jemadar who fully convinced him, that such were really my intentions, and then in return, the Jemadar was told that Chinnagee had formed his excuse for the Poonah Government, alleging, that whilst he was engaged in the jungles, our army had entered, and was so firmly in possession that he could not recover it, with the army he possesses ; which he could not oppose with any probability of success, to an army so well equipped for fighting as ours. Besides, he had stated to Poonah, that his men were in arrears, and unwilling to go against an enemy without pay, which he could not give them.

"Though I believe all this really to be a fact, yet it will make no alteration in my conduct ; I shall continue my precautions, and still proceed like a friend.

"I am, etc."

The army reached Surong on the 18th, and Rana Julaub on the 19th February ; on the 20th the army halted. On the 21st the camp was at Buddruck, on the 22nd at Jagepoor, and on the 23rd at Damnagur. In the conclusion of a letter to Mr. Hastings, written at this place, Colonel Pearse mentions Chinnagee's having again approached him with his army, and reports were in circulation that he would oppose the further progress of the army at the Cuttack river. On the 25th the army was at Ramkinsimpore, on the 28th the army forded the Mahanuddee river, and encamped on the banks of the Kiljury river, which runs on the southern side of Cuttack Island. This part of the march appears to have been through a beautiful country, as Colonel Pearse writes in a letter to Mr. Hastings.

"As we marched along the banks of the Beerpah, (where the army crossed a *nullah* by a fine stone bridge of nine arches), our eyes were gratified by the sight of the hills on the opposite side, detached like little islands, and valleys the delight of nature ; in short, Sir, we have been travelling through the gardens of paradise ; human nature cannot conceive a scene more delightful ; nature seems here to have bestowed her beauties in wanton profusion."

Colonel Pearse at this place, writes to General Stibbert, Commander in Chief in Bengal.

"Cuttack, 1st March, 1781.

"Sir,—

"To save time, I send the enclosed report of our desertions, and the number wanting to make up the loss ; besides this we have 273 in the hospital : consequently we have only 4,409 effective men. It may possibly be thought worthy of consideration, by what means we are to be re-inforced, and completed ; for I apprise you beforehand, that I expect greater desertions to follow, which I have no means of preventing. I therefore submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to recommend to the Board, to order drafts

from the Sircar Battalions, when we arrive at Ganjam; not that I shall either rely upon getting them, or wait in expectation of orders. Agreeably to your orders, Lieutenants Martindale, Hopkins, and Fuller, shall be sent back to the Presidency. I must obey, though I must deplore the loss of them from the few officers we have, and the still smaller number who are masters of their duty, and adored by their companies. To part with Lieutenants Hopkins and Martindale, is a loss to the detachment, considered so by myself from my knowledge of these officers, and by all who have commanded them here.

"When an army is marching daily, to expect that petty returns of grease and bits of leather can be sent to the Board of Ordnance with the same punctuality as within settled cantonments, is an idea fit only for a clerk; and I dare suppose it never entered into the serious intention of the Board of Ordnance to propose it: nevertheless, I have been troubled with a letter from the Secretary, who, according to the official mode of the business of this department, wrote on the 21st of February, in the name of the Board, an order for the returns for January to be forwarded, and more punctuality to be observed in future.

"I beseech you, Sir, to interpose and prevent this in future. Returns of ordnance are altogether nugatory; what went with the army is expended, with respect to the office books, that business should be deferred till I return, and then a full account ought to be demanded, given, and signed, as is the practice of the Board of Ordnance in London. If I am fit to be trusted with a command, surely I am not to be called to account by a boy in office, because some returns of things of no consequence have been deferred, or perhaps have been sent and miscarried. When I must be written to by this Board, I humbly conceive that the letter, intended to be sent to me, ought at least to be laid before the Board; then, if aught be wrong, I shall be sure to explain it, but I cannot now. I know that the Secretary writes what he pleases, and to whomsoever he pleases, without the knowledge of the Board, unless it happens that some insult, too gross to be borne, comes from him in the name of the Board: and surely, Sir, Lieutenant McIntyre of my Regiment, is not too great a man to be sent by a boy not two months in office, containing a censure on the conduct of an officer of the second rank in the service, who has been in it, perhaps, as many years as the other has existed. You are the father of the army, Sir,—to you we must look up for protection against these irregularities,—this subversion of rank and dignity; if you will not defend us, the monster must vanish.

"I am, etc."

"With respect to regularity of books, much trouble will be saved to everybody, by considering what goes into the field on foreign service as expended, until it all or a part of it returns; and not to require returns from the army so detached, unless something is wanted from the Board, which it is possible for the Board to supply, and which the Commanding Officer wants as necessary to his army. Returns at the conclusion of a Campaign, when the army goes into winter quarters, in addition to those on its first outset for the field, would be quite regular, quite proper, and conformable to the practice of the King's service; and this would give every degree of information that can be requisite, in the proper season.

"The Secretary has written for the annual survey, which absolutely cannot be made or sent: for most assuredly, I will not halt my army a week, to make a survey for the Board of Ordnance, without a positive order from the Supreme Council. The absurdity of the present system, is so evident to myself, and to every officer in the army, that I hope you will relieve us from it."

On the 3rd of March the army halted at Ballicattee, on the 4th at Piply, and reached Juggernaut on the 7th. Colonel Pearce, here writes to the Supreme Council, as follows :—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND
SUPREME COUNCIL.

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

"I left Cuttack Island on the 2nd instant. The first part of our march, lay over a deep sand of considerable extent across the Kiljury; a fog, which was so thick that we could hardly see one another, deprived us of the use of our Hurkarahs, by which we lost our way and were detained till daybreak, soon after we had reached the high grounds; this of course shortened our march by some miles, and obliged us to halt at Tellingapett, instead of going on to Hulwantee. Great numbers of our bazar people, took the opportunity to desert, and the consequence was, we were short of provisions, not having any village near to supply us; however, by exertion we got enough for the day, but the distress it occasioned to me was indeed very great, and I sincerely repented having too implicitly complied with your injunctions to dismiss the bullocks. Experience now tells me that, I must actually have a reserve in my own power, and therefore I shall provide accordingly.

"The night preceding our march we lost 80 Sepoys, and we continued to lose great numbers, therefore I took the best method I could to conciliate them, by declaring that their expenses at Juggernaut should be defrayed. By this and other conciliatory measures, I stopped the desertion, and we lost but few on the remainder of our march to this place, where we arrived yesterday morning.

"I must now take the liberty to say a few words concerning this desertion, and the actual causes. The regulations now in force give the Sepoy their batta in Cantonments, *within the provinces*; provisions are there to be had, at two maunds of rice for the rupee, and the men have nothing to do but to live at ease, mount a guard once a week, where they are as much at their ease as in their tents, and to perform exercise every second or third day. In this detachment they are proceeding to a very distant country, the name of which they had hardly heard before they set out, and they certainly had not specifically engaged to go to it, though it might have been tacitly implied, under the vague description of their going wherever their service might be wanted. They have to march all this distance through countries, where all is peace, and where they must be restrained from taking wood, pots, etc., etc., without paying, and where provisions are dear; for upon an average, since we left the Subanreeka, rice has been at 25 seers, from Damnagurat 18, 16, and now 20, for the rupee; nor could it be sold cheaper, because the Maharattas influenced the people by their own consumption, and by the fear of punishment, if they sold cheaper to us than to their own army; besides this, they are exposed to the fatigue of marching, and to the expenses of carrying their families, without hope of the chance of recompense by plunder; yet they only receive the same as in Cantonments, without any addition. When all these circumstances are considered, instead of wondering at so many desertions, I am surprised they were not greater, and that I was able to check them even for a time. Nor is this all; the Maharattas and the Rajah both want them to desert, as well to weaken our army, as to strengthen their own, and of course take measures to inveigle them away. I thought it my duty to submit this to your consideration, since everybody here sees it in the same point of view and reasons in the same manner. Tomorrow evening I shall march on again, at least I think so now; but I must not determine

positively, for I find that to be at Juggernaut until the close of the *Hooley*, is of so much consequence to the Hindos, that rather than give them the inclination to desert, in order to be at that ceremony, I shall stay a day longer; then, if they desert, I cannot lay any blame to myself for having been too hasty at a critical juncture; in the meantime preparations are making at the Chilcah, and a day lost here will be gained there by the great facility of moving afterwards.

"I sent to Cuttack to seek for deserters, having heard that there were many there, but the people that were sent are returned; they went through the forms of search, but the deserters lay concealed, or went out of the way, so that they returned without any benefit to us. A Jemadar deserted, and I am told a party of horse followed us with a spare one for him, which on a favourable opportunity he mounted, and went off with them. I cannot say that this is fully authenticated, yet it may be true; he might have hired them or they might have been sent to him from the Mahrattas. Hitherto, we have had the good fortune not only not to be interrupted, but to have actually been assisted: for when things have been left behind, they have been forwarded to us by order of Moraree Pundit, who attended our army; he has pointed out where supplies could best be had, and we have had them, though dear; however, I feel the truest satisfaction in being so near the end of the most painful part of our march, in which I have undergone much uneasiness from my constant endeavour to conduct my army through the country, without giving the Government a pretext to quarrel with us. Hitherto, I have effected this and I cannot doubt but I shall fully accomplish your wishes. The day I left Cuttack I was told by letter from the Dawk Moonshee, that the Dawk of the 29th was cut off at Jagepoor by a party of horse. Moraree Pundit says they were plunderers, and probably they were, though I think it is not unlikely, that as we crossed the Mahanuddee that day, they might have seized the Dawk, to discover whether we had any intentions of attacking Cuttack, which they might have expected to learn from my letters; and, besides, I was asked the next day after I crossed it, whether any troops were coming to me from Ganjam; the question surprised me greatly, and though I repeatedly answered in the negative, I could perceive they still had their doubts; a letter I afterwards received from Mr. Turing explained it. A Serjeant had been sent from Ganjam to sound the ford, in order to place bamboos to point it out, and prepare it for our passage; and I have since heard that information was given of this, and the inference drawn by the writer was, that troops were coming to me from Ganjam: this may therefore shew you by what accident the Dawk was lost. We had not any Dawk yesterday, and it is now 1 o'clock, and none has arrived to-day; I own this puzzles me, for if any change has been made respecting our Dawk, I ought to have been apprised of it by the post-master."

"I am, etc."

On the 11th of March the army left Juggernaut, on the 12th they were at Manickpatam, on the 14th at Meetah Cooah; at this place a letter was written to John Turing, Esq., Chief of Ganjam, by Colonel Pearse, in which is the following passage, which is curious, as it shows that *courries* and pice are of a very modern introduction into Bengal.

"Another objection was, we had no *courries* or pice; coin of denomination of which our people had never before heard, and which therefore we could not provide, before we had been where such money passed as was demanded; yet there is nobody here to exchange our money into their coins."

On the 15th of March the army reached Maloody, and on the 17th Ganjam, whence a letter is addressed to the Supreme Council by Colonel Pearse.

TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
AND THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

"Ganjam, 18th March, 1781."

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

"I have the pleasure to inform you that the army under my command marched from Juggernaut on Sunday, the 11th, and reached Narsingapatam on Tuesday. The train and two Regiments crossed the Lake, and at night, that part proceeded to Meetal Cocah; here we continued till morning, at which time the three Regiments that had been behind, joined, and the whole marched to Maloody. From Maloody to Ganjam, the road lay at a distance from the lake, and the sand was very deep and loose; for which reason, though we marched at 9 o'clock, I found it would too much fatigue the cattle to proceed to Ganjam, as I at first intended, therefore I stopped at Piaghee, where the store of provisions was laid up for us; and yesterday morning, Saturday, the 17th, we arrived at Ganjam. I intend to proceed as early as possible, being extremely anxious to enable us to perform the rest of our march, that I am afraid it will detain us four days.

"Captain Curfey has been ill the greater part of the march; the Surgeons deem it necessary that he should return to Bengal, I have given him leave accordingly.

"Our camp equipage is now on the point of becoming unserviceable, and we must of necessity commence tentage.* I humbly intreat you to settle the rates, that I may be prepared. I have now 26 officers who carry their own tents; I cannot pay them, because I cannot obtain your orders about the rates. Before I quit this place I shall send you complete returns of the force I now have; I conceive it permanent, and it is with great satisfaction I acquaint you, that our losses at Juggernaut were very trifling, compared with those I dreaded and expected. It is the opinion of the principal officers, as well as my own, that by the halt and the promise of two rupees per man for the expenses at the temple, we saved 500 men from deserting. It was, I own, a misfortune to us to be caught by the *Hooley*; but as the preparations were carried on at the Chilcah lake, and were so ample as to enable us to march straight forward without a halt, the time was recovered, and the service, I hope, has been benefited by our detention, as it has devoted the Sepoys to the detachment."

"I am, etc."

TO—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"Ganjam, 18th March, 1781."

"SIR,—

"I have the extreme pleasure to inform you that the army under my command arrived here yesterday morning.

"The peculiarity of our situation made the march through Orissa very disagreeable; for we were required to keep on peaceable terms with the Mahrattas, and not to give cause for coming to extremities; and on their part, they were not to impede our supplies, but were at liberty to quarrel, if they pleased. With such a rabble as Chinnagee bad, it would have been an act of mere madness to come near our army. Accordingly they moved aside under

* The allowance for tentage to officers had always been an object which Colonel Pearse deemed of great importance to the army, and, by dint of repeated representations, he at last gained it.

the hills, and let us pass freely ; if he had appeared, it would have obliged us to expend a few rounds of ammunition, which, as we passed in peace, are now in reserve for an enemy against whom it may be a credit to use them under your directions and command.

"I flattered myself that I should have met your orders here, and could have wished to have had drafts to complete us, taken in the mode of Volunteers, from those who would have effectually filled our ranks with men ready disciplined ; however, I shall do my best, and shall teach the recruits we may get, to prime, load, and march before I reach you, if possible.

"As soon as I can get my returns made out, I shall forward them to you immediately. We must wait here four days to get bazar supplies, cattle, and servants. If I can accomplish this in less time, I will. I shall set off the instant that I am ready, as I have not any thing more at heart than to reach the scene of action, and to serve under your command."

"I am, etc."

The day had now arrived, when Colonel Pearse's army was to be visited by a dreadful sickness and mortality from the *Cholera Morbus* ; and though we are by no means converts to the ounce rice doctrine, as the principal cause of this disease, it certainly ought to be remarked, that the army was not attacked with this dreadful disorder, until the provisions, particularly the red rice, which was supplied to the bazars, was complained of, being of a very inferior and prejudicial quality, causing (as Colonel Pearse states in a letter to J. H. Cashmajor, Esq., Chief, etc., of the Council of Vizagapatam), violent pains in their bowels and fluxes.

At Ganjam the numbers on the sick list increased considerably, and Colonel Pearse, in a letter to General Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief, dated 21st March, says : "I march to-night to get away from a very unwholesome place. You will see by my returns that there are 4,049 rank and file effective, 325 sick, and 31 on command ; part of these last are at Midnapore, and consequently, as they cannot join us, I have ordered them to be struck off."

The first detail of the dreadful sickness which attacked the Army, is given by Colonel Pearse in the letter to the Honorable Charles Smith, President of the Select Committee at Madras.

"*Mansuroottah, 22nd March, 1781.*"

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

"I marched from Ganjam this morning, though we were far from being complete in those aids that were necessary, such as coolies, bearers for the hospital, etc., yet such a fatal sickness broke out suddenly in the army, as alarmed me beyond measure. Men in perfect health dropped dead in numbers ; those who were in the least affected, all appear past recovery. The cause is unknown : it was attributed to the bad effects of the water, also to the violence of the sea wind. I suppose both cause operated, but be the cause what it may, I know of no remedy but marching forward. It is necessary to apprise you, that by returns I am now seven hundred short of my complement, and I have since this sickness broke out, full 500 sick in the hospital."

To the Governor-General Colonel Pearse wrote as follows :—

"Montreux, 23rd March, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—

"Though I was determined not to alarm you, yet as we have newsmongers enough ready to do mischief, I beg leave to tell you that my army has met with a disaster which no foresight could guard against : in short, the whole have drank poison ; great numbers are dead, and many are dying. It seems the people here use Euphorbium juice for soap ; and our people, not knowing it, drank out of the ponds in which they washed ; many dropped down dead ; however, those are recovering who did not take very large doses ; but almost all the servants, drivers, and coolies have run away, and I shall be forced to halt a few days at Luchapore. It was only this morning, by accident, that I learnt the cause assigned for this dreadful attack, and have taken every precaution against it.

"I am, etc."

The following letter which was at this time written to Sir Eyre Coote, explains the cause of the detention of the army at Midnapore, and details some circumstances connected with the mutiny in the 30th Battalion, commanded by Captain Peter Grant, which has been so often alluded to in the preceding letters.

TO—HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K. B.,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,—

"Doubtless you have been informed by the Honorable the Governor-General, that accident detained the detachment, destined to join the army under your command, so long at Midnapore ; as, however, it is not improbable that the despatches have miscarried, I think it my duty to inform you of it.

"When the troops from the 3rd Brigade were ordered to march, the 30th Battalion, commanded by Captain Peter Grant, mutinied and declared they would not march under his command ; but if any other officer was put at their head they were ready to go on any service. They laid their complaints before Colonel Ironside, who caused their wrongs to be redressed by Colonel Grant, and all was apparently appeased ; but the Battalion had mutinied against him twice before, and it appeared to me very likely they would do so again : for they had said, 'When we get our full ammunition, we will show you a sight.' The mutiny opened the eyes of the Government, and all persons, of all ranks, were clamorous against Captain Grant, and his bad practices, and exclaimed against such an officer going on a service, where union was so indispensably necessary. As the cry became general, the malpractices became public, and were found to be of so very dangerous a nature, that nothing but a total change of establishment could save the Company's army from absolute ruin. This produced the change of which undoubtedly you will hear, and I trust approve ; for I join in the opinion that we were on the eve of being swept off in a general mutiny. It is true, there were some who abhorred the practices ; but their example could not stem the torrent of corruption, and they were as liable to be removed from their Battalions as others, and might have been succeeded by officers less attached to the service than to their own emolument. In consequence of the change of establishment, Captain Grant's Battalion was ordered to be drafted into the five regiments that composed the army under my command ; they were cleared off by himself, and publicly declared they had not any demands to make

on him, which at that time, was true enough, because they had previously extorted their dues from him; but he laid the foundation for further complaints, by declaring, that they were dismissed for their ill-behaviour, and mutinous conduct against him. The Sepoys on hearing it, declared they would not go into other Battalions, for that they should now be looked on as mutineers, and ill-treated accordingly, and therefore they would not engage in the service any longer. But though this declaration was general and public, it was not reported to me and I assure you I never heard it until it was too late: they were drafted; but some Havildars desired to be excused, and begged to go with the other officers,* which was granted, for two reasons, the first, because they were supposed to be disaffected, the second, because taking them at all, was mere matter of favour; before night above 300 deserted. Though watches were ordered round the camp during the night to check further desertion, great numbers escaped, and in all about 400 got clear off; the native officers were instantly charged by Grant, with having instigated the Sepoys to desert; and I was made to believe it at the time, and ordered the whole to be closely confined, representing the transactions to the Council. But the men began to talk freely, and accuse Grant in such plain terms, of being himself the cause, that I quickly understood I was in an error, and wrote to the Council to recall my opinion. My letter arrived in time, they were not dismissed, as I had heartily recommended; but I was ordered to take Major Edmonstone, and whom else I pleased of the principal officers, and to examine every native officer separately; the result was, that the Battalion had never mutinied or misbehaved before Grant got the command of it. It had been six months on hard service, without receiving a rupee from Government; frequently making marches of 30 and 40 miles a day, without a single murmur. The men had sold their wives' jewels and everything they had for subsistence, and returned to Chitpoor, where they in one day received five months' pay; but the next day, feeling themselves oppressed by Grant, and cheated, they by resistance obtained their dues; the particulars of the oppression are of no consequence, as it will appear most fully on his trial. The desertion from the army detained us for drafts, which did not reach us until the 8th; and on the 9th I marched."

Colonel Pearse proceeds to detail the circumstances of his march, the dreadful sickness which had overtaken his army, and concludes the letter as follows:—

"We have now about 900 sick, we had only 375 when we arrived at Ganjam. It seems that there was a disorder of this kind at this place about a month ago, but it is gone off. I heard of it at Montredie also, where it destroyed about a thousand of the poor inhabitants; at Mansuroollah it raged.

"When the disease attacked our people, some fell down dead; others were seized with violent vomitings and purgings, and died; others died from violent spasms in the bowels; but we are now recovering, for those who fell down yesterday and to-day, were not affected so violently, which shows that our marching on has had a good effect. Whilst I am writing this letter, I have the extreme happiness to receive your's of the 6th instant, and shall obey your orders with all possible expedition: every delay is painful to me; every man I lose, a wound. I covet the honor of sharing under your command the glories of this difficult war, not doubting but success must crown us now, as it did before, when the troops had the honor to serve under you."

"I am, etc."

* The native officers of the 25th, had been ordered to be dismissed the service.

Itahopore, 24th March, 1781.

At this halting place, however, Colonel Pearse thought it necessary to assemble the officers commanding Regiments in his army, in order to deliberate upon the best means of protecting the troops from the prevailing sickness. The following letter was laid before the assembly:—

"GENTLEMEN,—

"I have called you together to consider what is best to be done in the present exigency. I need not represent to you, that full half the army are sick, or will probably be so in a day or two. Your own returns give you the most melancholy proof of it. I was not prepared for an event of this nature, weakened by desertions, and still more by this calamity, little can be expected from us; the calamity will inevitably increase as we advance, for the winds and dews seem to be the cause of it, and not the water, as was supposed, or the provisions.

"Our men are totally unprovided for this climate; they have no tents, and in general, not even blankets to protect them from the inclemency of the season. Had I been acquainted with the nature of the clime, the calamity might probably have been prevented by an application for tents. We learn that the Sepoys of this (Madras) establishment all have tents, while we know that at this presidency, every expense that can be avoided, is even parsimoniously spared, and nothing but the necessity of having them could have induced the present Government to allow them. If tents are necessary for their own troops, far more so must they be for troops coming from a mild climate, where the dews are not so severe, and the winds, if violent, are dry when compared to what we are now continually exposed.

"I shall not say anything to bias your judgment; I call for your advice, not doubting but that I shall be better enabled to form my own judgment from that advice, which your unhappy experience of the nature of the complaint will enable you to give me. It is a very melancholy reflection that our services are so necessary, but unless we are able to protect ourselves, we cannot be of much assistance where we are wanted.

"I beg you will be pleased to deliver your opinion upon the measures to be pursued, in writing, as I shall send that opinion, to inform our superiors, of the necessity there is to take such measures as you may recommend.

"To give you every information in my power of the situation of affairs, I lay before you the letter I yesterday received, from the Commander-in-Chief.

"I am, etc., etc."

Harassed and opposed as Mr. Hastings was in his Government, to a degree that embittered his peace, it was probable that he often felt a partial relief by imparting his feelings to a man of such sterling uprightness as Colonel Pearse. Accordingly many very confidential letters may be supposed to have passed between them, and to the lasting honor of Colonel Pearse's memory let it be recorded, that not in a single instance does he appear to have solicited from his friend, whose high station afforded him the best means of promoting it, the advancement of his own private fortune. On the contrary, the good of the service seems to have been Colonel Pearse's constant aim; and though the just and laudable ambition of a soldier had its full sway in his breast, he disdained many of the mercenary advantages which the custom of the times tolerated. Colonel Pearse writes the

following letter, as a private friend, subsequent to the receipt of one from Mr. Hastings, in which the latter had evidently unbosomed his feelings to one whom he found so worthy of his trust.

TO—MR. HASTINGS.

(Private.)

"Oh my dear friend! I have had such a trial that I can hardly relate it. If I wrote to you almost distracted from Bulwantee, because my Sepoys felt hunger for a few hours, and were deserting; judge of the state of my mind when death was raging in my camp with horror not to be described. In those moments of dismal expectation, however, I composed myself enough to write a tolerable account of the misfortune that seemed to be impending, though I confess to you I then expected to be devoured by pestilence; in vain I studied to discover the cause of the misfortune; I attributed it to poison and told you so; but now I find there has been a pestilential disorder raging in those parts of the country through which we past; and little did we suspect, while we were rejoicing at our exertions, that part of our camp was inhaling the air of death and destruction.

"By great good fortune I advanced, and as I marched on, though the pestilence was not stopped, it gradually diminished. By inquiry I found it had raged at Manaurcottah, as well as at Montredie, and had destroyed vast numbers:—to-day I learnt that the same disorder had been as violent here some time ago, but was now gone off; and here too I found my sickness diminishing, and health returning.

"To comfort me, I had the happiness to hear from Coote and yourself, soon after my arrival. Your letter was a duplicate of that of the 6th, which fully explained the cause of the letter of the 13th of February, that had given me so much pain. Where will that man's wickedness end? wretches they must be who would dare to act in the manner you describe, but such I know there are in Calcutta, and I can fix on three, very capable of doing what you mention, though possibly I may be mistaken: however, I know you despise them as much as I do from my soul. Peace on their own terms!!!—ruin to everybody. Why did they not at once propose embarking for Europe? for certain I am, if you had yielded to their importunities, that must have been your present condition. That Chinnagee's banditti had been represented as formidable I know; and when I entered his country I was still doubtful; but when I saw some specimens of his army, I only felt contempt; but it is a prudent maxim never to despise an enemy: for by so doing you give him an advantage, as an enemy despised often undertakes what never could have entered his head, if he had only apparently been considered of some consequence.

"I sent you the news we had received of Goddard's victory; I hope it is true: and I think, with his successful army that it is likely, but it is not yet confirmed; and as it bears date from Madras, I fear that it is only a political *judge* to keep up the drooping spirits; yet the news that Hyder had laid waste Madras, Tinnevely, and Tanjore, seems to be some confirmation of it, and gives reason to believe that he is going away.

"I own there is another cause for his doing this: he may have judged that Coote could only get provisions from thence, as those countries lie to windward, and Hyder seems able to form a plan conformably; however, his movements will quickly shew what are his intentions. I rejoice at your firmness in rejecting the infamous proposal, and trust that you will never make peace till they agree to take the Prince for their Peishwah, and to make the present Ministers his. I have just seen Dr. Gillies, who tells me that he has opened some of the bodies, which had every appearance of having suffered from a

strong poison. Excuse contradictions, they are only about things of conjecture, and that I do not thoroughly understand.

"The preceding part of this letter was written yesterday and the day before: I have now the satisfaction to say that we are fast recovering, but we have 1,133 sick.

"I am glad to hear of Raja Ram Pundit's journey to Calcutta with Anderson. I hope you will now be able to settle matters to your satisfaction, with Madajee Bongsia, and gain an ally."

Itchapore, 26th March, 1781.

In consequence of the great number of sick, and the want of tents, Colonel Pearse found it necessary to request a part of the inhabitants of Itchapore to give up their houses for a short time to his army, and on the evening of the 25th the army marched in. The inhabitants of Itchapore are mentioned as having complied with this request in the most willing manner; the sick of the army derived the greatest benefit from the shelter thus afforded them, and many of the healthy, probably being thus protected from the causes of the disease, escaped it altogether.

The wind, during the day at Itchapore, was more violent than it had ever yet been experienced; and at night, though its force abated, Colonel Pearse mentions it as being accompanied with such a penetrating moisture, that he felt wet through his great coat and waistcoat, though both were of cloth.

The natives of the army, who had as yet been the principal sufferers, were now fast recovering; but on the 28th of March Colonel Pearse writes, that the Europeans were beginning to fall sick. It may be supposed that opium had not been applied as a remedy by the Surgeons of Colonel Pearse's army, from the following passage in a letter to J. Hodges, Esq., Chief of Masulapatam:—

"I imagine there is some mistake about opium; I do not know that an ounce a day is used in the whole army, consequently we cannot suffer from the want of it."

Now, though this certainly alludes to opium, as a drug in common use amongst Asiatics, and Mr. Hodges, (who was to procure provisions for the army passing through his district), had probably either requested to know the quantity requisite, or informed Colonel Pearse of the quantity in store; yet, had opium been used as a medicine it is probable that some allusion to its use in this manner would have been mentioned.

On the 30th of March, Colonel Pearse thus concludes a letter to John Turing, Esq., Chief of Ganjam:—

"The good effects of shelter are evident from the fast recovery of the sick. Permit me, therefore, to testify my grateful sensibility of the goodness of the inhabitants of this place, who notwithstanding every inconvenience, most readily gave up their habitations, without a threat of using force on our part—without a single murmur on theirs. In consequence thereof, I have used every endeavour to prevent mischief. I do firmly believe, that the town



MONUMENT TO DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL
ARTILLERY AT DUM-DUM.

(Photo. by T. P. Pearce, Esq., M.D.)



MONUMENT TO COL. THOMAS DEANE PEARSE,
DUM-DUM

(Photo. by T. P. Pearce, Esq., M.D.)

has not been damaged to the amount of 50 rupees, though individuals have suffered great inconveniences. From their readiness on this occasion, the inhabitants deserve at my hand this public testimony of it, in order that it may be duly appreciated and some mark of public approbation be the reward.

The army marched from Ichapore on the 1st of April, when Colonel Pearse writes to Mr. Hastings, respecting the improving health of his men:—"I begin with telling you, that we are alive, and in motion again; and that by my halt I have saved great numbers; the sick are not half so numerous, I left 320, and have 200 convalescents going on with me, who are still in the hospital, and marching: the rest have joined their Regiments."

A letter to Sir Eyre Coote follows.

"Cutwal Talah, 1st April, 1781."

SIR,—

"Yesterday I wrote informing you of my intention to march, and I sent a return of our gross numbers. In the same letter I acquainted you with the want of officers, and entreated you to send some of the volunteer Company lately promoted to Ensigns.* I have been forced to leave one officer behind, Lieutenant Newport, who is sick; if he recovers he will never be of any use, he is not fit to be an officer. I should dread trusting him with a Sergeant's party. Most of my Subalterns are very young; not one in six ever saw an Army before, and I really labor under great difficulties, which I merely mention in hopes of obtaining more officers. The troops were totally destitute of tents, and to that cause great part of the raging sickness may be attributed: for, if they had been covered, it is probable the effect of the winds and dews would not have been so dreadful. Therefore, with the advice of the Field Officers and Surgeons, I have applied for tents, like those in use on the coasts; and I have written to Chicacole, Visagapatam, Masulipatan, and Madras, to request a supply.

"In the old system, nothing was attended to but emolument, and had it continued much longer, I do upon my honor believe, that we should all have been cut off by a general massacre. The mutinous principle was gaining ground, and was visible to all who have seriously reflected upon the past events. When the Majors thoroughly understand what they are, and the Subalterns begin to know their duty, the army will wear a very different appearance. In consequence of a total want of discipline, I found myself under the necessity of issuing some orders, respecting things that I was ashamed to suppose a Commanding officer was obliged to attend to. Judge of my vexation when I was formally told, that my orders were almost impracticable; for the Native officers, it was said, had never been accustomed to do what I had ordered, as it had hitherto been done by the sircars of the Battalions, who were now sick or dead. All this was only about an order to keep daily report-books, to prevent the delays in making returns of common occurrences, which had been lately so very incorrect, as to call forth my displeasure.

"I shall put the troops into villages, wherever I can get cover, until our tents arrive. I hope for drafts to complete us. Our baggage shall be reduced. I shall be very happy if I can get a copy of your regulations that I might conform to them as closely as our situation will admit."

"I am, etc., etc."

* These consisted of a number of young Irish gentlemen, who volunteered to serve the Company, and came out to India upon the chance of finding employment, and obtaining commissions; they accompanied Sir Eyre Coote to Madras.

Compared with the number of men who were attacked with the *cholera morbus*, the proportion of death was small; but Colonel Pearse mentions that the disease was attended with far greater mortality amongst the followers of the army. On the 12th of February, Colonel Pearse stated the strength of his army, in a letter to Sir Eyre Coote from Ramchunderpore, to be 4,860 fighting men; and on the 5th April, the numbers were reduced to 3,955, shewing a deficiency of 905 men: perhaps one-half of this number may be accounted for by desertion, so that a ninth part of Colonel Pearse's army, may still be said to have perished from the disease, exclusive of the deaths amongst the followers.

On the 2nd April the army reached Burgun. Two hundred casualties from desertion, supposed to proceed from the dread of the disease, and the fear of advancing further, are officially announced from this place. On the 3rd April the army entered the Chicacole district and halted at Tickelly; from this place the following long, but interesting, letter was written by Colonel Pearse to the Governor-General:—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL

"Tickelly, 5th April, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I have this day overcome the deserts of Ganjam and entered the Chicacole district. My men are recovering fast. Desertion swept off a good many, but it has abated very considerably, and after all, we have 3,955 fighting men left, so that, if we get drafts to complete us, we shall do very well. The pest was general through these districts, though I knew it not. We reached Ganjam just at the equinox, and the long-shore winds blew death and dismay in our faces: hence the desertion.

"I must tell you that the wrangling between the Majors, Captains and Subalterns does an abundance of mischief. I did flatter myself that a code of laws would have appeared amongst us before now to have defined their respective duties beyond the power of dispute. The attempt now is to discourage the Major from having any thing to do with their Regiments. The Captains want to make them cyphers, which, if once established, the old system comes round, and massacre will follow. They labor hard to discourage the Subalterns from taking care of their Companies, but in this case they work in a different manner, *viz.*, by promoting discontent and by making it appear that every order is a grievance, every duty a hardship.

"The enclosed paper had very nearly made its appearance in orders, and I am not sure, but it must still be issued. Major Kilpatrick raised a Battalion—has been at the head of it ever since, and in consequence of the desertions from it, felt like a father. He ordered the Captains to send the native officers to attend on him, that he might endeavour to ascertain the cause of the desertion, and set the officers to stop it by threats and promises. The Captains sent the native officers, and Major Kilpatrick was proceeding in a very proper manner, asking how many each Subadar had lost, enquiring the cause, etc. Scott went to him open-mouthed, told him that he was doing what was unmilitary and not allowable; if he wanted to know anything about his Battalion he ought to ask him (Captain Scott) only, and told him that he would complain. He did so, but made a false

representation, for he acted upon the report of his Native Adjutant, who told him that Major Kilpatrick was taking a return from the Subadars. Sandford, more violent still than Scott, instigated a Lieutenant to put a Subadar in arrest for going to Major Kilpatrick. I sent for, and spoke to both, and the Subadar was released presently. The act was mutiny, and if Kilpatrick has not a full apology for it, we shall come to a Court-Martial.

"This is only introductory to request you to hasten the regulations—to give the Majors all possible power—to explain the duties of the Subalterns and to enjoin the Majors to enquire from time to time whether the Sepoys get their dues; in short, at every muster, absolutely, without any excuse but sickness, to hear the roll called, and then to ask the company whether they have any complaint; whether they are duly paid, and get all they ought, or any stoppages are made from them, not fixed by order of Government or themselves; and the Major must report afterwards, that he has put these questions to every company—that he heard the roll called—and if he received any complaints to state them also. The penalty of not asking and reporting ought to be the loss of a Regiment or the service. The Commanding Officer of the whole, ought to be compelled, under certain penalties, to count the files or to cause it to be done before him. No man reported sick, ought to pass muster, unless he is present, or in the hospital; and whilst the muster is taken in the field the Surgeon ought to muster the hospital and to send a written report of the names of the sick, their companies, and regiments. The Major ought to certify the number present at muster; that the numbers returned on duty, or on command, were agreeable to the orders concerning the duties; and the number of sick, conformable to the Surgeon's list. Unless these or more rigorous rules are laid down, beware of the effects of the old system. I wish that I could find time to draw out the regulations; however, when they come I can examine them, point out what I conceive to be further necessary and so proceed till the rules are as positive as the articles of war: then, dear Sir, let Wilkins print them.

"Let forms of every book and report, roll and return, be printed, for all, even for the boys to purchase ready to fill up daily. Let it be the duty of the Major to examine these books after every muster, and to enter in the book that he has done so.

"The boys I have, are in general of a year or two standing, and ignorant of every duty, and, of course, most complete *Generals* and *Judges* of the propriety of every order; few even can speak the language. If the rules, therefore, were printed in Hindoo on one side, and English on the other and an alphabet at the beginning, you would afford the means of their performing the duties, by teaching the young officers the necessary part of the language, and in a year or two a boy might really advance beyond "*Shroud Faunce*." The Sepoys also would know their dues and the rules of the service and be less liable to oppression. My Hindoo orders have done a great deal of good here already, but they have lengthened faces.

"Expel the sircars and order the reports to be taken from the orderly havildars, as they are from corporals and sergeants in European corps. When I ordered daily report-books, I was told that the native officers did not understand those duties; they had been always performed by sircars, and could not be done in the manner I directed by the Subaltern officers; the English of which is, the native officers, were never permitted to be in any degree acquainted with the state of their companies, that was a Battalion mystery, sacred to the grand Priest and his assistants at the altar; and now whoever attempts to expound these things, is a demon.

"Some while ago I ordered the recruits to receive full pay; the pleasure was inconceivable; when the Sepoys saw rupees and an European distributing them the phrase ran,

" 'This is new, but good indeed for us.' I firmly believe that I should not have lost 50 men after I crossed the Chilca, if I had not met the pest.

"That I may carry 3,500 men to Coote is the utmost of my wish, and I think he will have no reason to wonder there are no more, when he considers the great distance, without a single day's fighting to divert their minds, from a country that seems made up of the *shreds and fragments of a world, in Dame Nature's shop, producing nothing but sand and stuggy rocks, brackish water, and fetidiferous winds.*

"If ever you want to send an army to Madras again by land, it must be done through Nagpore and the Nizam's country; for it is barely possible to drag troops this way; and I hardly think that you will find an officer bold enough, or rather fool enough to undertake it. We have not left in the whole army sixty of the drafts we received, which shews that we should have been much stronger, if we had had another Regiment instead of them; and if we had been formed on the esplanade, as I begged and intreated, we should have had tents, and our army would not have been exposed to these terrible winds and dews.*

"The Surgeon who came to us from Ganjam was taken ill the morning before last and was dead before 9 P.M. of this disorder; if we lose another we shall be undone.

"I hear Mr. Boyle, the volunteer, is about to be appointed a Cadet. I hope that it is not true, for he was turned out by a general refusal of the volunteers to associate with him. I believe Coote laid the circumstances before Council; it was just as he was going away to Madras. The fellow is a sneak, and skulked when the lads were going on service, and was a disgrace to them by his meanness in other respects, showing that he wanted a very necessary ingredient in a soldier; however there was one made an officer very lately who was ten times worse. As the five ships are taken, you will be forced to ransack Calcutta again; and if there is such a *haul* as the last, there will not be a shoeblack in Calcutta, nor a gentleman in the army; therefore, as I know you really love the army in your heart, let me intreat you not to let one be admitted without a patron, and to direct that the name of the patron be registered; and that he be examined, and required to certify that the person was never a menial servant, can read and write, and has some qualification of a gentleman.

"Stibbert, with abundance of good qualities, is far too easy in this respect, and recommends too much at random. The man, too, who is to become an officer, ought to be produced, to shew that he is neither too old, nor disabled.

"I am, etc."

The army marched to Runhun on the 6th of April; to Callingsapatam on the 7th; to Chicacole on the 8th and to Vizianagram on the 11th. Here a portion of the tents, which had been applied for by Colonel Pearse, reached the army, and they were immediately distributed amongst the different Battalions. At this place also, an order arrived from the Supreme Council to halt the army, and to wait for a detachment of 2,000 Maharatta horse from

* Notwithstanding the information which Government had already received by the march of Colonel Pearse's Army, strange to say, another detachment was sent round by land, under Colonel Cockrell, to proceed to Seringapatam in 1790. They marched without tents, and the *Chedera Morlam* again committed great ravages in this detachment, when they had reached the vicinity of the Chilca Lake, in the middle of April.

the Rajah Chimnagoe Baboo. Colonel Pearse writes to Mr. Hastings, in answer to the order, as follows :—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
AND THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

" Vizianagram, 17th April, 1781.

" HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—

" Yesterday evening, just as I was about to give the orders to march, I had the honor to receive your letter, directing me to halt at the most convenient place, to wait for the junction of a body of 2,000 Maharatta horse. It gave me inexpressible happiness, for I had heard that Tippoo had been detached to lay waste that part of the Carnatic, through which we are to march, and I consequently knew that I must set off with a large convoy of provisions, sufficient to subsist us during our progress ; but at any rate, the convoy must be very considerable, as Sir Eyre Coote is in want of cattle for his army and his bazars, which we only can convey to him. I have determined to halt where I am part of the time, as it is a land of plenty; and we have a delightful grove sufficient for the whole army, with a running stream of excellent water in front and a very large Tank besides.

" We have received about half our tents, and when I get the rest I shall advance slowly, and suppose the horsemen will meet us at Ellore ; I must at any rate get there to collect my convoy, and to be ready to set off in full force as soon as the Maharattas join us.

" I should be happy to know by what route the Maharatta horse will come to us, and shall prefer that by Ellore on this account ; we travel without doing mischief, and as I can govern an army in that respect, therefore, I choose to pass through the country where mischief is possible, that it may be clearly ascertained, if any is done, that my army did not do it ; and possibly when the Maharattas find that we pass on without doing any damage to the countries we pass through ; they also will from example and shame, preserve as strict a discipline.

" I made a small mistake in my last letter ; I said, the Paymaster has exchanged 1,800 gold mohurs at 14 rupees 8 annas arcot. I should have said, that he had been offered them for that amount : the bargain was to have been closed when we marched off from hence. As soon as I received your orders to halt, I directed the Paymaster to delay the final agreement and he informed me the pause he made, had produced an offer of 15 arcots, which was the same as at other places ; with this I shall be forced to close, as we now must have currency to pay the troops.

" It affords me great satisfaction to inform you that the dreadful scourge of sickness has gone off. I left 347 men behind, and many arms became spare by desertion ; they are all about to follow, but have been detained for carriages. The expenses of carriage for the hospital, will of course be very heavy ; though as soon as we are collected again, I shall reduce the expense as much as possible ; but of this I must apprise you, that 70 Doolies will absolutely never suffice for us, if those of the Battalions are included ; yet 70 besides those of Battalions will seldom be wanted.

" Viceram Raz had a body of Fikemen and other troops ready to join me, and was greatly disappointed by an order to disband them ; he expresses the greatest desire to go with us, and pleads the long period of the alliance of his family with the English, in the worst of times, as reasons why he thinks he might have been exempted from the general order to disband. At his desire, I put my troops under arms, and he saw them.

" It afforded me the truest pleasure, to see such a total change in the countenance of my men : when I mustered at Itchapore, the few who did appear were dejected ; a silent

horror overspread every countenance: the scene was really sufficient to account for the subsequent desertion. Some of our deserters are returned, about twenty. I have sent out a fresh proclamation of general pardon, on surrendering anywhere within my reach.

"I am, etc., etc."

The following letter to Mr. Hastings, was written from this place:—

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,—

"The accompanying papers are the rules you so long ago ordered me to draw out, and sorry I am, that I had it not in my power to do it earlier: the halt at this place has enabled me to set to work, and I have accomplished it as well as I could; but besides the desire I had to finish what you had directed, the necessity of the case was a sufficient inducement to me to undertake the task; for I am truly sorry to say that anarchy and confusion are now reducing into systems, and there seems to be only one thing aimed at, that of destroying every check intended by Government to be established; and to sap the foundation of all authority, to the end, that the old system may raise its diabolical head—emolument, set aside honour, honesty, and the good of the service; that the vile practices which disgraced us in the eyes of all mankind, may once more rage through this army.

"But permit me to say, this shall not be so while I can prevent it. In my last, I told you what orders I had intended, and that I had, as I then thought, brought men to their right senses. Alas! I was only deceiving myself, by believing that true which I wished for. I have been forced to issue the orders which I enclose, a short fact will shew the necessity of it.

"A Major recommended two Sepoys, to his Captain for promotion, and he says that they were very old Sepoys: the Captain refused to appoint them, and in their place very young Sepoys were appointed; one in particular, who had not been a year in the service.

"By this I found that the Majors were to be reduced to cyphers, their orders were to be disobeyed, and they were to be laughed at. Subordination and respect to authority, were to be trampled under foot; and everything that could tend to destroy an army, was to prevail.

"Again, a Major finding his regiment had suffered by desertion in a very extraordinary manner, sent for the Native Officers to enquire the cause of it, and to ask the numbers gone off. A Subadar who was sick went though hardly able to crawl; he had not done duty for some time, consequently he had not reported his company. The Subaltern was advised to put the Subadar into arrest, for going to the Major's; he was put into arrest, and was told that it was because he had gone to the Major and reported his company, and had not reported it to his Subaltern. I had occasion to speak with the Captain of that regiment next day, in consequence of other disputes, and I declared the act was mutiny; that the person so doing had committed mutiny; and that the adviser of the young man was guilty of exciting to mutiny. The man, however, was released at the time, the crime had been given in a faulty manner; it was a boy who must have been sacrificed, and he neither knew better, nor even understood the language well enough to explain what he said to the Subadar; and as he apologized to his Major, and assured him he did not mean to confine the man because he had been to his tent, I passed it over, and sent for the young man, rebuked him, and pointed out to him the enormity of the crime which he had committed.

"These practices, however, drove me to issue orders for temporary relief; for I am determined to support authority, and to establish subordination, I drew the line according to the practice in my own regiment, and of that in which I was bred up, and agreeable to the

practice of Wolfe, in his regiment; but I had no sooner done it, than every mouth was opened, and I was charged with innovation. It was said, this was not the practice in the Regiments of Infantry, the Lieutenant-Colonels appointing Sergeants and Corporals in their Battalions, without the interference of the Colonels; that by the orders in force they were vested with the powers of Lieutenant-Colonels, and that I had set aside the orders of Government, and deprived them of their just rights. I was asked to repeal the order, I refused; I was asked leave to resign the Battalion; I declined it, only for want of power if I had done it, to admit of total resignation of the service. I would have accepted of the commission, but as my orders were from the ignorance of boys, and the perverseness of men, not understood, I issued explanations, fit only for boys to read, which I blushed to think were necessary. I was then told, that an appeal would be made to the Commander-in-Chief; this rivetted the order past a possibility of alteration; for had I yielded, every order that I should have given would have been appealed against; and if some of the wise men had chosen to halt at any place, I should have been forced to stop, for fear of appeal. All these circumstances shall come before the Board. Thus, at the time pestilence and desertion were weakening the army, we were tormented with internal broils. It was not sufficient that I declared that all disputed points would be settled by Regulations which I knew were coming, and for the present recommended union; but at last I was obliged to call everybody to mite by my orders.

"Now, with regard to Lieutenant-Colonels of regiments, I have to observe, that possibly the Colonels do not interfere in such promotions, but that is not for want of right: they are not mere Colonels, they are Brigadiers; and having a general line to attend to, are necessitated to delegate their less important rights, that they may have time to attend to their more important duties. The Lieutenant-Colonels have, besides, a scope for importance in their Brigades, in the granting of warrants to the Native Officers. The Majors being in the place of the Colonels of Regiments simply, must have all the rights of a real Colonel, or be cyphers. If they cannot appoint havildars, they cannot have any appointments to make, for the Colonel of the Regiment, appoints Warrant Officers, and the Captains, some at least, claim a right to recommend them also, and think the Majors have no right to interfere even in them. Others rest the grievance in the part which enjoins seniority, and give the Subaltern the right to recommend. Who is so fit a judge as he who commands the company? Can a Captain know every man?*" Shall a smart appearance, and a pretty face, set aside long and faithful services? Shall dandling about as an orderly, claim merit before fighting battles? Whoever supposes that I will let such a system prevail, where I am present and can prevent it, must think me what I am not.

"I was told too, that old Sepoys, men of real merit, were disgusted at being set aside to make room for pretty boys. When desertion prevailed, and amongst veterans, was it unnatural to suppose they deserted from neglect? and how could I calm their minds, but by ordering their merit as soldiers to entitle them to reward?

"But what I ordered, after all turns out to be a regulation of the establishment; for it is ordered that the Commanding Officer of the Sepoy Corps shall appoint Havildars and Naicks, so early as 1772; and by Coote's Regulations the Naick of next merit, when a vacancy of a Havildar occurs, must be presented to the Commander of the Sepoy Corps for his approbation. Parker exercised the power, yet it was unrepealed, though applications followed, and he was hated for using it,—and why,—only because it struck at the root of corruption?

* There were no Captains to companies at this time.

"From all that I have said, the necessity of laws to govern is so evident, that I have devoted night and day to write the sketch of them for you; and if they are not all perfect, (which no human production can be), it will at least I hope shew, that I am never idle, and devote my time to my duty. I feel that I have been forced to turn my mind to intricate subjects, when I wish it at ease to govern my army in its difficulties. That what I have done may please as an attempt, is all I can hope for.

"P.S.—I shall send even the forms, but they are not ready. If what I have written on the subject of the regulations merits consideration, and you think proper to submit it to Stibbert, let me beg you to tell him, (as he will at once discover by the handwriting, whence it came), that I drew out these rules by your immediate command, and sent them to you in consequence of it; otherwise, he will think that I want to usurp his authority, and to exonerate him from the trouble of commanding the army. I think that he will long ago have been bewildered with the subject, and that he will have been so teased with applications, against every check, that he will hardly be able to support it. It is a pity that he cannot resolve to shut his eyes and ears against every vexatious remonstrance."

Present with this large detachment, and crowded hospital, there were only two European Surgeons; if these performed their duty, it must have been laborious indeed, but it was hardly possible they could do so. Colonel Pearse, finding the want of Medical Officers, applied to have a gentleman of the name of Martine* (who was with the army and who represented himself as having been educated as a Surgeon), appointed to do duty with it, which was subsequently complied with.

On the 23rd the army marched to Brunsing, as Colonel Pearse, having received intimation that the river Kistna would soon begin to rise was anxious to hasten towards it to prevent difficulty in crossing his army. On the 25th the halt was at Vantipellore; on the 26th at Soobaram; on the 28th at Ankapilly and on the 29th at Elmunachilly.

The increased establishment of the Native Infantry (which had taken place in the latter end of 1780 to form Colonel Pearse's army) was attended with an alteration of system, which led to the most vexatious altercations between the Captains commanding the Battalions and the Major commanding the Regiment. Numerous appeals to Colonel Pearse appear, but the following letters to Major Wedderburn and to Mr. Hastings will generally explain the nature of them and will also throw some light upon the formation and discipline of the Bengal Army in 1781. The letter to Mr. Hastings also records that the liberty to print a newspaper in Calcutta, which Mr. Hastings had granted to an individual of the name of Hickey, (*sic*) was soon abused.†

* This was the afterwards celebrated General Martine (*sic*) who had followed the Army from Calcutta, and was ever ready with an intelligent mind, and active body to offer himself in any capacity when the wants of the service presented an opening for employing him.

† A just effectual mode was taken by Mr. Hastings to prevent the circulation of some abusive paragraphs in this paper, by sending an order to the Post Office to prevent any newspaper or parcel from Mr. Hickey from being received or carried by dak. (The libel was James Augustus Hicky.)



C. Munro

TO—MAJOR WEDDERBURN, COMMANDING THE 15th REGIMENT.

"Annapolis, 28th April, 1781.

"Sir,—

"A representation has been made to me, by Captain Pearson and Lieutenant Vanrisedell, commanding the two Battalions of your Regiment, setting forth that you have issued an order directing them not to manœuvre (*etc*) their Battalions without a particular application made to yourself; that the constraint such an injunction puts upon them, may prove detrimental to the service, by depriving them of the small authority of being able to exercise their Battalion, without first applying for permission on every occasion; and that the Regulations leave to the Captains the full power of disciplining their Battalions.

"Be pleased, Sir, to inform those gentlemen that I have carefully considered their representation, and I am of opinion that the order issued by you, is in itself extremely proper, and consistent with military discipline and subordination; in which it is undoubtedly a principle, that in every Regiment the Colonel shall be the principal officer; and that all officers of that Regiment act in conformity to that subordination under his orders and directions. That the Colonel is answerable to Government for the well being of his Regiment; and the several commanding parts of that Regiment are, in the first instance, answerable to him for the good condition and discipline of those parts; consequently, that it cannot be detrimental to the service, that everything be done in each Regiment, conformable to this principle and, of course, with the authority of the Major Commandant, who stands in the place of, and enjoys every privilege of a Colonel. That the order of Government alluded to in the representation does not in my opinion give the Captains any power independent of the Major; that if it did so, it would establish anarchy.

"I am, etc., etc."

TO—THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"Elmstedell, 29th April, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—

"Let me entreat you to relieve me from intestine broils, which nothing but regulations of the same nature as those I sketched out can do; for we are at A. B. C. and seem to scorn to combine them, even in syllables.

"The appeal is not come to my hands yet, though announced so long ago; I hope to get the Regulations before it begins its journey; not that I conceive that it will make any alteration in the essential parts of my orders, but because I told the officers there would be regulations to settle every dispute, yet they would not believe me or postpone their wrangling and pay attention to their duties.

"I attribute great part of our losses by desertion, since the sickness, to these disputes; for had the wranglers been employed in comforting the Sepoys, instead of disputing, the minds of the men would have been eased, and I should not have been forced to record their disunion, by calling upon them, in orders, to unite.

"Yesterday I was troubled with a new subject; a Major gave orders that the Battalions of his Regiment should not go out to exercise, or fire, without application being made to him. Now, in strict propriety, no Regiment or Battalion ought to go out without application being made to the Commanding officer of the line, and certainly not to fire for fear of alarm; and he ought to give it out in orders, that any alarm may be prevented. But the system is to abolish the Majors, by resistance to every part of their power, that the old system may revive with plenitude of emolument. My answer to the reference was a

full confirmation of what the Major had done; so now they have fresh matter to appeal about.

"I wrote to the Council by the ship *Hastings*, *Tarrier*, on the 25th, to tell you, that I was marching on to Ellore, and that I should want money.

"I do not hear a word of the Maharattas, which concerns me; for if they do not join the Army in May, they never can: as the Kistna will bar their junction. Of course I do not know who is to command them, but because I much want their aid and wish to expedite their march, I have to-day written to Rajah Ram Pundit, telling him, that I had the pleasure to hear of peace being settled between Berar and the English; that I was to be reinforced by 2,000 of their Army, and that I had been ordered to halt for them; that I did stop at Vizianagram for ten days, and am now moving on to Ellore, where I hope they will join me; and I go thither, that everything may be ready by the time they arrive; I begged to know who is to command the Maharattas, and to be apprised of the day they set out, and the marches they intend to make. I hope all this is right.

"Sitteram Raz presented me with an Elephant, two Camels, a Palanquin, Dress, and some Rockets; all of which I received in the very state in which they were presented, to his great astonishment; for he expected that I should have done, as has been customary here generally; that is, should have sent back the ostensibles, and have received the equivalent in money. It might have been more consistent with my actual poverty to have done so, but not with my credit; so I ride on the Elephant, as I did before, on one I purchased, for ease on so long a journey.

"Dear Sir, if anything is wrong tell me so in plain terms. As to conforming to a law, made to prevent a man's pulling off his hat, none but Clavering could ever think of it; not if he had ever seen India, or knew anything of the manners and customs before he was sixty. The present to me was mere civility; I neither had the power to do him good or evil; therefore could never make him a return, but by doing his present the greatest honor I could: and as I judged taking the articles as they were given, and appearing in the dress itself, to be the mode, I did so. That he felt pleased, his words and actions all shewed; each of my family got a horse and a dress. I tell you all this to prevent others doing so, for it may be magnified into a great present; true, had I taken the money, it would, according to the mode of valuation on such occasions, have been about 15,000 rupees; but an Elephant, etc., you know the actual value of, and the expense of keeping them.

"We lost 31 men on leaving Vizianagram. I wrote to Sitteram to get them, but he did not seem active, so I halted a day at Soobarum, and told him by letter, that if he did not get me the men, I would pay him a visit at the head of my Army; for the people could not go through his country without being stopped; and therefore if they were not sent back, the world would say that he had entertained them as he had done before. He was at Semachilum, about 6 miles from Soobarum. Kenneway* went to talk over the business, and to see the temple; but I would not go to see him there, as I was offended at the loss of my men, and had reason to believe that he had really got them. He was very much concerned at it, and returned to Vizianagram to find the people; and he promised to send them, dead or alive. The Lieutenant who commands his troops, is set upon the same work by him; so either they will be found, or it will be clear, Sitteram has them not, and this is all I want to know: and after all, I would not have given myself a moment's trouble about them but to prevent impertinence.

* Colonel Peurm's Persian interpreter.

"I rejoice much that you have accomplished your wish with respect to Berar; but I really wonder at your patience in suffering such a man as Hickey, to publish loads of abuse every Saturday; we do not get the paper here, nor have we for these six weeks, but we hear of his abuse from other quarters, with the same expressions of astonishment. It is true, the man himself is not the author, but some pitiful fellow who dares not avow his insolence, and wishes to stab in the dark. Yet still, such a thing as that Gazette, in such a place as this, is not allowable; and such, good Sir, was my opinion when you too readily agreed to the first publication of a newspaper; I then told you, that the year would not pass, before it became the channel of personal and public abuse, and it is so.

"I am Sir, etc., etc."



Uxor Dilectissima.

The Wych is wild with lichen'rime,
The Pix-path tells Titania's loss,
The Malvern peaks aspiring climb
Where Romans fought Caractacus—
And we were cousins, boy and maid,
Of England's breed and England's tongue,
In those glad days of glen and glade
When all the gallant world was young.

I seem to hear our ponies' hoofs
A-scatter down the Ledbury lane,
And mind a rainbow arched the roofs
Of Worcester's scintillating fane.—
And how, by coach, we went one day
To timbered Stratford, Avon'd fair.—
It seems to me but yesterday
I throned her Queen in Shakspeare's chair.

We watched the trout beneath the bridge
And chased the squirrels where they ran
Along the rhododendron ridge,
And quaffed the wall of sweet St. Anne,—
Plucked daffodil and pimpernel—
And lived and laughed, *of shine or fog*,
With Tib, the pampered tortoiseshell,
And Don, the black retriever dog.

And then, through kinsman Clive, there came
A call to Ind, across the sea,—
To me, a youth of gentle name—
A born cadet of fit degree.
Who hears the East a-call must tread
The husks that clog her threshing floor,
And learn to love with seemly dread
Her manacled and shuttered door.

We parted in the twilight late
Beside the lodge across the park,
Beneath the leopard shielded gate—
And everything went very dark.
We could not speak, we knew not how,
I saw her tear-draped lashes fall,
And smoothed a curl from off her brow,
And kissed her lips,—and that was all.

Who hears the East a-call must win
To prove the lack of all at need,—
Of bird and beast, of kith and kin,
Of home and hearth and altar creed.
Stow back along the drive she went
With Don cajoling at her side,
And then above the dog she bent—
I saw her lean and know she cried.

They vexed me with Pattana salt,—
With silken quilt and amberly—
With betel, ghee, and rice and malt,—
With rasay and zeffereany;—
And then (when sped a year or twain)
We kissed upon the bastioned ghât,—
Ah God! we ever met again—
Ah me! Royal William's fated fort.

Who hears the East a-call must know
The price of place, the pride of pain,—
The right of rule, the rule of woe.—
And life that's ne'er the same again.
She heard the call and gave the heed,
Or East, or West, the tale's the same,
For fame hath gold, and ease hath greed,—
She married wealth and age and fame.

The columned hall flung far its light
Across the Lal Bagh's skirting pale,
O'er palms that tossed the shadowy night
From lofty clustered foliage frail.
The dancers paused a little space,—
The bride, with opalled glory starred,
In *minuet* recalled the grace
Of Watteau or of Fragonard.

'Twas Hastings' hand that wrapped her round
In woven foam of Dacca's loom,
And led her laughing to the sound
Of plaudits 'cross the clamorous room;
And Francis raised his glass to quiz
Her fragrant wealth of glowing charm;—
She froze him with a glance, I wot,
And slid her hand within my arm.

We sought the deep verandah cool
That looked along the moonlit square,
With slumbering palm, and sleeping pool,
Caught in the dead September air.
Her shoulders bared, her corselet clung
With sapphired lustre flashing high—
We looked where grand Orion swung—
Dun gold against a purple sky.

She drew a locket from her breast
With half a laugh that's all a sob—
—A yellow gaud with graven crest—
And thrust it well within my fob.
The night-bird flew his lowest flight,
A jackal screamed in solitude—
And dark against the stifed night
St. Anne's fire ravished fabric stood.

We saw the garnered storm arise,
The blast that broke the palm trees' pride—
But, such the look within her eyes,—
I drew her fainting to my side—
And carried her within the room
And crashed the creaking *ghilmis* back.
The thunder voiced the call of doom,—
The levin'd sky, all rage, and black.

She rallied from the passing swoon,
They fetched a leech and found some ice—
The bridegroom of that afternoon
Was summoned where he tossed the dice,
Their chairs arrived, I know not how,
(The storm was o'er) but drawn her blind:
A peacock preened him at her frow,—
A scarlet tiger shewed behind.

Away she went, by charred St. Anne—
Grim relic of a broken past,—
With painted lace, and ivory fan
Her link flare fading, fading fast—
I held her locket to the glare,
—A dog's curl glared in golden sheathe,
A crisp soft wisp of ebony hair—
And "Don" was written underneath.

Then turned me to my chamber nigh—
—A howl shot off—at halting pace,—
(A cloudy monster piled the sky—
As yammering with a muffled face):—
And, where the darkened square held bright,
Around the fiful torches gloom,
Moved harridans of dreadful night—
The narded Abishags of doom.

Once round the clock, a minute gun
Cracked sharp upon the sullen air,—
Anon a *cortège* wound along
By pillared porch and garden'd square,
And first behind the herse, I trow,
Borne shoulder high, so light, so white,
Walked Hastings of the wondrous brow
With Francis, silent, on his right.

Then he and I, then two and two,
Soldier and priest and magistrate—
With writer, merchant, buck and beau,
And all the town, both small and great
And dark-eyed women, bracelet bound,
Drew veil across their shining hair,—
And lithe-limbed Brahmins touched the
ground,
Or tossed their tawny arms in air.—

And meek-eyed kine in dewlapped state
Went nodding by as though they knew,—
And from the sphinx of Impey's gate
A parliament of pigeons flew.
"Ashes to Ashes—Dust to Dust"—
Yet most I mind with thrill divine
A gemmed white hand that sought my trust,
And love-lit eyes that laughed in mine.

Lift high the yield of Akra's flame
And deftly spread the pliant lime,—
Raise we a pile to send her fame
Long ringing down the depths of time,—
To tell the world her beauty yet
For all the days that are to be,—
This pearl of England gently set
Where England queens the Indian sea.

DAK in the *Englishman*.

Major-General Claud Martin.

*Vaginay's son from Lyon came
To India's aid and gain,—
He fought for France and England's fame
For each in India's name.
When "England's son" they bid him rise,
With aged, but kindling, eye
"A Frenchman I was born"—he cries—
"A Frenchman I will die!"*

DAK.



NOTICE (with illustrations) of the life of Claud Martin appeared in the last volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* (pages 277-87), and I am indebted in the main for the following particulars of this brave and interesting Frenchman to his "life" by Mr. S. C. Hill, B.A. (the officer formerly in charge of the Records of the Government of India), published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. in 1901.

The chaos prevailing in India in the latter part of the 18th century afforded the opportunity for Europeans of many nations to make or break their careers in the East, and among the most successful was Claud Martin, born in 1735, his father being Fleury Martin, a cooper of Lyons and his mother Ann Vaginay. He is called both "Claud Martin" and "Claude Martine" in various contemporary documents, and he himself in his will writes both "Claud" and "Claude," but spells his surname without the final "e." He reached India in 1752 in time to find Dupleix checkmated by Clive and saw the plans of La Bourdonnais, Bussy and Lally thwarted and a puppet prince placed by the English upon the *masnad* at Murshidabad.

After serving in the Cavaliers d'Aumont at Porto Novo near Pondicherry and as a dragoon under Bussy he joined the Lorraine Regiment in 1758, from which date until the notification of his appointment as an ensign of the East India Company in 1763 little with certainty is known of him, though his regiment took part at the taking of Fort St. David, and the siege of Fort St. George, and an uncorroborated story tells us that he was known to his associates as "Martin-Lion."

The Regiment was at Wandewash, in January 1760, under Lally and Bussy when it was defeated by Eyre Coote, and a decisive blow was struck



Map of the North-West Frontier of India
 showing the positions of the British and Indian troops
 in 1891-1892.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Asaf-ud-Dowla, Nabob Vizier, | 7. Mr. Wombwell. | 13. Mr. Orr. |
| 2. Nabob Salar Jung. | 8. Mr. Wheeler. | 14. Mr. Gregory. |
| 3. Husein Reza Khan. | 9. Mr. Johnson. | 15. Mr. Humphry. |
| 4. Col. Martin. | 10. Lieut. Pigot. | 16. Mr. Zoffany. |
| 5. Col. Mordaunt. | 11. Lieut. Golding. | 17. Cockfighter to Col. Mordaunt. |
| 6. Col. Folter. | 12. Mr. Taylor. | 18. Cockfighter to the Nabob Vizier. |
| | | 19. Cockfighter to Mr. Gregory. |



COL. MORDAUNT'S COCK FIGHT
At Lucknow in the Province of Oudh. 1786.
By J. Zoffany, R.A.

at French power in India. It was also under Lally at Pondicherry from its investment in September 1760 to the 15th January 1761, the date of its unconditional surrender. This gallant regiment remained true to its salt and colours from the first down to the final capture. The garrison had been reduced to the last stage of privation and had eaten even their asses and their camels. "On the afternoon of the 16th," says a contemporary historian, "the garrison drew up under arms, the English troops facing them: Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, and disease. The Grenadiers of Lorraine and Lally, once the ablest-bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service: and it was recollected, that from their first landing, throughout all the services of the field and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours. The victor soldier gave his sigh, which none but handitti could refuse, to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own."

Mr. Hill goes into the circumstances of Martin's appointment to our forces at some length and adduces largely on the authority of Colonel G. B. Malleson the strongest evidence against the implication that he deserted the French under circumstances of dishonour—"he came" (says his biographer) "to the English from a gallant regiment, with unblemished character, with a personal reputation for coolness and resource, and was soon found to possess more than the education of a mere runaway schoolboy."

When Mir Kasim in 1763 found himself unable to retain the Murshidabad *masnad* from which he had previously temporarily ousted Mir Jaffar, he ordered the German, Walter Reinhardt (known as "Samru" or "Sombre") to massacre his English prisoners, and this having been done, Captain Jennings pursued to the Karamnassa to avenge the outrage. In Jennings' force was Martin in command of a company of Frenchmen, and the proposal was made that the foreigners should join Samru and carve out a kingdom for themselves with Martin as their general, but the suggestion that they should join hands with a murderer so horrified most of the, up to then, loyal (though wavering) French and Germans that an incipient mutiny was avoided with the desertion of merely a handful of the more desperate spirits, and Martin was sent by Major Carnac with the remainder of the French to Calcutta. Soon after this he received his commission as Lieutenant, having probably taken part in the battle of Buxar, when Sir Hector Munro defeated the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, then devoted his talents to survey work, and a map ascribed to him of the environs of Calcutta is still in existence. In 1765 (the year that Clive took over the Diwani of Bengal) we find Martin engaged in the collection of revenue in Oudh, and about the same time surveying in Behar and (probably) Dacca. In July 1766 he became Captain after the

resignation almost *en masse* of officers following the reduction of *batta* by the Court of Directors.

This act of economy occasioned real hardship to many honourable officers of the Company. It involved in some cases the cutting down of their emoluments by 50 per cent., and a "Sub" wailed his "almost abject poverty" in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 8th March 1767 in a "ballad" two (out of six) verses of which run as follows :—

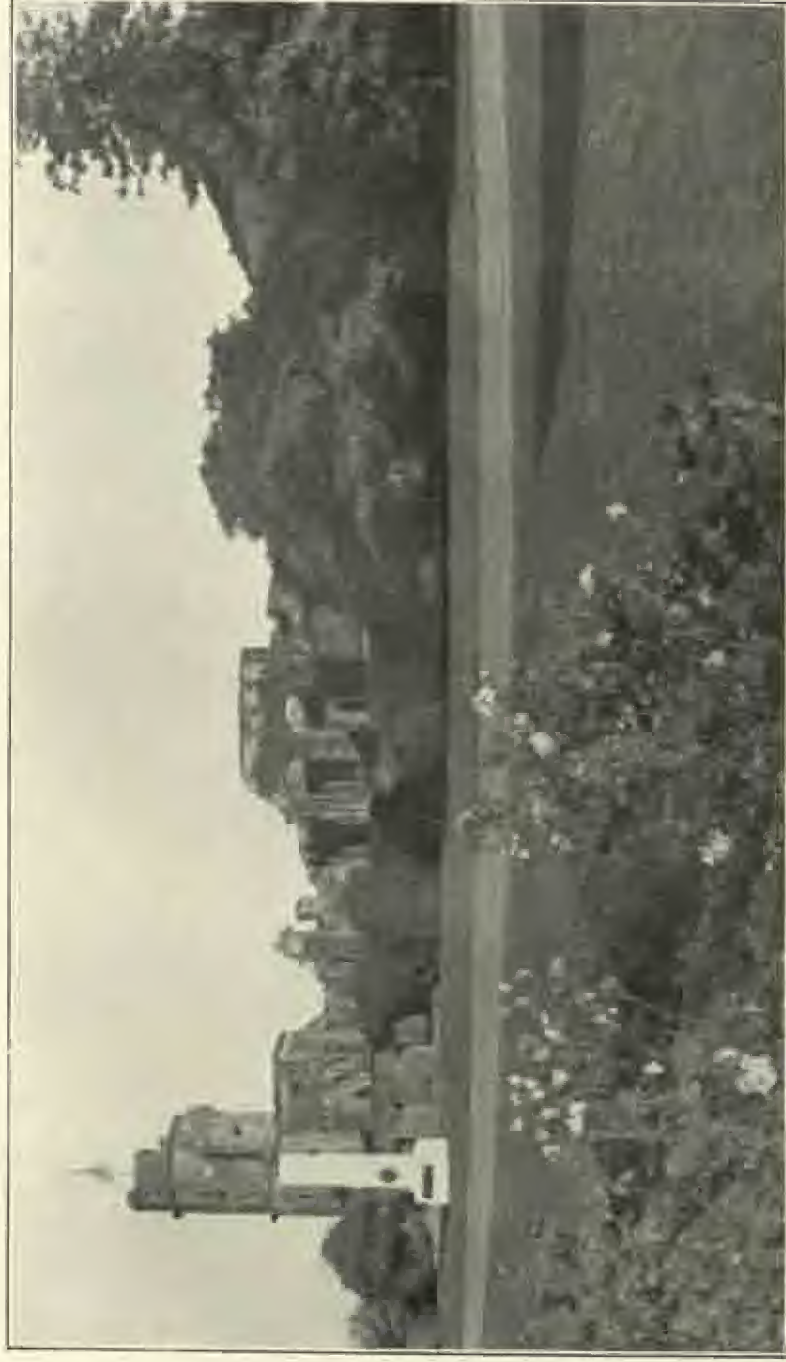
"I am a younger son of Mars, and spend my time in carving
A thousand different ways and means to keep myself from starving ;
For how with servants' wages, Sirs, and clothes can I contrive
To rent a house and feed myself on scanty ninety-five ?

Six mornings out of seven I lie in bed to save
The only coat my pride can boast, the Service ever gave ;
And as for eating twice a day as heretofore, I strive
To measure out my Bengal meal by scanty ninety-five."

In the course of protesting against certain court martial proceedings, Captain Martin brought himself into disfavour with his superiors, and early in 1767 was (with others) dismissed the service and ordered to leave the country, but in 1769 he was restored to his appointment with the added decision that he was not to "rise to any higher rank than his present commission gives him." In 1773 Warren Hastings, however, refers to Martin in a minute as "a foreigner in general esteem, as a brave and experienced officer, and a man of strict honour" and in 1779 the rank of Major was conferred upon him, which year saw the end of his active service under the company and his entry into that of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh at Lucknow. It was probably after becoming Major that (according to his biographer, M. Octave Sachot) he replied to an invitation to naturalize himself as an Englishman "that he had been born a Frenchman and would die one."

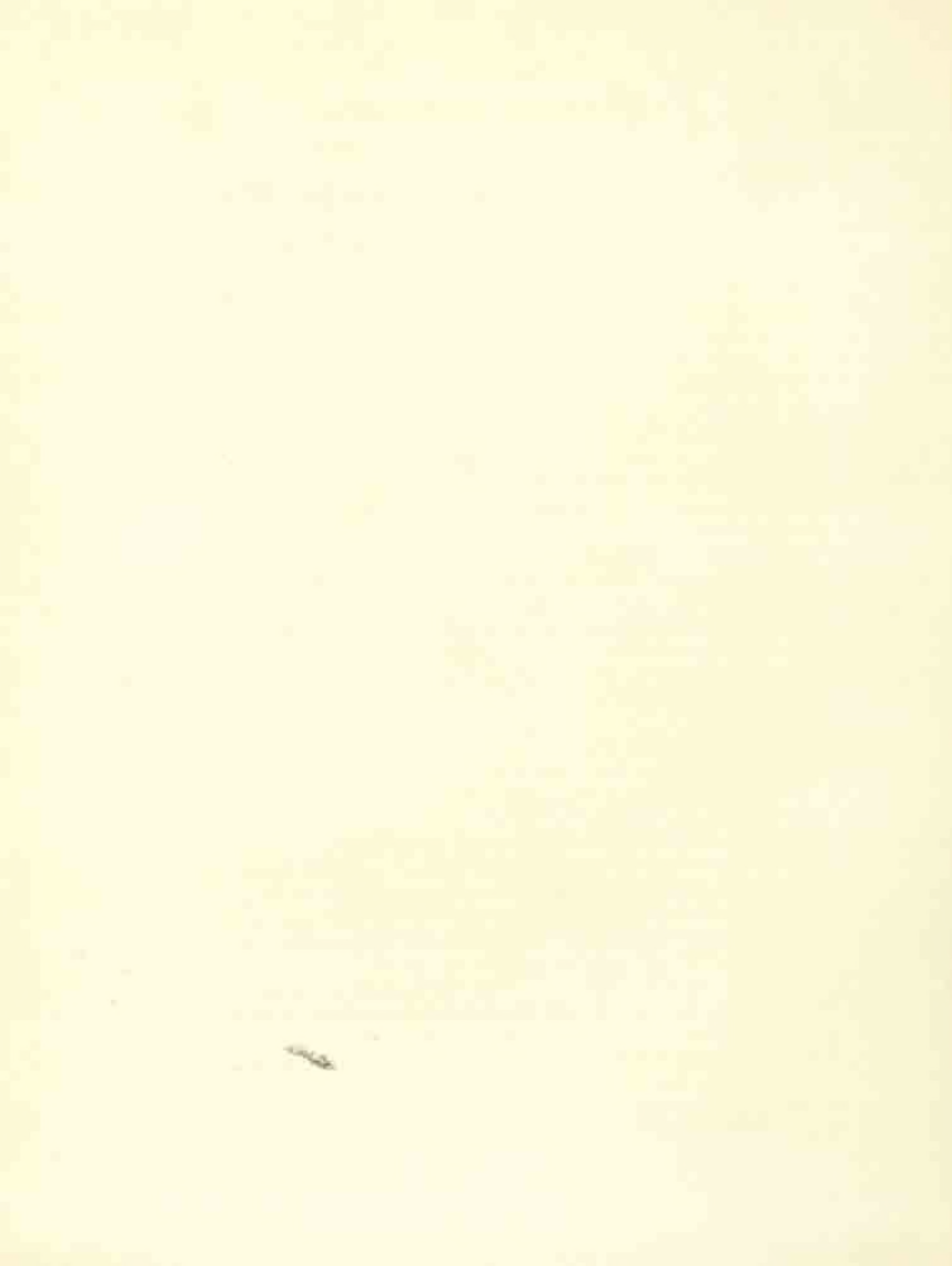
We find Martin a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1782, and visiting Calcutta in 1785 to take leave of Warren Hastings. In 1787 his presence is recorded as a guest at a dinner "in the Orphan House in Calcutta," which Lord Cornwallis attended, and in 1796 he became Major-General.

Mr. Sykes tells us how in those *Nawabi* days, life and property were in constant danger. "The good old rule, the simple plan, that they should take who have the power and they should keep who can" seemed to be the rule in force in Oudh. A single historical fact will illustrate this. A party of four hundred *dacoits* of the caste "Shigalkhirs" or "Jackaleaters," the pretended suite of a Hindu Rajah proceeding on pilgrimage, travelled with



THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY.

The "Martins's Post" was at the extreme South of the uninclosed position, some 600 yards to the right of the Residency, as shown in this illustration.



elephants, palanquins, escort, and other accompaniments of a person of rank, and traversed the British territory for more than three hundred miles from the Oudh frontier, plundering as the occasion suited their purpose and returned with immense booty in safety to their haunts. In this state of unrest, *banias*, *mahajans*, merchants and bankers, brought their hoards to Martin, whose position was now fully assured, and who engaged for a consideration of 12 per cent, to restore their treasures to them on demand. He established an extensive credit with capitalists in Lucknow and Benares and played a prominent part in most of the public loans of those days. Having a decided genius for mechanics he built a foundry where he cast cannon and bells; he had also a mint in which he coined money for the Nawab. Strange as it may appear there are still in existence silver and copper coins bearing on the obverse the bust of General Martin in the uniform of a Company's Officer, with the motto *Labore et Constantia* and on the reverse an inscription in Persian exhibiting his titles "Distinguished Noble Honoured Lord, Sword of the Country, General Claude Martin Bahadur, Mighty in Battle" with the date 1211 of the *Hijra*, which corresponds to 1796 of our era. Our notion of the sovereign prerogative of coinage would doubtless induce us to call the silver and copper coins by some other name, medals or tokens; but they resemble money and would under ordinary circumstances be taken to be rupees and pice. There is still in the Martinière a large bell more than 9 feet in circumference at the rim, bearing the inscription "Lt. Colonel Claude Martin, Lucknow 1786;" and also a large 18-pounder bronze cannon, "The Lord Cornwallis" (used at the siege of Seringapatam), also cast by Martin which bears his name and date together with a Persian inscription detailing his titles of honour similar to those on the coins.

There is also the engraving of a large balloon on the same cannon, having reference it may be to the fact stated in Debrett's "Asiatic Register" that Martin was the first to float a balloon in Asia. This is, however, controverted by the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 4th August 1785 which records the letting up of a balloon on the Calcutta Esplanade on the 30th July by a Mr. Wintle. This balloon, however, was probably not made in India and it is possible that Martin's was made in the country. The first ascent in India was by a French aéronaut (a Mr. Robert) on the 21st March 1836.

Zoffany's picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match at Lucknow in the Province of Oudh in the year 1786 at which were present several high and distinguished personages" (so runs the inscription) shows Colonel Martin, the Nawab-Wazier Asuf-ud-Daula, Colonel Mordaunt and many others, European and Native. If, as is stated by some writers, it includes a portrait of the artist himself it is not possible with certainty to identify it. The seated figure in the right hand corner holding a cock bears

some resemblance to the known portrait of Zoffany in the latter's picture of the "Embassy to Lord Cornwallis."* His friend and employer Asuf-ud-Daula died in 1797 leaving a hundred gardens, twenty palaces, twelve hundred elephants, three thousand saddle horses, fifteen hundred double-barrel guns, seventeen hundred lustres and jewels, clocks, landscapes by Claude Lorraine and a harem of "five hundred of the greatest beauties of India." The *Oudh Gazetteer* records as indicating the liberality of Asuf that his name was first on the lips of the *banian* on opening his shop each morning, when he was won't to repeat the somewhat profane distich—

"To whom the Lord does not give
Asuf-ud-Daula will."

Martin plainly states that he induced natives to assist the Nawab's Government with loans for the repayment of which he held himself personally responsible. To quote his own words: "I was induced by the distress of the Ministers to assist the Government with my credit and my money." By these and other means Martin became rich and built the remarkable structure bearing his name; a palace with decorated walls and ceilings in which classic subjects and arabesque tracery are mingled in rich profusion and infinitude of design in a style that could scarcely offend the most highly cultivated taste; and yet a castle built for strength, a huge mass more than a quarter of a mile long with many stories in the central tower, constructed with loopholed bastions and bomb-proof roofs, walls of immense thickness and durability, and massive iron doors so arranged that if an enemy succeeded in demolishing one of them he would immediately be confronted by another in any point-to-point defence of the building, which in those days could have been held by a few against a multitude: in fact, it would have been practically safe against any Asiatic power.

Asuf-ud-Daula, naturally taking a violent fancy to this building, expressed a wish to buy it; but the General was only willing to sell at his own valuation. As the Nawab however delayed and finessed Martin, apprehending that the property would be confiscated after his death, gave direction in his will that his own body should be finally laid to rest in one of the treasure vaults then already constructed, relying on the fact that a Mahomedan will neither live in nor disturb an edifice consecrated as a tomb. This instruction on his death was faithfully carried out. Exception has however been taken to the idea as being an after thought for the original plan of the house incorporates a tomb in its design. In 1857 *budmashes* desecrated

* [A key to Zoffany's picture supplied to me by Mr. H. G. Kerns proves this conjecture to be wrong. See accompanying print of the picture. Zoffany is No. 16. —Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.]

the General's resting-place, but his scattered remains were re-collected and re-buried on two different occasions in separate receptacles placed in the same enclosure.

Martin, who was present at the siege of Seringapatam in 1799, died on the 13th September 1800 in the Farhad Bulah, his town residence, and his body after having been "salted, put in spirits and embalmed" was placed "in the Cave North Easterly" prepared for it according to the minute directions given in his Will. His further directions were also carefully carried out: "the tomb to be covered with a marble stone and an inscription put on it of my name Major-General Claude Martin, born at Lyons theJanuary 1735, arrived in India a common soldier and died at.....the month.....in the yearand he is buried in this tomb. Pray for his soul." His executors, with less taste than that displayed by the General himself, set up around the grave painted figures of lifesize grenadiers *or sipahis* with arms reversed and heads depressed in sign of mourning.

He died possessed of some forty lakhs of rupees, and founded schools at Calcutta and Lucknow, "to teach children the English language and religion," and also made noble provision for the poor of Calcutta, Lucknow, Lyons and Chandernagore of all persuasions whether Christians, Mussulmans or Hindus. The portrait of "this charming and romantic character" survives in the work of the artists Banks, Chinnery, and Renaldi. Forty-seven oil paintings and sketches by Zoffany were listed in the sales of his effects by Messrs. Tulloh and Co. on the 8th January 1801 after his death, as were also a complete set of Daniel's views in India, and four coins from Matthew Boulton's factory-mint at Soho, Birmingham. His library had 4,000 books with a fine collection of manuscripts. Some of the gerandoles and mirrors now in Government House, Calcutta (according to Lord Valentia), were bought at his sale. He must have been very fully occupied outside his official duties, for besides indigo farms, shooting and cock-fighting, coins, guns, bells, etc., he had a passion for building, and in addition to his house on the Goomti had a palace, half English half Indian, at Najafghar.

His bust adorns the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection in Calcutta.

The Calcutta school in Loudon Street was completed in 1835 after many years of costly litigation regarding the construction of points in the Will. It was originally surmounted by a large dome employed as a library which served as a landmark to the surrounding district, but for purposes of safety it was demolished a few years ago and has never been replaced. The formal opening of the Lucknow School at "Constantia" took place on the 13th September 1845 and Bishop Welldon has referred to the school as "the most remarkable educational institution in India, no English public school, not even Eton, surpassing it in the dignity of its surroundings."

Both building and boys had their part in the Mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857, the boys as members of the Garrison of Defence acting as soldiers, mounting guard, and doing sentry duty. It can readily be imagined that much had to be done in the hewing of wood, drawing of water, pulling of punkhas over the weak and wounded, the gathering of sticks and lighting of fires, grinding corn, cooking, and the work of hospital attendants. A glance at "Forty-one years in India: from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief" by Lord Roberts, shows that La Martinière was, at one time, held by the rebels, at another the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief Sir Colin Campbell. There was a great deal of fighting in and round it, both in November 1857 and in March 1858, when Sir Colin returned to finally crush the rebels and pacify the province. The Martinière boys and masters helped to defend the Residency, holding the position still marked by a marble slab bearing the inscription "The Martinière Post." For the part they took in the Defence, the honour of wearing the badge and scroll "Defence of Lucknow, 1857" was conferred on the "Martinière Bailey Guard Company" of Volunteers by the Government of India.

Many gallant Englishmen were killed in the fighting round La Martinière, and several are buried in the grounds, among them the gallant Hodson of "Hodson's Horse," of whom Lord Napier wrote: "Amidst universal sorrow and regret we laid him in his grave near the Martinière. I am going to enclose it with a masonry wall and build a tomb over it immediately."

And close at hand is the grave of Lieutenant Otway Mayne, R.A., of whom Lord Roberts wrote: "14th November 1857. Sir Colin Campbell had meanwhile fixed his quarters in the Martinière on the topmost pinnacle of which he caused a semaphore to be erected in communication with Outram."

At the conclusion of the fight I heard with great grief that my poor friend Mayne had been killed. We discovered the body inside a dooley under the wall of the Martinière and decided to bury the poor fellow at once. I chose a place close by for his grave, which was dug with the help of some gunners, and aided by two or three brother officers we laid our friend in it just as he was in his blue frockcoat and long boots, his eyeglass in his eye as he always carried it."

Not a few of us are familiar with the imposing grandeur of the Lucknow buildings and the spacious beauty of their surroundings. The estate, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, is bounded on two sides by the river Goomti and extends from the Wingfield Park on the one hand to the railway on the other. The approach from Lucknow is through about a mile of wooded park, and the glimpses of the ornate tower of La Martinière, seen as one nears it, prepare the eye for the remarkable and massive structure reared by General Martin with a lavish and loving hand.



THE MARTINIÈRE CHAPEL TOWER, LUCKNOW. WEST OR GARDEN SIDE.



LUCKNOW MARTINIÈRE CHAPEL TOWER AND LAKE.

The large hall under the tower is used as a chapel. It was probably originally a banqueting hall as evidenced by classical cameolike decorations of dancing figures and groups of fruit and flowers. It has two beautiful windows, one erected to the memory of masters and boys who have died since the foundation of the college.

The present Principal of the Calcutta Martinière is Mr. W. H. Arden Wood, B.A., F.C.S., and the school for girls is under the care of Miss K. Raymond. The Lyons Martinière is the oldest of the three colleges, as it was opened provisionally in 1826 and fully constituted in 1833. India has produced very few great Head Masters, but in Mr. Sykes we have one. The flourishing condition of the Lucknow Martinière, *facile princeps* the leading European school in India, is due, in a great measure, to the efforts and guidance of its Head.

W. C.



AN APPENDIX
TO MR. DALRYMPLE'S ACCOUNT
OF THE LOSS OF THE
"GROSVENOR" INDIAMAN,

COMMANDED BY

CAPT. *John Coxon*

ON THE 4TH OF AUGUST, 1782.

CONTAINING THE REPORT OF

WILLIAM HUBBERLEY,

ONE OF THE SURVIVORS.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR J. DEBEEY, OPPOSITE Burlington House, Piccadilly, 1786.

Appendix to the Account of the Loss of the "Grosvenor" Indiaman.

CONTAINING THE REPORT OF WILLIAM HUBBERLEY,
ONE OF THE SURVIVORS.



ON the 4th of August, 1782, the *Grosvenor* Indiaman was wrecked on the coast of Africa. He remained with the wreck three days; just after leaving the wreck some of the natives seized the Captain, who was in the rear, and endeavoured to strip him.

The first day they did not march above four miles, and saw some houses at a distance, but avoided them.

On the second day they met a man who talked Dutch. Before they met this man the natives had used them very ill, throwing stones, but desisted on his talking to them. Whilst the Ladies were with them, he thinks, they could not have gone above five or six miles a day. *Kircaulo* carried the child from the wreck. In the second day's march they left *Bastiano Nardeen* behind.

On the third day, after they left the wreck, a party of about sixty Coffreys with women amongst them, led by a Captain, with their lances and targets, came to enquire what they were and where going; as they understood. They came round, and Mr. Hays, the Purser, was sent to treat with them by signs; after some time he persuaded them to sit down, and he cut gold lace and put round the women's heads, which they seemed pleased with, and brought some sweet potatoes and other roots, a few ears of India-corn, and two or three cakes of bread, which were divided amongst the Ladies and Children and the people about the Captain.

This party continued with them till sun set and then went away. The natives who had followed from the wreck had no arms, and continued stealing what they could find; but this party seemed to be people of a different village.

* The pamphlet to which the present paper are an Appendix was reprinted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, No. 3. A member of the Society kindly sends me the following extract from the *Madras Courier*, No. 337, 22nd March, 1792: "By letters from the Cape of Good Hope we are informed that they have certain assurance of the passengers and the crew of the *Grosvenor* being dead. Mrs. Logie, the Chief Master's wife, who long survived the rest and lived with one of the Caffre potentates, by whom she had several children, is also dead." Alexander Logie had married Miss Lydia Martlet Biechyden at Calcutta on 8th December, 1781.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.

On the fourth day the Captain took a lance from one of the natives, which began a quarrel; they had been throwing stones at us as before. One of them on running away fell down, and our people beat him with a stick. We continued heaving stones and running after them for two hours. After the man who fell was beat, they began to heave their nob-sticks, and sharp pointed sticks, before they had only thrown stones.

When the Captain had got the Ladies and baggage placed upon a rising ground, the natives not having stones so ready, to throw, he made signs to them to leave off, which they did at last, and on giving them buttons, &c., they brought some potatoes, and their wounded man to shew, who was very much bruised, and it was a wonder he was not killed. They staid there about two hours; the natives seeming quiet, they then walked on, and were not molested.

On the same day they again saw the Dutchman. The Captain promised to reward him, if he would conduct them to the Dutch Settlement on the Cape; He said he did not want money, only copper: the Captain said he would give him plenty of copper if he would go with them, he said he only wanted a little copper for himself and those about him, but would not go. They remained that night in a valley where there was good water.

On the fifth day they came to the Dutchman's house, when they came near the natives came out from their houses, and the Dutchman brought his child, and asked the Captain for a bit of pork, the Captain said they had very little but gave him part. The Dutchman had no cattle himself, but there was plenty about the village: they would not sell any, saying they could not without the head-man's leave. Several of the natives came out and wanted to talk with us, but the Captain would not let anybody hold conversation with them, but the person who was talking with the Dutchman.

When the Captain found the Dutchman would not go, he requested a guide, promising to pay anything he asked, and send him back from the Dutch settlement; He pretended to talk with the chief of the village, and two men were accordingly appointed as guides; then the Dutchman took his leave.

Perceiving the guides seemed to be leading us into the country, most of our people objected to go inland, but by the Captain's persuasion they went a little way; the natives still kept following, throwing stones. When we came to a valley, the Captain proposed halting, and endeavoured to make peace, as before; when we halted the guides joined the rest and began heaving stones. The Captain ordered every body to sit down, and made signs for the natives not to throw stones, but they would not desist, and threatened to throw down great stones upon us, they seized our bags in which our flour was, and ripped them up with their lances and scattered it on the

grass. Upon this a party of the sailors got up and went away, leaving the Captain, Officers, and Ladies. The Captain, &c., followed them; the natives stripped the Ladies of their earrings, and everything they found hard, threatening to kill them if they resisted. Hubberley went on with Mr. Shaw, and came up with the sailors by the side of a river, most of whom joined them that night; but the Captain, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea, Mr. and Mrs. Logie, and some of the children, did not join that night, but slept on a hill adjoining, and came up with them in the morning.

On the sixth day they crossed a river; this was the first river they had seen since they left the ship, but had passed a small creek before. After passing this river, He went on with a party of the Sailors and Lascars, leaving the Captain, Ladies and passengers. Kircaneo with the child was left with them. Having straggled on this day about twenty miles, at night they halted and formed a party of about fifty. After parting with the Captain they were stopped by some of the natives who stole their buttons, but did not throw stones or offer any violence: they saw many huts near the banks of the river, but had no farther intercourse with the inhabitants.

On the seventh they passed up inland, just keeping in sight of the sea, in hopes of seeing people, saw but few, and those would not spare them anything, but offered no violence. This day they did not travel above ten miles.

On the eighth they came to the mouth of a very large river; it was salt near the mouth, and about a quarter of a mile over, with a rapid stream, but the water was fresh where they crossed; they attempted to go up the banks, but they were so rocky and steep they could not. The Lascars went up a large hill full of wood, and the rest followed, where they found a spring of good water, and that night got about a mile and a half from the mouth of the river.

On the ninth they tried to go farther up the country, there was a large creek, which they attempted to get round, but could not; here they left *Wren*, *Bianco* and *Pero*, and fell in with some huts on the creek, about a mile from the river. Captain Talbot and Mr. Williams bought some milk for buttons; all that day was spent in looking for a passage, but they could not find any, and slept almost in the same place as the night before.

On the 13th they left the *Lascars*, crossed the creek at low water, and found plenty of wild collery and sorrel on the river side. The banks of this creek are muddy; they walked a good way along the side of it, trying to find a path up the country, and had not got above three miles before the natives appeared, and again threw stones and robbed them. This day they left Colonel *Espinette*.

On the 11th, they had not got above a mile, when they were again attacked and beat by the natives. Some of the men running away found a

passage across the river; they passed through a great village before they arrived at it, the inhabitants of which did not follow or offer to molest them.

When *Hubberly* came up, he found them standing in the middle of the river they being fearful, it was too deep to cross, but he being a good swimmer, crossed and found it up to the shoulders only, with a few deep holes in it. After crossing this river they walked on, keeping the sea in sight, saw many inhabitants, and met with a small river about three or four feet which they crossed, and found another large village, the people of which offered them no molestation, but would not spare them any food. After passing this village, on going up a very high hill they left Captain *Talbot*, and about two miles farther came to another village, through which they passed without interruption, the inhabitants only coming out to look at them. On their leaving this village, one of the natives ran on before, making signs for them to follow, but he soon got out of sight. They had not to that time seen any wild beast; but few snakes, and those small. They halted that night in a valley, and saw villages at about a mile or two distant from them.

On the 12th they passed some villages in the forenoon, but saw none in the afternoon, nor did they see the sea all day. In the evening they came to the bed of a large river, almost dry, running between two mountains, which they crossed, and then halted for that night.

On the 13th they kept towards the sea, not seeing any inhabitants, and got sight of it before dark at about four miles distance. This day they met with no beaten paths, but walked through long grass, nearly up to their heads.

On the 14th they came to a river about half a mile from the sea, but were obliged to stop on account of high water, and saw a village at a distance. Whilst they were here some of the inhabitants came down and behaved very quiet; and when signs were made to them for a bullock, they drove one down and sold it for a gold watch chain, killed it for them, and gave them lances to cut it up, and brought them milk, which they sold for buttons. Having dressed the bullock, they took the hide and cut it up for shoes, and gave the guts to the natives, which they broiled and eat. After sharing out the remains of the bullock they crossed the river; *Hubberly* carried over Mr. *Shaw's* cloaths, who crossed naked. On their crossing the river some of the natives seemed inclined for mischief, but were prevented by their chiefs (as he afterwards knew them to be, by beads about their necks, brass rings about their wrists, *pieces* of copper in their hair, large white and blue glass beads about their waists, and ivory rings about their arms). These were quite a different people from those where the ship was wrecked; their hair was curled in strings, with brick dust and grease. They were the first *Hubberly* had taken notice of. They went on after passing this river about a mile and a half nearer the sea, and then stopped for the night.

On the 15th they travelled about twenty miles along shoar, and saw no inhabitants.

On the 16th, the same.

On the 17th they divided into two parties, Mr. *Shaw's party*, which consisted of about twenty, including *Hubberly*, went up the country, leaving the others. This day their remaining stock of beef being exhausted, they eat the bullock's hide, which they had made into shoes. In their march they met with some sprouts like cabbage sprouts, which made them sick; when boiled it looked like tobacco, and growing near some old huts, they concluded it was wild tobacco.

On the 18th they walked slanting inland about twenty miles, met with no inhabitants, but saw several old huts and beaten paths.

On the 19th they passed through some old uninhabited villages, and met with plenty of water, but no food, except wild cellery and sorrel.

On the 20th, resolving to come back to the shoar, they kept slanting towards the sea. The country was mostly woody, with a few large sand hills about four miles off shoar.

On the 21st, they got to the sea side, but the tide being in, could get only a few periwinkles, which they eat raw.

On the 22nd, they came to a fisherman's hut; he had no cattle, but gave them some muscles, and shewed them where to get more. At first they eat them raw, and then the black man boiled a Cadgerée pot full for them.

On the 23rd, they travelled about twenty miles along the beach and gathered shell fish. The beach was fine hard level sand, but the country mountainous, woody and uninhabited. Towards the evening they crossed a small salt water river, and saw some huts at a distance.

On the 24th, they came to a *large river* about ten miles farther; the tide was running out strong, *John Brown, Hynes, Fitzgerald, Fruil* and *Simpson* swam over, *Warmington* followed them, lost part of his cloaths, and narrowly escaped being drowned. Those that remained thought it most prudent to make rafts to swim across; but being very hungry, went down to the shoar to see what they could pick up; they found a few periwinkles and limpets. When they returned they found the stream so rapid, that they thought it best to go up the country, and cross it next day. This night they lost their *flint and steel*.

On the 25th, they tried to find a passage up the river side, but could not get above half a mile on account of the rocks; they then returned back again to fish; and four* more of their party being determined to swim across, were left by the side of the river, which they crossed at low water. After making another fruitless search for a passage, they returned, and finding

* *Lewis, Berry, Croaker, and Blind.*

some cloaths (which they afterwards learnt, *Lewis*, etc., had left behind, being too heavy to cross with) concluded they were drowned, which determined them at any rate to go up the country in search of a more favourable crossing.

On the 26th they left *Jacob Angel* behind, he being sick and unable to walk, and about a mile and a half off found a passage up the country, which they followed all day without being able to cross the river, and saw several *Sea-cows*, an animal with which this river abounds. The country was woody, but not inhabited, though there were marks of inhabitants having been there. This day they killed a snake about three foot long, and eat it. At night they kept strict watch, being fearful of the *Sea-cows*, which came out of the river to graze on the banks; they are as big as two oxen, and of a blackish colour.

On the 27th they crossed the river about seven miles from the mouth, and saw several huts, but no inhabitants; they walked down towards the sea, and eat of a *purging black Berry*, which grew on a tree like a Cherry tree, and a *bitter plumb*, *blue* with a stone the size of an Orlean plumb. This night they slept in a thicket near the side of the river.

On the 28th at sun-sett they got to the sea again, about four miles from the river's mouth, and could get no provisions, but saw a Deer.

On the 29th they travelled along shoar, and stopped at low water to gather periwinkles and limpets, after which they walked on about fifteen miles.

On the 30th they still kept along shoar, but saw nothing particular.

On the 31st. They came to another river, where they halted for two days. The weather blowing hard, there was nothing to be got but sorrel and wild cellery from the rocks. Plenty of drift wood coming on shoar, they made a raft, binding it with their cloaths and a *root-weed* that grew on the shoar. *Hubberly* swam the raft over, with one person on it at a time only. Whilst they were here a *Lascar* of the Captain's party came up with them, who told them that the Captain, *Mr. Newman*, and a great many others, had left the *Ladies* the same day they did. Colonel and Mrs. *James* came on with the Captain's party, but were left behind with a few sailors, who determined to continue with them. In their march they stopped at different places three days for the Captain, who was sick. When the Captain's party arrived at *Sea-Cow* river,* and finding the stream too rapid to cross, they went up the country, leaving the *Lascar*, who swam across.

On the 34th. They sett off again, and in the evening came to another river, which they could not cross till low water. They found here nothing but cellery and a few berries.

*This was the river which *Lewis*, *Berry*, *Croaker* and *Bland* crossed when they separated from *Mr. Shaw's* party.

On the 35th. They crossed the river, about two miles from the mouth, and came down again to the sea at low water, and got some muscles and limpets, after which they walked on till five o'clock, and finding a small running stream, they stopped for the night.

On the 36th. They found a fisherman's hut on the beech, with one man only in it, where they staid till low water, and he shewed them the best place to gather muscles, after which they walked on, till they came to a small river, and there slept that night.

On the 37th. They crossed the river at low water, about a quarter of a mile from the mouth, got some muscles, and walking on till the evening, found a *standing pool*, where they halted. On the banks of this pool they saw the footmarks of cattle that had been down to drink, but no signs of the country being inhabited.

On the 38th. They kept along the beech, at low water got some muscles and oisters, and saw cattle grazing at a distance, but no people.

On the 39th. They found plenty of shell fish, and came to a small river where they stopped, and crossed it at low water. Two hours after passing this river, Mr. *Shaw* the Second Mate being very ill and unable to proceed, they halted for the night.

On the 40th. They walked slowly along the beech, stopping several times for Mr. *Shaw*, who grew worse; at low water they got plenty of shell fish, and finding a spring of good water, halted for that night, during which time it rained very hard.

On the 41st. They came to another small river, which they crossed at low water, about a mile and a half from the mouth. Mr. *Shaw* continuing very ill, they halted for him several times, and finding a thicket near the beech where there was good water, rested for the night.

On the 42nd. They proceeded on their journey. Mr. *Shaw* grew much worse.

On the 43rd. Finding Mr. *Shaw* unable to walk, they halted three days, at the expiration of which time he died. Whilst waiting with Mr. *Shaw*, a party of the natives came down, and signs being made to them for a bullock, they were given to understand they had some. Some of them wanting to go with the natives up the country for the bullock, signs were made for them to keep back, and one should be brought, but they never returned. During this three days' halt they had plenty of shell fish, but their water was a mile distant from them.

On the 47th. In the morning, they buried Mr. *Shaw* and then proceeded on their journey.

On the 48th. They came to a small river, and seeing some huts on the opposite side, they crossed it low water. Upon crossing this river about

twenty of the natives came, before they could get on their cloaths, took some of their jackets, cut the metal buttons off, and then threw stones at them. They saw cattle grazing at a distance, but when they made signs for a bullock the natives threatened to heave their lances, upon which they left them and proceeded on their journey.

Four or five days after they met with *two Lascars*, who had stopped at a Malayman's hut near the seaside. He told them he could procure provisions, provided they had anything to purchase it with. Mr. Williams gave him a gold watch chain, and some of the people gave him a few *rupees*. He promised to come back the next day with a bullock, but never returned. The wind blew so hard all this day that they could not get anything from the rocks.

About the 55th, After waiting three days and the *Malayman* not returning, they concluded he would not come back at all, and therefore set out on their journey, and in the evening at low water finding plenty of shell fish, stopped for the night.

On the 56th. They came to the mouth of a large river, on the opposite side of which they saw a woman and two children catching shell fish. They made signs for her to direct them where to cross, and she in return made signs for them to go farther up the country, which they did for the remainder of the day, without being able to cross. This day the *Lascar* that belonged to the Captain's party was left behind.

On the 57th. They crossed the river early in the morning, and seeing some of the natives, made signs to them for provisions, who in return made signs for them to go down towards the sea, which they accordingly did, and reached it before the evening, and could get nothing but sorrel and wild cellery, nor had they any fresh water that night.

On the 58th. They walked along the beach, and at low water got some shell fish, they also met with a small fresh water stream, but had no water at night. There was plenty of cattle grazing at a distance, but they saw no inhabitants.

On the 59th. They came to the banks of the *Stoney River*, and finding fresh water, slept there that night. It rained very hard, and was blowing weather all day. Off the mouth of this river, in the sea, there is a large rock, which appeared like the wreck of a ship, at the distance of about a mile and an half from the shoar.

On the 60th. They got on the rocks to fish, and there found *George M'Donald*, the Carpenter's Mate. He had left the Captain at *Sea-Cow River*; where the *Lascar* did, and gave the same account of him. The Captain and the rest of his party went up the country, and *M'Donald* swam across the river. He said he had been at the mouth of *Stoney River* six days, and had

attempted several times to cross it, but could not. There was some huts near the river's mouth, where he had been, but could get no refreshment from the natives. He had also seen *Bianco* and *Para* between *Sea-Cow* and *Stoney River*. This night *John Howes* died.

On the 61st. They went up the country to find a place proper for crossing the river and left *M'Donald* behind, he being lame and not able to walk. At the distance of about two miles they met with a village, and asked the inhabitants for provisions, upon which signs were made for them to depart; after which they arrived at another village, where two men came out of an hut, brought some milk, and wanted *timbe** for it. Mr. *Williams* cut some buttons off his coat and offered them, which they refused, and made signs for rings for their fingers and arms, and when they found none was to be had, they drank part of the milk themselves, carried the remainder to their hut, and returned brandishing their lances and heaving stones, and were joined by several others, who pursued them some considerable distance. In the evening they came to the summit of a very high hill, and perceiving the river much narrower, determined to go down and cross it. The natives following, rolled down large stones after them, and then came down and searched and beat them. They found on Mr. *Williams* part of a watch, which they took, and at sun-set left them. About eleven o'clock this night they made an attempt to cross the river, but finding it too deep, they thought it most prudent to remove, for fear of another visit from the natives in the morning.

On the 62d they kept along the banks of the river, and came to a small village, where they were stopped as before, and a gold watch was taken from Mr. *Williams*, after which a Black Man joined the natives, who could talk *Moors*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*, and being told what had happened, made them return the watch; but when the *Coffrey* saw it opened, he desired to have the case, which Mr. *Williams* accordingly gave him, and desired to have a bullock, or any other provisions in return, but was told they had not a sufficiency for themselves. They then asked the Black Man how far they were from a Dutch Settlement; he said not far, but did not know what distance, and shewed them where to cross the river, in order to proceed to the Cape, on which Mr. *Williams* gave him the inside of the watch. A little before dark they crossed, stepping from one large stone to another, between which in many places it was very deep.

On the 63d they walked down towards the sea, and saw one hut only, with a woman in it. In the evening they found fresh water, and some small red Berries, growing on a large tree, which had a dry woody taste.

On the 64th they got down to the sea, and found plenty of muscles and oysters. This day *Jamex Stockdale* grew very sick.

* Copper.

On the 65th they kept along shoar, and at low water found shell fish. It was drizzling rain, and the wind blew hard all day. At night they came to a small river. *Stockdale* grew much worse.

On the 66th in the morning they crossed the river, and told *Stockdale* they would stop at low water, to get shell fish, and wait till he came up.

On the 67th they kept along the beach. When *Stockdale* came up with them in the evening, he was almost dead.

On the 68th *Stockdale* being unable to proceed, was left behind, after which they walked on by the sea side, but it being hard blowing weather, they could get no refreshment, either from the rocks or the shoar. The coast was rocky and mountainous, with no signs of inhabitants.

On the 69th at low water, they got a few muscles, but had no fresh water.

On the 70th they came to the mouth of a large river, and being exceedingly thirsty, dug a deep hole in the sand, and found some brackish water. After refreshing themselves with it and some muscles, they proceeded up the country to find a crossing. The country was woody, mountainous, and uninhabited. In this day's march they found plenty of sorrel, and a *black Berry* which grew on very large trees.

On the 71st they crossed, about seven miles from the river's mouth about middle deep. The water was fresh* where they crossed. After crossing this river, they walked on, and at night stopt in a thicket about four miles from the sea, where they found a *black Plumb*, very good, growing on a large high tree.

On the 72d they reached the sea, and got plenty of shell fish and fresh water.

On the 73d they crossed two small rivers.

On the 74th they fell in with a party of the natives, who beat and left them.

On the 75th at low water they caught a good many shell fish, which they had no sooner done, than the natives came down, and again beat them and took away their fish. *Hubberly* was so much beaten that he fainted away.

On the 76th the natives again came down, and took away some of their cloaths, but did not beat them.

On the 77th they came to the mouth of another large river, where they found plenty of muscles and oysters, but no fresh water. It was blowing weather all this day.

On the 78th it continued raining all day, and the ground being very dry sucked it up almost as fast as it fell. Being much in want of water, they

* NOTE.—All the Rivers they went up the country to cross, were fresh about seven miles from the mouth.

spread their cloaths to catch the rain, and stopped under shelter of the trees till the next morning.

On the 79th at low water, they found a small stream that was rather brackish, the tide having flowed into it. It continued raining all day. In the evening they caught a Dog, which they supposed belonged to some of the natives; they hung it with a handkerchief, cut it up with muscle shells and broiled it.

On the 80th they went to the rocks and got some shell fish, which the natives took from them, and then put their fire out, which obliged them to go back to the place where they had stopped the preceeding night, and had left a fire* burning. This night *John Sussman* died.

On the 81st they found better water and plenty of shell fish. A discharged soldier, servant to Mr. *Beale*, whom he called *Jonas*, drank too freely of the water, and died in the night. Mr. *Trotter* also grew very ill.

On the 82nd the weather being settled, they thought of crossing the river, but Mr. *Trotter* begged they would stay with him that day. Some of the natives came down, beat and used them very ill, but went away in the evening.

On the 83rd they made a raft, which *Hubberly* swam across, with Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Taylor*, hanging upon it, and swimming a little. Mr. *Trotter* was left behind.

About twelve days after they came to a large river; some natives appeared, and made signs which they did not understand, and then hove stones, after which they took Mr. *Williams*, threw him into the river, and there stoned him to death.

When Mr. *Taylor* and *Hubberly* saw that, they endeavoured to escape, but Mr. *Taylor* not being able to run away, he left him and hid himself in a thicket. The natives overtook Mr. *Taylor*, and bruised and cut him in several places with stones; after which they searched about for him with their dogs, but not finding him, at sunset they departed, after which he returned to the mouth of the river, where he found Mr. *Taylor*, and persuaded him to cross, which they accordingly did early the next morning on a raft.

After crossing the river Mr. *Taylor* grew so faint and ill, from the wounds he had received the preceding day, as scarce to be able to walk, which occasioned them to halt very often. This day they found plenty of shell fish on the beach, but no fresh water.

The next morning Mr. *Taylor* was too ill to proceed any farther, and being very thirsty, he went in search of water, and having found a spring

* They always made up a good fire before they left a place, that in case of necessity they might know where to procure one.

about a mile off, returned with some in two large shells to Mr. *Taylor*, which recovered him a little, but in the afternoon he grew worse and died.

Hubberly being now left alone, very much fatigued, and his legs greatly swelled, stopped two days to rest himself in a thicket near the place where Mr. *Taylor* died. He then walked along the beach eleven days by himself, at the expiration of which time he grew very ill, and finding it impossible to subsist much longer on the beach, he determined at any rate to go up the country in search of the natives that they might either supply him with food, or kill him, as they had done some of his companions, and perceiving some cattle grazing at a distance, he accordingly walked up the country, and following their track, at about three miles distance from the sea he came to some huts, where he found only a few women and children, the men being out hunting. The women behaved very friendly, and gave him some milk. In the evening the man returned with some meat, which they dressed and gave him a part.

He staid with these people three days, and slept at nights in the *Krawol* amongst their cows. Whilst he remained with them, they gave him milk, which was the only food they had for themselves.

After being thus refreshed, and having procured the best direction the natives could give him to the Cape, he left them, and in the course of ten days' journey passed through several villages, the inhabitants of which were very friendly, and gave him milk. In one village a few women and children threw stones at him, but they were instantly prevented by the men.

At length he arrived at a small village, which was the last of the huts, where he found *Thomas Lewis*, who told him that *Bianco*, *Paro*, and three *Lascars*, were at a neighbouring village on the sea side. Here he remained with *Lewis*, until the party of *Hottentots* sent by *Daniel König* arrived, and conducted them to the Cape.



The Wreck of the "Dartmouth."

IN your Editor's recently published edition of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India* there are two references to the good ship *Dartmouth*. On p. 169, Mrs. Fay writes:—"Another Indiaman the *Dartmouth* (Captain Thompson) has just sailed, but she is absolutely crowded with passengers; so I must have patience." On p. 178, Mrs. Fay writes:—"On 20th October, 1782, the *Chapman* is just arrived in a most dreadful state, having lost near fifty of her crew in her passage from Madras, from whence she sailed in company with the *Dartmouth*, which was wrecked off the Carnicobar Island, the *very ship* I was, as I *then* thought, so *unfortunate* in missing. So that in this instance as in so many others, I may justly impute my safety to that Providence which

'From hidden dangers, snares, and death
Has gently steered my way.'"

Among some old papers belonging to my family I have found a copy of an account of the wreck of the *Dartmouth* written by Captain Thompson and addressed by him to Warren Hastings and also a letter on the subject by Capt. Walker of the *Chapman*. By way of preface, I may remark that the *Dartmouth*, at the time of her wrecking, had on board her a very distinguished military officer and a distinguished civilian. The former was Colonel G. Ironside and the latter was Mr. R. Sumner. Neither of these gentlemen are taken any notice of by Mr. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. I mention this not in order to blame Mr. Buckland, for I am sure that his book, as a *first edition*, is simply admirable, but the first of these two names should at least be placed on a record of omissions. Some notes in my collection would lead me to suppose that Sumner had two children with him, and that one of them perished in the wreck. Your Editor may perhaps be able to confirm or correct this belief.* I have also to premise that my MS. is most villanously penned, and that it abounds in abbreviations which I cannot credit myself with the sagacity of having thoroughly elucidated. I must be content to send you the paper, and ask you to accept them for what you think they are worth.

* Miss Drummond's statement is confirmed by documents at the Imperial Record Department. The documents sent me by Miss Drummond are to be found on the Public Proceedings of Government. I believe that the name of the ship was originally "the Earl of Dartmouth."—[Ed., BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.]

1.

TO—THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—

[No date.]

The fears of a visit from the enemy's fleet made the Right Hon'ble the President and Council of Fort St. George dispatch the ship under my command in company with the Hon'ble Company's ship *Chapman*, the 9th instant with orders to make the best of our way to Europe, and positive orders, to keep company without giving any particular information what track we were to take to avoid the enemy, should we be chased which was the general apprehension.

When opening my orders, and finding no particular line drawn, I fixed, with the approbation of Captain Walker, an east by south course, as most likely to gain that desirable end, as far as the middle of the Bay which course I steered, and then hauled to the southward to get across their tract from the coast to Acheen Head, but the second day after I altered my course the wind veer'd to the southwards, and blew hard in which the *Chapman* unfortunately sprung her foretopmast which disabled her dressing that gale, which tossed three days, from carrying a press of sail to get the ships to the southward: of course they drove to the eastward, the sea running high and irregular from the south-west, so we made the island forming the north side of the Samkess Channel which goes into the Straits of Malacca. I was much inclined to go within these islands, as it would have greatly expedited our passage, but the fear of both Dutch and French cruizers off them and Acheen made me tack and stand to the westward, in hopes of getting westing sufficient to weather them in two or three days, which I thought I had accomplished on the 23rd, at which time I spoke the *Chapman*, who was clearly of the same opinion. I then tack'd with a more favourable wind for going to the southward than we had for many days, and the weather tolerably clear, we observed at noon in Latitude $9^{\circ} 3'$ E. N., and from that till sunset twenty miles S. E. and South, which reduced our Latitude to $9^{\circ} 19'$ N. A good look out was had at night, but not the least sign or appearance of land, altho' this island is high, and the north end of it in Latitude $9^{\circ} 2'$ N. and by our account, which I have wrought from Captain Walker's journal, it bore at noon 8 B. Leg. 30; so that the most distant apprehension of it never entered my mind or any of my officers, and Captain Walker informed me since he and his officers had as little suspicion. However, unfortunately, by about half past three o'clock in the morning, the Commanding Officer sent to inform me that he saw land on the lee-quarter, but none before the beams. It was then blowing fresh, the ship lying up south. I ordered that he would make the signal for seeing land to the *Chapman*, which he did, and I got upon deck

as soon as my frail state would admit from a severe indisposition that I had laboured under for many months. At which time land was discovered upon our beams very close to us, but some further foreward than three points before the beams braced. Sharp up everybody was then ordered upon deck, and the topgallant sail was set with a fair prospect of weathering everything we saw, but unfortunately, as we opn'd the southern point of the island, the wind veer'd to the southward and edged the ship down very near to the breakers, which obliged us to tack. The ship stay'd and shot out from the land greatly, so that I had not the least fears respecting her, as she was then in 13 fathoms water, but such was the fears of my people joined to the freshness of the wind, that the exertions of myself and officers were not equal to getting the after sails trimm'd so as to bring the ship to the wind. She pay'd round off, and struck about a quarter before 4 o'clock. All views of saving the ship being then at end, and she striking bodily and lying parallel with the shore, the masts were instantly cut away, and the utmost efforts made to lighten the ship, to let the wreck drive as near as possible, but our expectations in this were soon frustrated by the severity of the surf which soon laid the ship's lee gunwale in the water, and made a free passage over her. Daylight now appeared, by which we saw that the tide was falling, and also that we were within two cable's length of the beach. I then ordered every person in the ship to secure themselves to the poop and larboard quarter of the ship, seeing she must part, which accordingly she did about 5 o'clock; and providentially, the fore of the after half cast on shore and forged in near a cable's length after the hull parted. Some attempts were made during this time from the fore part of the wreck, in which Mr William Maitland, Second Officer, and Mr. William Smith, Third Officer, with four of the seamen, were unfortunately drowned endeavouring to land in the long boat, I believe, with a view of assisting the rest of the unfortunate crew. The wreck at this time still kept forging into the shore, the surf breaking with great violence over the poop had entirely parted her larboard side from its beam ends, and nearly washed everything out of the upper part of the ship. We continued in this state till half past ten at which time we ventured to launch the jolly boat. Landed safe, but on returning for the ladies and children grounded on a ledge of rocks about half way between the ship and the shore, and discovered to us the pleasing prospect that it was fordable so far towards the ship, and some of the crew still keeping the water came within pistol shot of the wreck to the great joy of the unfortunate spectators. The ladies and children were safely landed, in which the boats was rendered unfit for further service. The ablest of the crew then employ'd in carrying the others to the place from whence they could reach the shore, so that by 1 o'clock, I left the wreck with the last of the crew. The loss of my two

officers will be severely felt by those who had valuable property in the mean upper part of the ship, for I had twenty-five Portuguese Secunnies* in her who got first on shore and broke open every package as it landed, secured what was valuable in them, and then betook themselves to the woods; and sorry I am to add that some of my European seamen were little inferior in villany to the above description. At the same time I can say that the attention and perseverance of about one dozen of them was the means of saving those who are now alive. By one o'clock the unfortunate crew were all landed, but four from the forepart of her that was prevented by intoxication: and, by the general muster, and the best information I can obtain, our number drown'd and missing is sixteen Europeans and ten of other nations. My utmost endeavours with that of my remaining officers was now used in placing the ladies and children, and the unfortunate crew under the best shelter, and those most to be trusted dispatch'd with the Fourth Officer and Purser, to range the beach for what valuable articles were in the ship. They returned in two hours without success from the reasons assigned in the former part of this narrative, but with the pleasing intelligence that they had discovered two casks of fresh water, one case of wine with some salt provisions. A party was then dispatch'd to roll them up above high water mark, and bring part of them to refresh the unfortunate crew. This being done, a party was kept on the beach to watch the landing of provisions from the wreck, and scouts sent about the country in search of fresh water and inhabitants, which soon return'd with excellent water and cockernuts in abundance. Our fears of starvation being now dispelled, we betook ourselves to such rest as distressed minds could enjoy, setting a watch to prevent any sudden alarm, who at 10 o'clock discovered five of the natives coming towards us: they approached us without the least fear, and my unfortunate companions received them with the utmost joy, and their intelligence made us still more happy by saying there were two ships at anchor on the other side of the island, to which we could travel in four days. Four left us to bring cockernuts. One we entreated to remain, which he did without the least hesitation. We soon had the refreshment from the other four, and were again composed, when at one o'clock, Mr. Fairfield, a gentleman from the *Chapman*, and Mr. Brown, a midshipman, entered our little bower, and delivered me a letter from Captain Walker expressing the greatest anxiety for my safety and that of my crew with the utmost unbounded and liberal offers of every friendly assistance in his power, which I can now say falls far short of what I have experienced from that gentleman, and

* "The gunners and quartermasters are Indian Portuguese; they are called secunnies." Maria Graham: *Journal of a Residence in India*.

Mr. Casamajor, and Mr....., who jointly sent us wonderful supplies, and made a provision for transporting that part of the crew that chose to go to Bengal by the way of Pigow (Pegu), and in accomodation in the *Chapman* for those that returned to Europe. As words cannot express Captain Walker's generous conduct to all ranks of people who have suffered on this unfortunate occasion, I must give up the attempt, and say with a heart overflowing with gratitude to him and Mr. Casamajor, which I am sure is equally felt by my officers and passengers, that they deserve and have our most unfeigned thanks, and that their humanity on this occasion entitles them to it from all the world besides.

On 10 o'clock in the 24th, I received a second letter from Mr. Casamajor informing what Captain Walker and himself had done with respect to passages for the crew, praying expedition to their ship in the strongest terms, as they could not detain the Pigow ship above four days. This immediately induced me to consult my officers what was left to be done who unanimously agreed in opinion with him that our remaining could answer no end, as the rocks between the wreck and the shore tore every bale to pieces before it reached it, and totally cut away every prospect of saving any part of the ship's cargo or private property. This consultation being finished, and provision made for carrying the ladies, I set out with them and some of the passengers to a village four miles nearer the ships, leaving the officers to observe if any favourable circumstances should occur to take the advantage thereof; and to endeavour to get the people ready to travel whose feet had been cut to pieces on the rocks on landing as soon as possible. Soon after my arrival at the aforementioned village, I received a second letter from Captain Walker saying my presence was absolutely necessary for the detention of the Pigow ship to carry off my crew. I then had no alternative but writing to Mr. Geed to come on with all the people that were able to walk that afternoon, fearing the ship would sail without them, and left the Fourth Officer with some trusty men to watch the wreck. On Mr. Geed's arrival where I was, I left him in charge of that part of the crew that had been able to come forward, and set out myself to reach the ships as soon as possible, which I accomplished on the 27th in the evening and on my way received another letter from Captain Walker, saying the ship would absolutely sail if I did not appear next day, and that four or six days, was the longest time they would stay for my people. I then wrote to Mr. Geed to hurry as many of them forward as possible, to come himself to attend to their embarkation, as it was my intention, would my health permit, once more to go to the wreck of the unfortunate ship and hear the Fourth Officer report, and then further determine whether there was the least prospect of rendering any service by prolonging our stay.

On the 28th, in the morning, I went on board the *Chapman* with my travelling companions where we were received with open arms by our two generous friends, who soon after accompany'd me on board the ship going to Pigow, where I instantly ratified the agreement made by them for the accomodation of my passengers and crew, and where I met with unparalleled generosity from Mons. Shartilow, to whom I made an offer of a handsome sum of money for the use of the cabin for my two lady passengers. He declined my offer in the politest manner by saying it would deprive him of more real joy than any sum of money he could receive would enrich him, his having in its power to relieve people in such real distress. Matters being entirely settled, I returned on shore that evening with an intention to return to the wreck, and to see those arrive from her being embarked that they might not give offence to the natives. This was finished by ten o'clock, at which time I wanted my faithful guide to set out with me, but to which he discovered an aversion for the first time to any request I ever made of him, and all my influence with money and other presents that I offer'd could not prevail on him to get me bearers or set out and walk back, altho' I assured him my officer had had positive orders to await my return. He at last agreed to go with me next morning, but fearing he would fail a second time, I despatched a letter ordering Mr. Dewar on the receipt of it to make the best of his way here bringing all the people with him; and lucky it was I took the precaution, for I did not see my guide till noon next day, when he informed me it was impossible for me to return, but that he had sent my letter and that everybody would be here in two days. The 29th was spent in embarking those that arrived, and the 30th the Fourth Mate and his party concluded the journey of my unfortunate crew, who are now all embarked for their different destinations, and I have drawn upon you for ten thousand current rupees for their passages from hence to Pigow in favour of Abraham Gee Nourby, Supercargo of the ship *Dodelahia*, which bill I hope you will duly honor, holding me responsible to the Hon'ble Company for the same at the common exchange settled between them in such unfortunate cases. I also enclose you a list of the crew and have sent Mr. James Dewar, Purser, and Mr. Alexander Dewar, Fourth Mate, to provide them with passages from Pigow, jointly with the assistance of the Hon'ble Company's Agent, to whom I have given those gentlemen a letter of credit for that purpose and which I doubt not he will readily comply with. The behaviour of the natives has been very friendly in affording conveyances for the same, and furnishing the whole with provisions on very reasonable terms.

My Chief Mate proceeds with me to Europe on the *Chapman* with those people mentioned in the accompanying lists. I have only to add that, although I have been so unfortunate as to lose my ship, yet, from the

foregoing narrative, I hope my conduct will appear to the Hon'ble Board not to merit censure.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) DAVID THOMPSON.

N. B.—The island of Carnicobar by my account, and as it is laid down in *Morrell's Directory* bore N. E. B. 8, 25 leagues at the time the ship struck.

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ETC., AND COUNCIL.

CARNICOBAR,

29th June, 1789.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—

I think it my duty to acquaint you that on the 9th instant we sailed in company with the *Dartmouth* from Madras for Europe, that on the 21st we made one of the Nicobar islands, on the 24th at half-past three in the morning we discovered the land close under lee, the *Dartmouth* being about a quarter of a mile ahead of us. Perceiving we could not weather the breakers over our lee bow we hove about and clear'd them. At daylight saw ye *Dartmouth* ashore dismasted. Our ship bore to leeward off the island, and at noon came to in order to afford every possible assistance to the wreck'd in which we were greatly aided by a Captain Charanton, Commanding the *Dadilahia* belonging to Pegu, which we found riding here, and who, by his attention and kindness, merits every return that can possibly be made to him. We greatly hope that those who have survived this unfortunate loss, and who cannot proceed on the *Chapman* will be shipp'd on board the *Dadilahia* for Pegu in a day or two more at farthest when we shall proceed on our voyage with every possible expedition. I beg leave to refer you to Captain Thompson for account of the number of people, etc., lost from the *Dartmouth* and have the honour to be

Etc.,

THOS. WALKER.

The reader will perhaps remember that the *Chapman* was the ship on which Mrs. Fay embarked at St. Helena on 28th November 1782 in company with a Mrs. I——n. This last lady was a survivor from the wreck of the *Dartmouth* and her name in full was Irwin.

WIMBLEDON,
November 1908.

E. M. DRUMMOND.

Mrs. Fay's Letters.*

A REVIEW.

"Good people all, look out, I pray.
For 'Mrs. Fay' is out to-day...
She's chaperoned, quite *très jolite*,
By Mister Firminger, B. D."

—"DAR" in the *Englishman*.

IT may well be said that one of the most rare and entertaining books on India during the time of Warren Hastings is Mrs. Fay's. There have been other works published in the form of letters from India, such as "Hartly House" (1789), "The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus" (1784) and Mrs. Kindersley's "Letters" (1777). Of the above the first two, we are glad to find, are already being reprinted, while "Mrs. Fay" lies open on the table before us. Although published in 1817, her "Letters" go back to a period some thirty-eight years earlier. A few words may be necessary to introduce this venturesome personality to our readers. Mrs. Fay was one of the first who attempted the overland route. When their ship, the *Nathalia*, touched at Calcut she and her husband, Anthony Fay, were imprisoned by Hyder Ali, but after undergoing a series of privations they managed to get off to Calcutta *via* Cochin and Madras. Apparently their only object in coming out was that her husband wanted to join the legal profession at Calcutta. He was called to the bar; but on associating himself with the party of Philip Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed house-tax, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by his creditors of everything except her clothes. The pair separated and she found refuge in the house of Sir Robert Chambers, the Judge, who could boast of a fine library. After a year she left Calcutta for England in May 1782, and arrived there in February 1783. She returned to Calcutta in 1784 and engaged in the millinery line. She failed,

* *The Original Letters from India of Mrs. Eliza Fay. A new edition with introduction and notes by the Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., F.R.G.S. Published under the auspices of the Calcutta Historical Society. Calcutta: Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., 1908. Cloth boards, 8vo. Rs. 5.*

went back home, but made another voyage out to Calcutta. Here she died while her book was passing through the press, and Mr. Firminger has made at least one interesting discovery as to the date of her death. This occurred not in 1817 (as stated in Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*) but in September of the previous year, for the registers of St. John's show she was buried on 10th September 1816 by the Rev. Henry Shepherd. Mr. Firminger cannot say in which particular cemetery, but it may, for more than one reason, be concluded that it was either the south or north burial ground in Park Street. Her age was about sixty years, and she had become a widow. To revert to her husband: during his lifetime, Mr. Fay had, for one thing, qualified himself as a shorthand writer. He was admitted an advocate of the Supreme Court on 16th June 1780, and defended J. A. Hicky of the *Bengal Gazette* in the case brought against him by Warren Hastings. Letter No. VIII in Part I, or the greater portion of it, was written by Fay to his father-in-law, "Mr. C." The "Letters," although they have little historical value, are in their way exceedingly gossipy and readable, the interest being sustained, as one might expect, by the introduction of contemporary persons and customs. Just to mention one instance, Mrs. Fay gives the career of Captain Ayres, an Englishman in Hyder Ali's service, who is not mentioned in Compton's "Military Adventurers." The first part of her book consists of twenty-three letters addressed to her sister and friends in England, which bear dates between 1779 and 1782. The second part (containing an abstract of the author's three subsequent voyages to India) consists of eight letters addressed to a certain Mrs. L— from Blackheath, 1815. In one of the first series, written from Paris, we catch a fleeting glimpse of the youthful Queen Marie Antoinette. Indeed, the early letters describing the journey through the Continent and Egypt are by no means the least interesting in the book. In many instances the adventures and experiences related were unique. The work has, in spite of its rarity, been laid under contribution by Long and several other writers on Old Calcutta, chiefly in connection with her chatty description of old manners and customs prevailing in the Settlement, and her visit to Mrs. Warren Hastings at "Belvedere," the site of which she misplaces at "about five miles from Calcutta," thus confusing it (our editor thinks) with "Hastings House." Mrs. Fay writes as a woman would, and one must not be hyper-critical as to grammar and style. The humorous touches in her book are most enjoyable, while her criticisms of various persons among whom she is thrown are frankness itself. For instance she describes Pierot, the purser of the ship, as "a well-informed little Frenchman...He sings an excellent song and has as many tricks as a monkey." About Captain Lewis she observes: "The oaths he swears by are most horrible, and he prides himself on inventing new ones." After a visit to the Ursuline

Convent at Madeira she records: "We were forced to submit to a salute from the sisters which we would gladly have dispensed with, for they all took an enormous quantity of snuff." She even relates how at Santa Cruz their kind entertainer, who was apparently an Irishman, conceived a violent passion for her which culminated in the following proposal:—"If you consent to marry me, I'll be drunk every day of my life just for joy." "But irresistible as the last argument was, my heart of adamant withstood it;" and a little later on the poor fellow "was killed by a shot in the streets of Santa Cruz at the time of Lord Nelson's attack against it." That she had, in addition to her keen powers of observation, a kindly heart is borne out by the following passage:—"I took that opportunity of sending home for education a natural child of my husband's whose birth had caused me bitter affliction; yet I could not abandon him though he was deserted by his natural protector...Every European on board unhappily perished except the second officer in whose arms the poor little boy expired."

We should all feel grateful to Mr. Firminger for the delightful repast he has served up for us. The present edition forms a neat handy volume, not too big perhaps for the coat-pocket, and brightly bound in crimson. Mr. Firminger's introduction makes pleasant reading, while the worst that one can urge against his collection of notes is the small type in which they are printed. Perhaps some readers would have preferred them in the form of foot-notes to the text, instead of as an appendix to the work. Anyhow, they certainly throw on the text the light that is called for after the intervening century, and add a store of fresh interest to an already interesting book. In this connection the old registers of St. John's have judiciously been consulted in order to elucidate many a little point which could scarcely have been cleared up from any other source.

The new book, however, contains a few recurring slips such as "Hartley" (instead of Hartly) House and "Hickey's" (instead of Hicky's) Gazette. Miss Blechynden is credited with being the author of *Calcutta: Old and New* instead of *Calcutta: Past and Present*—the former being the title of Mr. Cotton's book. A curious mistake has crept in as regards the old dinner-hour which is here said to have been "2 A.M." and "3 A.M." instead of P.M.! Would it not be more correct to say that the old Harmonic Tavern stood in Lal Bazar instead of Bow Bazar? Mr. Firminger might perhaps have added to his note regarding Charles Sealy—a fact doubtless known to him—that Sealy was the great-grand-father of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, who presented St. John's vestry with the portrait of his ancestor, Lieutenant [John] Norfar, whose fine acting Mrs. Fay admired, died not long after, 12th April 1783, at Fort William (Dodwell and Miles' *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Bengal Army*). In the Index there are one or

two names without the page number against them. This Index now appears for the first time and certainly adds to the value of the book.

The present edition is embellished with three illustrations. The engraving from Davis's portrait of the authoress, reproduced from the original edition, serves as a frontispiece, while there are two from photos by Mr. C. F. Hooper, of Warren Hastings' house at Alipore and Mrs. Fay's in Calcutta respectively. The latter, where she carried on her millinery business, was (as may be seen from her letter addressed to the members of St. John's vestry and embodied in Mr. Firminger's Introduction) formerly the Post Office. It stands in Hastings Street at the corner of Church Lane and opposite Old Post Office Street to which it gave its name. Just a few steps further down Hastings Street on the opposite footpath, are situated Messrs. Burn & Co.'s premises where Mrs. Fay's patroness, Mrs. Hastings, used to live when in town. Mrs. Fay's house will be best known to Calcutta residents as Day and Cousin's shop, to which a top storey is now being added. Mr. Hooper's photograph (like an earlier one in Miss Blechynden's book) has been taken in St. John's Churchyard and certainly presents a more pleasing aspect than the roadside view.

In conclusion all that need be said is that the grateful thanks of the Calcutta Historical Society are due to the Rev. Mr. Firminger for all his kindly care and attention to this—their first baby. Gentle Reader, if you have not already obtained and perused Mrs. Fay's "Letters," please do so—and thank me!

ELLIOT, WALTER MADGE.



William Ritchie, the Eminent Advocate-General.



THE subject of this short memoir was unlike his cousin, the great novelist Thackeray* not Asian-born, but a veritable Londoner, having first seen the light of heaven in "the old countrie" in the year 1816. He was the son of John Ritchie, whose wife was a daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray, the grandfather of the novelist and a noted Anglo-Indian, better known, however, as an elephant-hunter than as a district Collector. There was nothing very noticeable in the lad's infant days, but from about the time when he entered his teens, he showed promise of future greatness. Young Ritchie had a brilliant academical career. He was first educated at Eton and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A., rather a little too early. Both at school and at college Ritchie was the rival of Canning who rose to be the first Viceroy of India, and hot was the contest between them for scholastic prizes and honours. But this noble and laudable rivalry did not prevent them from being bound by the silken bond of friendship. Indeed, they were fast friends throughout life, and when both of them were out here, they were on the best of terms, despite the wide disparity of their positions in life.

Having adopted law for his profession, Mr. Ritchie was entered of the Inner Temple where he studied that dry subject with his usual zeal and industry, and, after he had "eaten his terms," as the expression goes, was called to the Bar on the 27th May 1842. Shortly after, he commenced practice in his native land, but expecting brighter prospects abroad, he cast his eyes towards "the Far East," and sailed for India, where some members of his profession had reaped very rich harvests before him. In due time the adventurous lawyer landed on the shores of Bengal, and soon got himself enrolled as an Advocate in the Supreme Court on the 7th January 1843, when Sir Lawrence Peel was Chief Justice. Mr. Ritchie at once commenced practice, and, as luck would have it, rose very rapidly on the ladder. This circumstance, however, was not at all to be wondered at, seeing that the young man possessed all the qualities of an accomplished advocate. In this

* Thackeray was born in Calcutta on 18th July, 1811, when his father, Richmond Thackeray, was Secretary to the Board of Revenue. After the death of the latter, which took place on 13th September 1815, while Collector of 24-Parganas, his boy was sent to England in 1817. The novelist's uncle, William, rose to be President of the Board of Revenue, but died early in 1823, aged only 45.

way he ere long made his mark on the Bar and ultimately rose to be its virtual leader. Even Mr. Longueville Clarke, the venerable *Doyen* of them all, was only too glad to waive his claim of seniority in his favour, so that when Dr. Charles Robert Prinsep took leave for some time, Mr. Ritchie was appointed to officiate for him as Advocate-General, in which office he was eventually confirmed on the retirement of that veteran lawyer in 1856.

In the year following the memorable Act II was passed, under which the Calcutta University was formed, with Sir James William Colville as Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Ritchie was appointed a Member along with Mr. Barnes Peacock, Mr. John Peter Grant, Mr. Charles Binny Trevor, Mr. John Russell Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Sir Frederick Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and three natives of note. Sir James W. Colville performed the duties of Vice-Chancellor with marked ability for the prescribed period of two years, and when by effluxion of time he retired, the Advocate-General, Mr. Ritchie, was appointed to succeed him. This was certainly no small honour, but great as it was, Mr. Ritchie by his remarkable ability, vast erudition and wide experience, richly deserved it. He assumed the duties of his high office on the 25th February. Alongside with the Vice-Chancellorship, Mr. Ritchie was, like his illustrious predecessor, also appointed President of the Faculty of Law. Thus, in the department of law as well as of general knowledge, Mr. Ritchie came to rule all but supreme, the post of Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council only wanting to make the dictatorship complete. And this too he was not long in obtaining. That high post with a very fat pay having fallen vacant, it had been offered to that great jurist and scholar, Sir Henry Sumner Maine but he having declined it owing to delicate health,* it was offered to Mr. Ritchie† who was only too glad to accept it. A few months after, that is, on 14th September 1861, he was appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. Thus, our hero gained great honour and influence, and his income, as a matter of course, came up to a very large figure. In this way he passed his busy days with credit to himself and advantage to the general public. But it seemed that the term of his natural life had well nigh expired, and he died on the 22nd March 1862.

At a University meeting held on 2nd April, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop Wilson‡ proposed a resolution expressing the loss which the University had sustained in the death of the Hon'ble William Ritchie

* See George Smith's *Twelve Indian Statesmen*.

† Ritchie assumed charge of his new office somewhere about the middle of 1861.

‡ Of this high dignity of the Church, Lord Dalhousie spoke to Lord Canning as "the best man of business he had to do with in India." The good Bishop's Life was written by his son-in-law, the Rev. Josiah Bateman.

its late Vice-Chancellor. His Lordship in making the proposal said :— " The office of Vice-Chancellor of this University is no merely public or formal dignity; its duties cannot be discharged without much conscientious labour, and real sacrifice of time and thought.....During the last year I have had the honour of sitting with him in the Syndicate, and I can therefore testify to the hearty zeal, earnest diligence, and thorough knowledge of minute details with which he entered into all our discussions.....Having accepted a difficult and responsible office, he knew that it was the part of an upright man to make that responsibility a reality. He brought, to bear upon it a three-fold knowledge,—a twenty years' experience of India, a knowledge of law in which he had few rivals in this country, and a knowledge of general English education acquired at the two illustrious seminaries of Eton and Cambridgewas a thoroughly good man.....Our late Vice-Chancellor was a man who reached a high degree of prosperity and popularity, and yet remained entirely unspoiled. The increase of wealth never chilled his free-hearted benevolence, the regard and applause of his contemporaries never led him to do violence to his conscience for the sake of men's approbation." All this was very high praise indeed, and it is extremely gratifying to observe that the great dead fully and fairly deserved it. But mere verbal praise was not all that was bestowed on him. At a meeting of the Syndicate held in 1867, it was determined that a marble monument should be erected to Mr. Ritchie in St. Paul's Cathedral at Calcutta, and the surplus funds, if any, should be devoted to some purpose connected with the Calcutta University, of which Mr. Ritchie was Vice-Chancellor. But as the sum was too small to establish a scholarship, it was resolved that entire amount should be invested in the purchase of a Government Note, and the annual proceeds should be allowed to accumulate for the award of a prize biennially, which should be called the "Ritchie Prize." The monument * was the work of that well-known sculptor, J. H. Foley, R.A., and the inscription which it bears was written by the deceased's illustrious cousin, † the author of *Pendennis* and *The Newcomes*. Among other matters the inscription records that, "to a clear intellect and sweet generous temper England had added her highest education and God His grace. Public-spirited, wise and beloved, his career was one of rare success, breeding no envy. His death was felt as a calamity, alike public and private, and carried grief into many households, but left to all who mourn him the bright assurance of his rest in Christ."

* On each side of the pedestal, supporting a bust of the deceased, are full-length figures, the one on the right representing Law, and the other on the left Religion. At the base are Ritchie's arms and crest and the motto: "Virtute acquiritur honor."

† This cousin, also, followed him to the grave in the year following.

Mr. Ritchie was certainly a remarkable man and he died full of honours, though not full of years. Surely, it was no small glory,

"To perish, wept for, honoured, known."

Intellectually Mr. Ritchie was great; not less so was he also socially. He was very kind and courteous, and his open-hearted beneficence knew no caste or creed or colour. His untimely death was regarded as a great public calamity, and his name was long held in affectionate veneration by his friends and by the University, of which he was not only one of the foundation members but also its virtual chief for some time.

William Ritchie is commemorated together with another cousin of Thackeray's, Sir Richmond Shakespear, in a famous passage in the *Roundabout Papers*: "The brave, the gentle, the faithful, Christian soldier" of the following passage is Sir Richmond: "His Honour the Member of Council is William Ritchie."

"In one of the stories by the present writer, a man is described tottering 'up the steps of the ghaut,' having just parted with his child, whom he is despatching to England from India. I wrote this, remembering in long, long distant days such a ghaut, a river stair, at Calcutta; and a day when, down those steps, to a boat, which was in waiting, came two children, whose mothers remained on shore. One of these ladies was never to see her boy any more; and he, too, is just dead in India 'of bronchitis, on the 29th October.' We were first cousins; had been little friends and playmates from the time of our birth; and the first house in London to which I was taken was that of our aunt, the mother of His Honour the Member of Council. His Honour was even then a gentleman of the long robe, being in truth, a baby in arms. We Indian children were consigned to a school of which our deluded parents had heard a favourable report, but which was governed by a horrible little tyrant who made our young lives so miserable that I remember kneeling by my little bed of a night, and saying 'Pray God, I may dream of my mother!' Thence we went to a public school; and my cousin to Addiscombe and to India . . . and Fort William guns are saluting in one man's honour, while the troops are firing the last volleys over the other's grave—over the grave of the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier."

Mr. Ritchie's name has been kept alive in India by one of his worthy sons, Mr. Richmond Thackeray Ritchie, C.B., who was Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, from 1895. Another son, Richard Thackeray Willoughby Ritchie, also held a high post in the India Office.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.



Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



THE first of the Society's expeditions was to Achipur, where Captain Petley revealed to our surprise a quaint little Chinese temple standing in the jungle not far from the river bank. I have no doubt that the following letters, which I publish here, with the kind permission of the Government of India, will throw some light on the founder of Achipur.

[O. C. 1781. November 5th. No. 15.]

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., AND MEMBERS OF THE
SUPREME COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The kind protection which I have hitherto experienced, and the encouragement afforded my small colony by the grant of lands, which I have cultivated with some success, induces me to trouble you with this address, and to request your assistance, without which I am afraid it will be impossible for me to retain my people in my service to keep them to their duty. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the ruinous consequence of suffering these people, whom, at great expense, have brought to so great a distance under indentures to serve me for the space of —— years to be spirited and enticed away. The persons who have thus want only endeavour'd to injure me are Chinese who have deserted from Macao ships and remain in Calcutta without any apparent means of subsistence, therefore, beg that these vagrants may be severely punished, if detected in such practices, for the future, and that orders may be given to assist me in recovering any person deserting from my service, and that no one may be allowed to protect or employ any of my indentured servants.

I have, etc.,

(Signature in Chinese) ATCHEW.

Witness Chas. Rothman.
Calcutta, 29th October 1781.

ADVERTISEMENT.

FORT WILLIAM, 5th November 1781.

Whereas it has been represented to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council by Atchew, a native of China, now under the protection of this Government, that several ill-disposed persons have endeavoured to entice away the Chinese labourers in his employ who are under indentures to him for a term of years. Notice is hereby given that the Board wishing to grant every encouragement to the Colony of Chinese under the direction of Atchew, are determined to afford him every support and assistance in detecting such persons

and bringing them to condign punishment for inveigling away his people or affording them shelter from him.

By order of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council,

(Sd.) J. P. AURIOL,

Secretary.

[O. C. 8th December 1783. No. 15-A.]

TO—WM. BRUERE, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,—I request you will please to acquaint the Hon'ble Board that in consequence of their orders, conveyed to me by your letter under date the 21st ultimo, I have applied to Mr. Lambert, who is the executor of Tong Achew, for the payment of the bond from the deceased to the Honourable Company. I herewith enclose a copy of his answer refusing to make the payment because the bond is not yet become payable. I have since written to Mr. Lambert to know if there is assets sufficient to pay the Company's demand, and I have received for answer that he believes there is. I beg to be furnished with the further orders of the Board, and am, Sir,

Yours, etc.

GEO. WROUGHTON,

Attorney for the Hon'ble Company.

THERE has been for long time past some amount of mystery attaching to the person of Thomas Lyon, whose name is commemorated by Lyon's Range. The late Dr. C. R. Wilson, in one of his latest articles, expressed the view that Lyon, or Lyons, was a mere fictitious name under which, by a piece of jobbery, Barwell came into possession of the land now occupied by the Bengal Secretariat (Writers' Buildings), and the historian's indignation was further aggravated by the recollection that a portion of this land was the consecrated ground on which old St. Anne's Church once stood. Some time ago, the lady who contributed to our first issue an article on "The North Side of Tank Place," called my attention to a notice of a law suit brought against the Company by a contractor of the name of Thomas Lyon; and reported in Vol. II of Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazetteer*.^{*} Miss Drummond asked me to search the records on her behalf, and I am afraid that my inability to go further into this particular matter of research has been the cause which has necessitated the delay in completing her articles on "Tank Place." I was familiar with the fact that a builder of the name of Thomas Lyon erected the walls which enclose the Presidency Jail on the maidan. During the last few weeks I have met with Mr. Lyon more than once in the pages of Hyde's notes. On 11th January 1782, Hyde records

^{*} Page 421: The Supreme Court in this case gave judgment in favour of Mr. Lyon for slices Rapces 25,000 "for superintending the Bhangeratty River."

of Lyon: "He is a house builder and is said to have made a large fortune, and is now going to England, and intends to carry this appeal with him."

MR. R. C. STERNDALE in his *Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate* gives a transcript of the pottah relative to this property, "the copy of which," he writes, "was so faded as to be undecipherable, but was restored by the aid of a solution of nut gals." The document reads as follows:—

A pottah is hereby granted unto Mr. Thomas Lyons for the purpose of erecting a range of buildings for the accommodation of the junior servants of the Company for two pieces or parcels of waste ground to the north of the Great Tank, situated or lying and being between the Old Fort, the Great Tank, the Court-house and the New Play-house, and separated by the great road leading from Mr. Holwell's monument by the south front of the Court-house to the Salt Water Lake, and known by the name of Great Bungalo Road, agreeable to the annexed plan of the said two pieces of ground which are distinguished by the red colour, bounded by the red lines A B C D in No. 1, and E F G H in No. 2, and are of the following dimensions:—

No. 1 in the Dhee Calcutta lying to the southward of, and parallel to the Great Bungalo Road, is a regular piece in length from east to west or D to B 214 yards, and breadth from north to south or from B to A 35 yards, containing six bighas and four cottahs of the Hon'ble Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 18-9-7 per annum.

No. 2 in Bazar Calcutta lying to the northward of the same road, the side G E parallel to the road is in length 214 yards, the opposite side H F is in length 218 yards, the east end G H is in breadth 92 yards, and the west end E F is in breadth 69 yards, containing ten bighas thirteen cottahs and eight chittacks of the Honourable Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 32-0-5.

The boundaries are as follows:—To the eastward or from C to H, a road of 60 feet width parallel to the west front of the Court-house, and the angle at H to be cut off, so as to leave the road in that part of it at the same breadth of 60 feet till its junction with the north road. To the westward, or from A to F, a line drawn from the west end of the Play-house at right angles with the Great Bungalo Road. To the south, or from C to A, a road of 15 feet wide leading from the north-east angle of the railing of the Great Tank towards the Old Fort, parallel to and at the distance of 35 yards from the Great Bungalo Road. To the northward from F to H, a road 52 feet wide leading from the south railing of the Play-house by Mr. Huggins' house to the China Bazar.

The Great Bungalo Road, 100 feet wide, passing in its present direction between B and E the west end, and D and G the east end of the said two pieces of land, a line drawn from Mr. Holwell's monument to pass through the middle of the road.

To preserve uniformity and prevent nuisances, permission is given to Mr. Lyons to rail in the manner described in the plan by the yellow colour and lines to those two pieces of land which terminate to the westward of the two pieces granted to him. In the Cutcherry of the Calcutta Division, this eighteenth day of November 1776.

BUT even Sterndale was under the spell of the mystery. "I have not," he writes, "been able to trace how the transfer from Thomas Lyons to Richard Barwell took place, whether by sale, or whether, as appears possible, the

transaction was a *bonafide* one in the first instance." The following letter which by the courtesy of the Government of India I am enabled to publish here, will set the matter at rest.

[1783. O. C. 2nd June. No. 16.]

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ETC.

No date.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The term of the lease executed by Mr. Lyon to the Hon'ble Company of the nineteen houses in Calcutta occupied by the Company's Civil Servants being expired, and Mr. Lyon having sold the buildings which are now become the property of Mr. Barwell's children, I beg leave as one of the attorneys of Mr. Barwell to propose to your Hon'ble Board a renewal of the lease for the space of five years upon the terms of the former deed.

If this proposal meets with the approbation of your Hon'ble Board, I entreat you will be pleased to order the Hon'ble Company's Attorney to prepare the lease.

I have, etc.,

C. CROFTES,

Attorney to Rd. Barwell, Esq.

[O. C. 1783 9th June. No. 25.]

[TO] JAMES PETER AURIOL, Esq.,

Secretary to the General Department.

CALCUTTA, 5th June 1783.

SIR,—I have received your favour of the 4th instant, and have in consequence prepared and now enclose for the approbation of the Hon'ble Board a draft of the lease from the Trustees of Mr. Barwell's children to the United Company of the Writer's Barracks which has been approved by the Advocate-General.

I am, etc.,

GEO. WROUGHTON,

Attorney for ye Hon'ble Company.

OF Barwell's famous house, now occupied by the Royal Military Orphanage, the present writer, as Chaplain of Kidderpore, might well be expected to have much to say, but for the present he must be brief. The Supreme Council, under some misapprehension, rented it from the Trustees of Barwell's children, for the official residence of Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief. Coote declined the privilege, and in the sequel there was much correspondence and a case before the Supreme Court. The Trustees, it may be noted, were Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Joseph Cator. The humour of the situation was that the lease was made out, despite Francis and Wheeler, in the name of Warren Hastings (who used his casting vote at the Council) and Barwell himself! It is difficult to abstain from the conjecture that "Barwell's children" represent trickery. In a future issue I hope to return

to the story of this most interesting of Calcutta houses, but, for the present, I will give the following letter :—

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL,
FORT WILLIAM.

CALCUTTA,

23rd February 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—As the house now occupied by the Second Member of the Government will be vacated by the departure of Mr. Barwell for Europe, I am authorised by the Trustees to offer the lease of it to the Hon'ble Company for a period of five years, the rent to be fixed at the following low and moderate rate, *viz.*, 10 per cent. on the cost and an allowance of 4 per cent. for decay, and for charges of patching up and repairing the buildings, the rent to be advanced half-yearly. The mansion consists of 14 sleeping apartments and antichambers on its upper floor, and on the middle floor a large hall, elegantly finished in stucco 72 feet long by 26½ feet broad—a smaller hall of 36 feet by 22 feet and two small antichambers adjoining to it, a common parlour of 31 feet by 22 feet with another small antichamber and three other rooms of about 20 feet square—the ground floor being for the accommodation of servants, etc., is not described but is excellent in its kind. The detached buildings are extensive and commodious consisting of stabling and offices of all kinds exclusive of upper apartments for a coachman and 2 grooms, and contiguous to the main buildings is a set of commodious excellent apartments on an upper floor with the convenience of public and private stairs. They consist of two rooms 26 feet long by 16 feet, and a parlour of 26 feet by 22 feet, well adapted to accommodate a family.

The pleasure grounds and kitchen gardens are about 300 acres, or 300 bighas in extent.

I have been thus particular in describing the building and extent of the grounds that the Hon'ble Board may have a complete knowledge of the whole and appropriate the mansion in such a way as they think proper. Whether for the residence of the Hon'ble the Governor-General if he approves of it, whether for the residence of the Second Member of the Government, or whether for the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

Some apology may be necessary for this intrusion, and I hope I shall find it in pleading the trust reposed in me, and in intimating that I have been in some degree influenced to it by a desire expressed by Sir Eyre Coote some time since to inhabit the mansion on Mr. Barwell's departure in preference to the accommodation allotted to him in Calcutta, if it was not engaged to be appropriated for any other public use.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

JOSEPH CATOR,

One of the Trustees.

IN our boyhood's days we all did homage to *Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery*. In pursuit of a very remote subject of enquiry, I have come across two documents which are well worth placing on record here.

[1780 O.C. 14th February. No. 15.]

From the Chief and Council at Canton.

TO—G. G. AND COUNCIL.

10th December 1779.

GENTLEMEN,—We addressed you on the 20th of November by the *Success* galley. We now enclose a duplicate of that packet excepting the number 708 and containing rupees and gold coins for essay, of which we only procured one parcel.

On the 5th instant we received letters from the Captains Gore and King of His Majesty's ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*, acquainting us they were arrived at Macao, after a voyage of three years from the Cape of Good Hope; and that they were in great want of stores and provisions.

They take no notice of the death, either of Captain Cooke or Captain Clerke; but we have since heard that Captain Cooke was killed in February last, but know neither the place nor occasion.

We are getting permission for them to come up to Canton from Macao, as they do not design to stay above a fortnight, and of course will not bring their ships up the river.

If we get any intelligence worth communicating before the last Bengal ship sails from hence we shall forward it to you.

We are, Gentlemen, etc.,

THOS. FITZHUGH.

THOS. BROWN.

MATT. ROPER.

(1780 O.C. 10th April. No. 18.)

The Track of the Resolution and Discovery in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779.

1776.

1st December.—Left the Cape of Good Hope.

17th.—and passed between two small Islands Lat. 46 S. seen before by Marion.

24th.—Made a large but desolate Island Lat. 48 and 30 S. Long. 69 and 72 E.

Several very fine harbours. Found in one of them a Bottle with a Parchment Scroll signifying that a French Vessel had been there in 1772.

1777.

In the beginning of this year made Van Dieman's land, and anchored in Adventure Bay. Saw several of the Natives, black with woolly hair, and proceeded to New Zealand. Anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

23rd February.—Left New Zealand and attempted to fetch Otaheite—prevented by the winds hanging to the Eastward. The missing of this Island made a year's difference in the expedition.

1st May.—Made the Friendly Islands—having seen several new ones in their way thither.

15th July.—Left them.

23rd August.—Arrives at Otaheite. Spaniards had been there; landed Onap.*

8th December.—Left the Society Islands

25th.—Discovered a low sandy Island under the line—plenty of turtle.

* In the *Logbook* this name is Onai.

1773.

18th January.—Made two Islands about Lat. 21 N, Long. 157°. Refreshed at the leeward most called Atooi.* Found plenty of Provisions. People talk the language of the Society Island; but resemble the New Zealanders.

31st March.—Made the land of America in about the Lat. of 44 N. Had a month of Stormy weather; were driven back to Lat. 42 N from that Lat. to 46 N—saw the land—driven from it again—made it afterwards and nearly lost on it. In Lat. 49½ N got into a fine spacious sound, refitted the ships. The Natives warlike; but ugly and filthy. Got a variety of furs in exchange for brass, copper and iron.

May.—The beginning of this month put to Sea. The *Resolution* nearly lost in a gale of wind. Made the Coast again in 55° N and from 58° to 61° coasted. The coast then took a South-West direction. Made many Islands.

July.—Having watered at an Island called Oonalaspt† they found the Coast take a Northern direction.

August.—Got as far as 70° N and were then stopped by the ice and in returning made the Coast of Asia in 69° N.

October.—The beginning, returned to the Island Oonalak, where they watered in July Lat. 53 N. Long. 154°. Here they met a party of Russians.

November.—Left the Island, and sailed for the two Islands they had discovered in January last in about the Lat. of 21 N. Saw several others, and one 40° to the Eastward of that they had been at before and in the Lat. 20 N. Seeing again one to the Windward of that, they went to it, found the people courteous and industrious—they got plenty of supplies, and salt being in great abundance, salted pork. This Island is called Owhyee. The People speak the same language as those of the Society and Friendly Islands. The group of islands together were called by our people Sandwich Islands.

1779.

14th February.—Captain Cooke was unfortunately killed in a quarrel with the Natives.

10th February.—Left the Islands—Called at Atoni where they were the year before.

15th March.—Left Atoni—Steered directly for Kamtschatka.

1st May.—Arrived there.

June.—The middle sailed from Kamtschatka once more to try a passage to the Northward but in 70° 2' N were stopped by the ice.

28th July.—Finding it impossible to get further to the Northward they resolved to return.

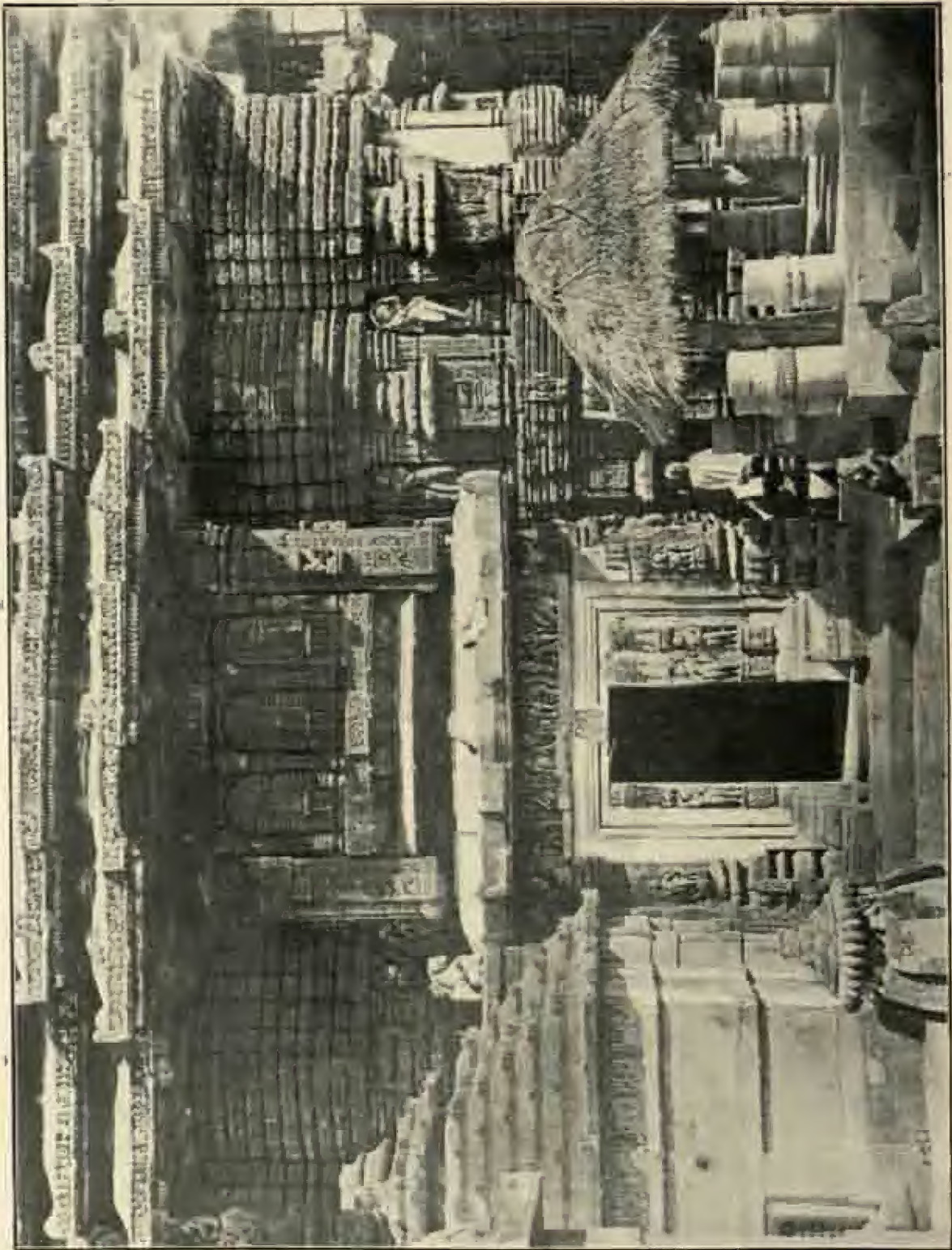
22nd August.—Captain Clarke died.

24th.—The two ships anchored again in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul at Kamtschatka.

10th October.—Left Kamtschatka—Saw the Northern part of Japan—passed to the Eastward of Formosa, sailed between it and the Bashee Islands; though the weather was so bad they saw neither; afterwards fell in with the Pratas and

* Atooi.

† Oonalasckta.



DETAILS OF THE JAGAMOHANA OF THE GREAT TOWER OF BHUVANESWAR.

4th Decemher.—They anchored in Macao Road. One thing in this voyage is very remarkable that during the course of it the ships did not (for any time) part Company.

13th January.—The *Resolution*, Captain Gore, and the *Discovery*, Captain King, sailed from Macao for England.

IN the latest edition of *Echoes From Old Calcutta*, Dr. Busteed has shown us how much in the dark we are as to the history of the first husband of the second—the historical—Mrs. Warren Hastings. The present writer must deny himself the pleasure of travelling over the old ground in company with Dr. Busteed and "Sydney Grier," and he must needs be content to supply these few extracts from the records :—

Extract from the Hon'ble Company's Letter to Fort St. George, dated 25th March 1772.

Para. 23. The reasons assigned by Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy for declining to accept their commissions, sufficiently prove that they have been found guilty of an artful and deliberate design to impose upon the Company. And although their application was prior to your receipt of our orders of 23rd March 1770 to send home such cadets as should not conform to a military life, yet our sense of the conduct of such persons was too fully expressed for you to be justified in permitting them to remain in India—it was reasonable to you to suppose you would have immediately informed Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy of our pleasure respecting cadets, after you had received our commands, and if they had then hesitated to fulfil their engagements to the Company, you ought to have sent them home forthwith—and as we are determined totally to discountenance and prevent this practice, we do hereby direct, that if Messrs. Imhoff and Dupuy do still refuse to serve in the Military, that you send them home by the first ship from your Presidency for Europe, and if Mr. Imhoff should have proceeded to Bengal you are to send a copy of their own order to the Governor and Council of that Presidency, who are in such case to conform to our commands above signified.

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR
AND COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 18th September 1772.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,—Enclosed we send you an extract from the commands of the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the 28th March last received the 13th instant per Duke of Grafton, respecting Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy. You have also herewith an extract of their said commands respecting Mr. William, Henry and Brisbane, to whom orders have, in consequence thereof, been sent to proceed to his station by the first conveyance. If he should not, we beg to be addressed thereof.

We are, etc.,

FOR DU-PRE.

HENRY BROOKE.

JOHN WHITEHILL.

ROB. FLETCHER.

SAM. JEHESON.

JOHN SMITH.

GEO. MACKAY.

J. W. TONE.

FORT WILLIAM, 15th January 1773.

SIR,—I hope my not having answered the receipt of your letter sooner or complied with the orders of the Board contained in it will not be imputed to the want of respect or submission to the authority, but to the difficulty of determining in what manner I could conduct myself in a case of much importance to my fortune and the welfare of my family, being too well assured from the rigor of the Hon'ble Company's command that any remonstrance from me would prove ineffectual and draw on me severe marks of their displeasure.

I have resolved on an immediate and literal obedience to it, I therefore request that you will obtain for me an order for my admission on any of the ships as a passenger for England.

I have, etc.,
CHARLES D'IMHOFF.

It may be worth while to bring together what has recently been made known relative to the father of the lady who was celebrated in her day first as Mrs. Grand and latterly as the wife of Talleyrand. Mr. Lehuraux has told us that Pierre Jean Verlée was the son of Adam Verlée, a native of Port Louis, and Marie Bodeveuc. The same authority adds:—

"In 1744, at the age of 23, he married Marguerite da Silva, who was aged 14. Pierre Jean Verlée was a Master Pilot of the Ganges down to 1753. For many years after this date he was absent from Chandernagore; and, in the interval, his spouse Marguerite da Silva died, and he re-married Laurencia Oleigue* (or Alen). By his first marriage he had issue:

- (1) Marie Anne Francois Xavier, b. 5th July 1746. Married to Mr. Michel Nicolas de Calnols, "Greffier en chef du Conseil Provincial." A daughter of this marriage, Modeste Victorine Nicolas, was the *second wife* of Jean Mathieu Rene Michelet, and died in 1801, aged 17, leaving an infant daughter, who survived her about a month.
- (2) Louis Adam, b. 28th November 1748.
- (3) Marguerite, b. 14th July 1752.
- (4) Antoine, b. 17th December 1753.

It was during his long absence from Chandernagore that, on the 21st November 1762, at Tranquebar, Pierre Verlée's daughter by his second wife, Noel Catherine, was born."

Among the records preserved at the Imperial Records Department, I have found several references to Pierre Verlée, which, by the courtesy of the Government of India, I am permitted to give here. In 1763, I find Verlée's name in a list of French prisoners of war sent to the Isle of France for exchange. On 19th June, 1763, Chandernagore was handed over by the English to John Law of Lauriston, the Commandant of the French Establishment in India. Verlée, who I may say in the documents signs himself Virlée, returned to Chandernagore and took the office of "Capitaine du Port." His son Jean Xavier was born there on 20th September, 1766. Grand, in his *Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long Resident in India*, writes: "While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings I was in the habitude, with my friends,



THE VINDUSAGARA TANK, BHUVANESWAR.



PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE, BHUVANESWAR.

Major Palmer and Gall, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week up the river. Our *rendezvous* generally was at the lamented Mr. Crofts' plantation of Sooksagur, in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty house, Chandernagore. At this gentleman's mansion there reigned the truest hospitality and gaiety. His admiration and personal friendship for Mr. Hastings insured the most welcome reception to those who were patronised by this excellent man. In one of those trips I formed an attachment to Miss Noel Catherine Werlee, the daughter of Monsieur Werlee, Capitaine du Port and Chevalier de Saint Louis, a respectable old man whose services had deservedly merited this mark of distinction from his sovereign."

NOEL CATHERINE VERLÉE, as we know, was married to C. F. Grand on* the 10th July 1777, she being about four months short of the age of 15. On July 10th, just a year later, Chandernagore was seized by the English. In a future article I hope to tell in detail the story of that settlement during the years 1778-84; in this place I must confine myself to the fortunes of the Verlée family and in particular those of the old Capitaine du Port. A list of officers at Chandernagore, dated 1st August 1778, shows that his annual pay was Rs. 2,200, a little over Rs. 183 per mensem. He had no doubt a more or less flourishing private business of his own, and there is every reason to suppose that until the capture of Chandernagore he was in a position of comfort. His son-in-law Nicolas de Calnois—a son of the well-known Mons. Nicolas, Senior Councillor in the French service—had been till the dire event of 10th July 1778, Chief Notary Public, on a salary of Rs. 1,800, or Rs. 150 per mensem, which with the fees pertaining to the office and many chances of fortunate speculation, would have also ensured comfort. After the British occupation of Chandernagore, Nicolas de Calnois was not only returned as Notary Public but also given the office and pay of Registrar. By this doubling of appointments a certain Conte Desmaretz lost his place as Registrar, and we therefore find him complaining of his ill luck and observing that M. Nicolas de Calnois was "certainly in a condition to dispense with the advantages of any appointment," and from this we may conjecture that the

* As to Noel's extreme youth, it may be noted that her father had married a bride of 14. Mrs. Beane in her *Herosines of French Society* writes of this time: "Girls at fourteen or fifteen or even younger, who, with us, wear their hair down their backs, their petticoats to half way below their knees, and spend their time in lessons and play, were wives, mothers, court beauties, and distinguished members of society at the French Court of those days."

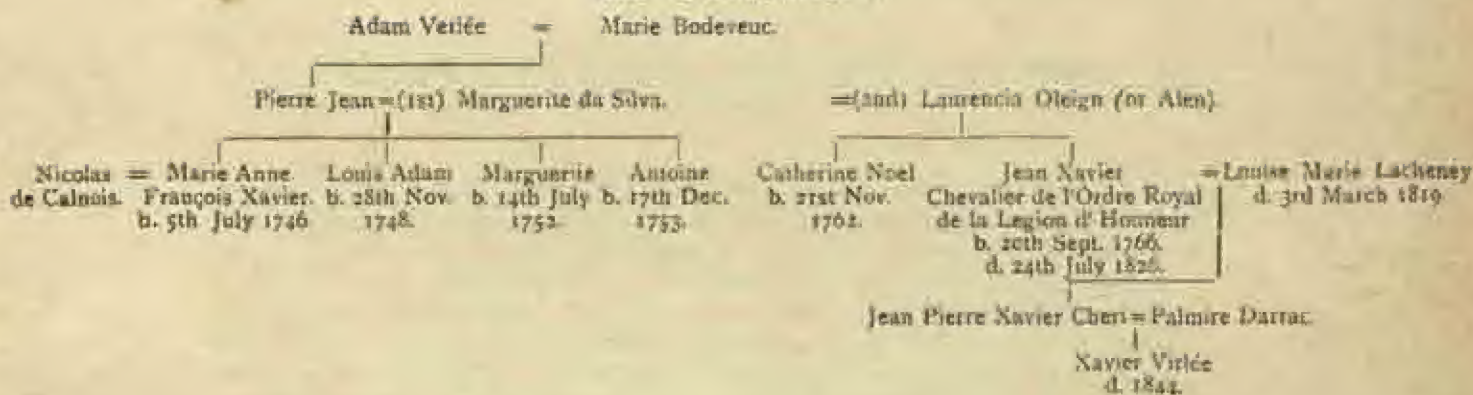
The biographical information given above will perhaps render intelligible this entry in *Francis' Journal* "27th June 1779 at Chandernagore curious explanation with La Meitière, *à sa qui ne parle en sa demande pas mieux.*"

husband of old Verlée's elder daughter was fairly well off in this world's goods. He had also a younger brother whose name would perhaps occupy a place of no small importance in the economic history of Bengal, Nicolas de Merlière. From a list of French residents at Chandernagore, on the original consultations of February 1st, 1779, we learn that de Merlière was "formerly in the French Company's employ. Married but has no children. This gentleman has for some time been engaged in an indigo manufactory at Campacoor near Ghyretty, which at great expense and trouble is nearly completed as to have proved of great utility in making of indigo. The undertaking seems to be of very great aid to those who have the industry of it, highly meritorious." De Merlière was very shortly after this employed by John Prinsep. It may be noted that old Nicolas *père* was still alive at this date. In 1781 was 66 years old and had been 43 years in India and 41 married. His wife was also alive, 62 years old "very infirm, has never been out of the country."

IN August 1778, the number of French prisoners in the hands of the English became a matter of considerable embarrassment to the Government at Fort William. The French privateers in the Bay were playing havoc with the English shipping, and reports came in of breaches of parole on the part of prisoners of rank. How hard pressed the Government was to find accommodation for its prisoners of war may be judged from the fact that they requested Colonel Watson to have "the compound where his Coffrees lodged to be cleared up for the French prisoners," and they paid the Colonel Rs. 250 *per mensem* for "the habitations in his dockyard which had been formerly granted to his slaves." It was this difficulty in providing for the French prisoners which brought into use the present Dee Birjee Jail on the Maidan—the Presidency Jail. In the list of its first occupants, on March 10th, 1781, appear the names of Nicolas de Calnois and Nicolas de Merlière. On May 24th, John Prinsep succeeded in rescuing de Merlière and a certain Fairie, and sending them to his indigo works at Campacoor, doubtless the modern Champdani. From Hyde's notes, I gather Fairie, who by the way was a surgeon, did not serve Prinsep too well; in any case there was a law suit.

IN the meanwhile what of old Piere Verlée? On the fall of Chandernagore, he was granted a monthly subsistence allowance of Rs. 50 *per mensem*. In a list of Frenchmen allowed to remain in Bengal, dated 1779, 15th February, I find his name, for on the 16th November 1778 the French settlers had been required to leave Bengal before December the 1st. On the 8th December 1778, Francis paid his nocturn visit to the house of the Grand's, and, on the following day, that unspeakable C. F. Grand sent his poor child-wife back in

THE VERLÉE FAMILY.





disgrace to her relatives at Chandernagore, *i. e.*, not to her father but to the home of the Nicolas de Calnois. Where was the ancient Capitaine du Port? Down at Balasore I venture to think. Verlée's name is absent from the list of prisoners sent down from Chandernagore to the Presidency Jail, and it is most probable that he secured protection from hardship at the intercession of many old friends, and perhaps from a certain conscience-stricken person of influence.

In November, 1781, I find a case of *Boglawn Goshe vs. Peter Verle* recorded in Hyde's Notes. Verlée pleaded jurisdiction, on the ground that he was only in Calcutta as a prisoner of war. The plea was thrown out. One document, dated 1st February of this year, shows that Verlée had "a wife and son between 13 and 15 years old in Europe" and that he was "at present at Balasore." Another paper of the same date shows that he was to be imprisoned in the upper part of the Jail. On March the 13th he is "said to be at Calcutta." But it would, perhaps, be best to allow the following documents to tell their own tale.

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL AT
FORT WILLIAM.

BALASORE, 2nd October 1780.

GENTLEMEN,—Mr. Marriott, your Resident here, has this morning notified to me the orders he received from you last night. I know very well that I am here by permission for my health. I should have departed immediately if I had been in condition to undertake the journey by land, but for four months past I have not the use of my legs, and cannot go from room to room without crutches. If, however, your orders are peremptory that I must absolutely repair to Calcutta, I humbly hope that you will be pleased to defer the execution of them till the month of December, the proper time for proceeding by sea to Bengal. It is not disobedience to your orders, Gentlemen, but the impossibility of going to which I am reduced by my infirmities.

(Sd.) VERLEE.

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL AT FORT
WILLIAM.

3rd March 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—Your petitioner, prisoner on his parole of honour, received the license of the Hon'ble Board to reside at Balasore for the benefit of his health, had accordingly proceeded to that place, having advanced a small sum of money, his property, to Mr. Marriott, has been afterwards under the necessity of receiving the Ketch *Faquira* of 150 tons in payment of his advances, as that gentleman said he had no other mode of satisfying him. Your petitioner, at this crisis, finding that craft was very much in want and having been offered to freight by Mr. Lewis da Costa with rice from Balasore to Madras and back to Calcutta, applied to your Resident at Balasore for a pass, as being now under the protection of the English Government, and having been gratified with it, did not imagine that the Ketch *Faquira* should have been liable to seizure made of her the 12th ultimo.

As your petitioner has shown a strict fealty to your orders ever since he has been made a prisoner, he humbly begs the Hon'ble Board will consider his case and grant the release of his vessel.

VERLÉE.

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., AT CALCUTTA.

CALCUTTA, *The 15th March 1781.*

SIR,—Before I left Balasore I gave my word to Mr. Wodsworth that I, on my arrival here, should present myself to you. I would have done myself that honour had it not been impossible for me to walk by an infirmity which affects me a long while ago, and of which I have informed Mr. Hay by writing. I am now worse than I was on my arrival, and, being sixty years old, I take the liberty of intreating you to order a Surgeon in the Company's service to examine me; he will be able to inform you of my unfortunate situation, and his report will, I hope, induce you to grant me the permission to go to my family at Chandernagore and receive the assistance which I am so much in need of.

I am with respect

(Sd.) VERLÉE.

TO—E. HAY, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

CALCUTTA, *22nd March 1781.*

SIR,—In compliance with the order of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council I have visited Mr. Verlée who is an old man, and in a very bad habit of body, his legs being so much enlarged with oedematous swelling that he is scarcely able to walk fifty yards.

I am, Sir, etc.,

DAN. CAMPBELL,

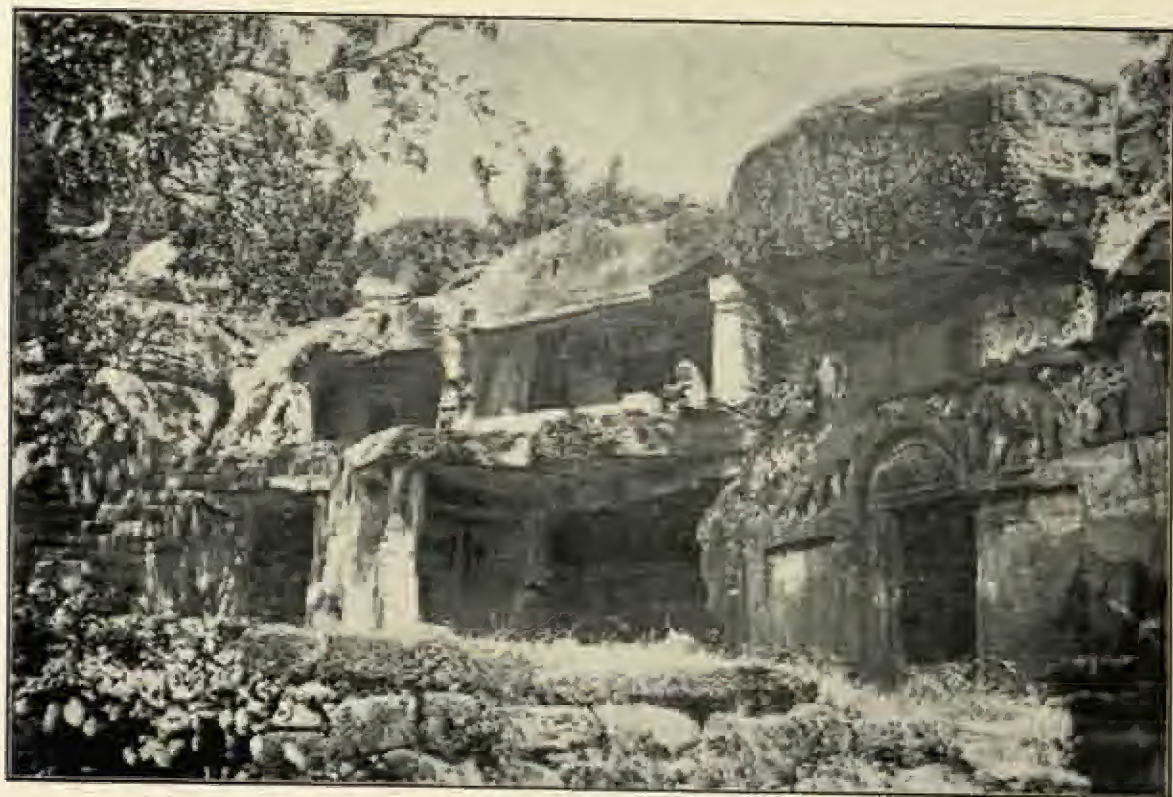
Surgn.-Genl.

FROM Pierre Verlée I turn to his famous daughter, the future Princesse de Talleyrand. I cannot claim that the documents I now send to the press really throw much new light upon the case; the subject is one which I would have left severely alone had it not been for my belief that Noel Catherine Grand was blameless till at least long after the time when her worthless husband had cast her, with her reputation destroyed, to the world.* Before giving these documents, I think it will be worth while to quote here the description given of her in the "Acte de Mariage" between herself and Talleyrand, of date 10th September 1802. "Catherine Noël Worlée, âgée de 39 ans, née à Tranquebar, Colonie Danoise, le 21 November 1762, fille de Pierre Worlée et de Laurence Allancy son épouse, tous deux décédés, épouse divorcée de George François Grand par acte prononcé à la

* It is, I think, important if we are to pass any judgment on Mrs. Grand to remember the distressed conditions of her family at this time. I have in preparation for the next issue a series of papers which will set this subject in the clearest relief.



UDAYAGIRI. THE RANIGUMPHA CAVE.



SVARGADHERI CAVE.

Mairie du 2^{ème} arrondissement de Paris, le 18 germinal, 6 (1798).^{**} The reader will remember that Talleyrand had been Bishop of the venerable see of Autun, and that it was he who, on the occasion of the Federation fête on the Champ-de-Mars, sang High Mass, and, also that, so inscrutable are the ways of Providence, it is through Talleyrand, the arch type of an agnostic and cynic, thousands of French priests have derived their apostolic succession. Now for the documents :—

[O. C. 1778. 14th December. No. 1.]

TO—MR. AURIOL, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COURT.
12th December 1778.

SIR,—As I apprehend no Council is held to-day, I request the accompanying letter and papers enclosed in it may be immediately circulated, that no time may be lost in receiving the Governor-General and Council's permission for copies of these papers to be transmitted to England by either of the three Indiamen under present orders of sailing or by the Suez Packet, which vessel I judge conveys from hence the next dispatches.

I beg you, Sir, to send round also for the Council's perusal this letter addressed to you; as it will convey to them immediately a plain meaning of my wishes.

I am, etc.,
G. GRAND.

[O. C. 14th December 1778.]

TO—THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM, 11th December 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,—Late as this address comes before you, I earnestly entreat that, commiserating my well-known unhappy situation, you will yet indulge me with a compliance to the following request, sending to England by the ships now sailing a copy of it with copies of the other papers enclosed, to be laid before my honourable masters, the Court of Directors.

It is, gentlemen, a justice I owe to myself, to my family and friends in England who possibly might hear of the injury I had sustained without being satisfied of the publicity of the steps I have taken in consequence.

It is besides, Gentlemen, a justice I owe to this Settlement, and to the Servants in general, whom I consider in my case, to have been indirectly attacked in their honour; and therefore however unprecedented this appeal for address may be, yet I trust that the Court of Directors, being a body composed of humane and feeling men, will upon due consideration, attend to my representation.

I must beg to call their attention to the situation of the different parties, and they will then perceive that one of the members of your Hon'ble Board, invested with a legislative part of the administration of this country, instead of making his conduct an example of virtue and decorum, dared to violate the most sacred ties; and by base and insidious acts effected the ruin of a happy family, living partly under this legislative protection; and, after committing the irreparable stain to their dishonour, has been audacious enough to avail himself of the security his person enjoys to refuse the small satisfaction required, and thereby precluding the injured person from almost every species of redress but the one he now solicits.

* By an error the record of the Grand-Verfée marriage was spoken of as p. 376. of Vol. II of *Bengal: Past and Present* as if it were still preserved at Chandernagore. The volume for that period is missing from the archives of that place.

The accompanying papers will serve in part to corroborate the above assertions. And I mean to bring subsequent proofs, collected from European evidence, which I conceive will effectually establish the identity of his person to have been trespassing in my house at that hour in the night.

I hope my Hon'ble Masters will see, in as forcible a light as I do, the necessity I am reduced to of endeavouring by every (means) I can devise to pursue the just resentment I must entertain against the perpetrators of so base an action and destroyer of my everlasting happiness. In this light I beg them to consider the address of their unhappy servant, and they will then judge whether a member of your Hon'ble Board, governed by no principles of honour or morality, is a fit person to preside as an administrator over a state where the happiness of individuals, and the good order of society is, I apprehend, to be consulted and preserved.

I am, etc.,
G. F. GRAND.

[O.C. 1778, December 14th. No. 3.]

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

Between ...	{	George Francis Grand ...	...	...	<i>Plaintiff</i>
		and			
		Philip Francis ...	...	...	<i>Defendant.</i>

Rambux Jemmandar R. Hircarrah, Meerun Kismutgab, Bowanny Hircarrah and Shaic Razeeoolah Durwan, servants of the Plaintiff abovenamed severally make oath and say, that these Deponents are respectively acquainted with Philip Francis, Esq., the Defendant abovenamed; And that they (these Deponents) abovenamed, on Tuesday the eighth day of December instant, in the evening or night of the same day above or between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, at a time when the said Plaintiff was absent from home and when the said Defendant Philip Francis had secretly, as these Deponents verily believe, entered the said house by means of a bamboo ladder fixed against the wall of the yard or compound of the said house for the purpose of gaining admission privately into the same, they (these Deponents) having respectively seen the same ladder. And this Deponent Shaic Razeeoolah Durwan positively swearing that he the said Defendant did not enter the said house through the gate thereof, because if he had done so, it must have been known to this Deponent, by reason that this Deponent was not absent from his duty as durwan to the Plaintiff during the whole course of the evening preceding the discovery of the said Defendant in the Plaintiff's house; And this Deponent Meerun for himself further said that about the hour of ten o'clock in the evening of the same day at a time when it was moonlight, this Deponent being in a small straw house within the yard or compound of the Plaintiff and which is built by the Plaintiff for the use of his servants, he (this Deponent) was informed by one Minche Ayah, the servant of the wife of the Plaintiff, that she (the said Ayah) had been sent downstairs by her mistress for a candle, and that having taken the same upstairs she had found all the doors shut and did not know what was the matter, whereupon this Deponent in going from the small straw house, where this Deponent was sitting as aforesaid, towards the house of the Plaintiff his master, this Deponent discovered a ladder fixed against the wall on the inside of the compound; and this Deponent thereupon immediately gave information of the same discovery to the other servants of the Plaintiff who were at that time in the same house with this Deponent; and this Deponent having removed or taken down the ladder from the wall, he (this Deponent) together with the several servants aforesaid, concealed themselves in a place in the same compound to watch for any person coming out of the house; and these



PORTIONS OF A FRIEZE IN THE UPPER VEHANTAR OF THE RASIRANSAPURIA CAVES, UDAVAHITI.

Deponents Rambux Jemmantdar Hircarrah, Meerun Kismutgah and Bowanny Hircarrah further say that a short time after the being so concealed as aforesaid and which was a quarter of a Bengal ghurry afterwards, the Defendant came out of the house, dressed in black clothes, and immediately went to the place where the ladder had been fixed and appeared to be searching for the same ladder, when these Deponents Rambux and Meerun went up to him and asked who he was and what he wanted; to which he (the Defendant) replied, in a bad or broken Moors language, that he wanted the ladder and asked if these Deponents did not know him, declaring he was Mr. Francis and that he would make these Deponents great people if these Deponents would assist him using these words: "Hum toon loque burrah adme kurrega," and offered these Deponents many gold Mohurs, which he pulled out of his pockets in both hands, which money these Deponents refused taking; and this Deponent Rambux seized or laid hold of the hands of the said Philip Francis, and said that he (this Deponent) would not let him go, but would keep him till this Deponent's master the Plaintiff, should come home; and this Deponent Rambux then desired this other Deponent Meerun to go and inform the Plaintiff of what had happened, and this Deponent then went and informed the Plaintiff accordingly. And these Deponents, Meerun and Rambux, particularly say that although the said Defendant was dressed in black clothes, as hereinbefore mentioned, which these Deponents understand is not his common dress, yet they these Deponents aforesaid well knew it to be the said Defendant, by reason of having seen him often and often, heard his voice in conversation, and that when he spoke declaring himself to be Mr. Francis and upon the other conversation before mentioned these Deponents would well know his voice as well at the same time remembered his person (for although) it was late at night it was sufficiently moonlight to distinguish the same, besides which conversation these Deponents at such time aforesaid heard the same Defendant speak from the compound or yard below to the Plaintiff's wife then at a window above stairs, when, although these Deponents did not understand what was said, yet they well knew the said Defendant's voice. And this Deponent Rambux for himself further saith that he (this Deponent) having laid hold of the hand of the said Defendant, as aforesaid, compelled him to sit on a chair in the lower apartment of the Plaintiff's house, and stood close over the same, declaring that he would not let go till this Deponent's master returned, during which time, when the Defendant was so seated as aforesaid, the Plaintiff's wife came down stairs, and, while the said Defendant was sitting in the chair, directed the Deponent to let the Defendant go, which this Deponent refused doing; whereupon the said Defendant whistled loudly and thereupon one Mr. Shee and one Mr. Ducatol came over the wall of the said compound of the Plaintiff's house to the said Defendants' assistance, when a struggle ensued in which the said Defendant made his escape, and this Deponent seized Mr. Shee, and detained him till the Plaintiff's return home, upon which seizure Mr. Shee put three gold mohurs into this Deponent's hands for the purpose of bribing this Deponent, as this Deponent supposes, to let him go, which this Deponent however refused to do; and this Deponent hath now got the same gold mohurs in his custody.

रामबक्स जमींदार

Sworn at Calcutta this } Before me,
11th Day of December 1778. J. HYDE.

The Mark of Meerun } Kismutgah.
The Mark of Bowanny } Hircarrah.
The Mark of + Shalc Razeenolah.

Interpreted by me.
RAM LOCHUN GOSK,
Sworn Interpreter.

[O.C. 1778, 14 December, No. 4.]

*Letters between Philip Francis, Esq., and Mr. Grand.**Wednesday Morning.*

SIR,—The steps you took to dishonour me last night bind me to demand that satisfaction which is alone open to me. If notwithstanding your unprincipled behaviour, you have yet one spark of honour left, you will not refuse me a meeting to-morrow morning. The time, place, and weapons I leave to your choice, and will only acquaint you that I shall bring with me a second.

Philip Francis, Esq.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
G. GRAND.

SIR,—You are certainly under some gross deception, which I am unable to account for. Having never injured you, I know not for what reason I should give you satisfaction. I must, therefore, decline your request, and am,

Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
P. FRANCIS.

[O.C. 1778, December 14, No. 5.]

For Circulation.

A letter from Mr. Grand to the Secretary [words erased] on which I request the orders of the Board.

B. BRUERE,
Asst. Secy.

[Hastings' Minute.]

On a question of so delicate and uncommon a nature the opinions of the members ought to have been taken in their order: but as the papers have been brought to me, as a delay may preclude the effect of the determination of the Board upon it, and as the right of appeal to the Court of Directors has been granted to the servants without any exception or qualification, I shall not hesitate to give my instant consent to the first part of the petition, *viz.*, that a copy of Mr. Grand's letter with copies of the other papers enclosed may be sent to England by the ship under despatch to the Court of Directors, if there be time for it, I think it would be improper to send the papers by the *Suez Packet*.

W. H.

I agree R. B.

[O.C. 1778, 14th December, No. 6.]

[Wheler's Minute.*]

I agree with the Governor-General in thinking that it would be improper to send the papers by the *Suez Packet*, but I cannot discover the smallest propriety in sending them by the ships under despatch. Supposing a trespass to have been committed, or an injury done, of which no proof is or can be established by *ex parte* evidence (especially of black men of the lowest order, and those in the service of the Plaintiff), His Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature is open to the complaint of the party who may think himself aggrieved.

* Francis in his Journal, on December 12th, notes "Handsome behaviour of Wheler against the clamour of this cursed place."

It is not respectful to that High Court to carry such complaint to any other jurisdiction: but to carry it before the Hon'ble Court of Directors, who have neither civil or criminal jurisdiction over His Majesty's subjects, appears to me equally absurd and disrespectful, since the charge, if proved no ways concerns their service. I am, therefore, against sending the papers to the Court of Directors, and think they should not be recorded, as they have no relation to the Government or to the Company's service.

R. W.

I agree with Mr. Wheeler. F.

[1779, O.C. 28th January, No. 4.]

CALCUTTA, 25th January 1779.

[A letter "earnestly entreating" the Supreme Court to call Shee to the Presidency.]

[1779, O.C. 28th January, No. 3.]

TO—THE HON. W. H., ETC.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—Having endeavoured without effect for these ten days last past to find Mr. George Shee, a factor in the service of the Honourable Company, in order that he may be served with a *subpoena* to testify in a cause now depending between me and Philip Francis, Esq., in the Supreme Court of Judicature, wherein Mr. Shee is a very material witness for me, and as I have reason to apprehend he secretes himself at Chandernagore to avoid my having the benefit of his testimony, and as I am creditably informed that Mr. Shee is about to depart soon for Madras or some such place beyond the seas in order effectually to deprive me of his evidence, I am to request the assistance and indulgence of Your Honourable Board in calling Mr. Shee to the Presidency that by means thereof I may have him served with a *subpoena* from the Supreme Court to testify in said cause.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

G. GRAND.

[O.C. 1779 P.C., 28th January, No. 5.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

Between	...	...	{ George Francis Grand, Esq. ...	... Plaintiff
			and	
			{ Philip Francis, Esq. ...	... Defendant.

Shalk Dooman one of the peons in the service of the Sheriff of Calcutta maketh oath that on the fourteenth day of January instant he this deponent received from the Under Sheriff a paper writing which the said Under Sheriff informed the deponent was a *subpoena* for Mr. George Shee and saith that the said Under Sheriff at the same time informed this deponent that the said George Shee was then at a place called Cowgauchee near Pulla and directed this deponent to go there and serve the said George Shee with this said *subpoena* if this deponent could find him. This deponent further saith that in pursuance of such directions he (this deponent) on the same day went to Cowgauchee aforesaid but could not find the said George Shee there having been informed by the inhabitants of that place that several gentlemen had been there and was gone to a place a little further up the river called Ballyagant, he (this deponent) went to Ballyagant aforesaid in order to serve the said George Shee with said *subpoena*, but the deponent saith that he could not find the

said George Shee at Bullyagaut aforesaid, therefore this deponent returned to Calcutta and this deponent saith on his return to Calcutta he (this deponent) made enquiry after the said George Shee at the Garden House of the Defendant in this cause (where this deponent was informed that the said George Shee was) in order to serve the said George Shee with the said *subpoena*; but this deponent saith, having made enquiry of the servants at that place last aforesaid and which this deponent really did do, he could not find or discover where the said George Shee is or has been for several days last past.

The 20th day of 1779, before me

J. HYDE,

A true copy,

RO. LITCHFIELD,†

Prothonotary.

The marks of

SHADKE DOOMAN } +

Read 21st January 1779.

J. DURNFORD,*

Reading Clerk.

[1779, P.C. 28th January, No. 6.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

Between ...	{	George Francis Grand	...	...	...	<i>Plaintiff</i>
				and			
		Philip Francis	...	...	...	<i>Defendant.</i>

Henry Nichols, one of the officers of the Sheriff of Calcutta, maketh oath and saith that, on Tuesday the twelfth day of the instant January, he (this deponent) received from the Under Sheriff of Calcutta a *subpoena* to testify in this cause directed to Mr. George Shee with directions to serve the same on the said George Shee: other deponent further saith that he (this deponent) on the same day made diligent enquiry after the said George Shee at his apartments in the new buildings near the Court House and at the house of the Defendant in Calcutta in order to serve him the said George with the said *subpoena*, but this deponent saith that he could not find the said George Shee to serve him with the said *subpoena*, this deponent further saith that, having received information from one of the servants of Mr. May, who lives in the house of the Defendant, that the said George Shee was gone to Chandernagore, he (this deponent), by the directions of the said Under Sheriff went to Chandernagore aforesaid and on his arrival there made diligent inquiry after the said George Shee, and being informed that the said George Shee resided at the house of Mr. Leonard Collins† at Chandernagore, he (this deponent), on Thursday the fourteenth day of January instant, went twice or thrice to the house of the said Leonard Collins‡ of Chandernagore in order to serve the said *subpoena*, but this deponent saith that he could not find the said George Shee, and this deponent further saith that he was informed by Sergeant at Chandernagore aforesaid that he, the said Sergeant in going to the house of the said Leonard Collins had lately and frequently seen the said George Shee at the house of the said Leonard Collins wherefore this deponent remained at Chandernagore from the fourteenth in the morning until the evening of the sixteenth of the same month of January and during the said time frequently went and sent to and about the house of the said Leonard Collins to enquire after

*Married a Miss Foster—a near relative of Sir E. Innes.

†The father of E. Wheeler's second wife.

‡The name should be Collings. Collings was the Commissary assigned to watch over captured Chandernagore.



THE TOWER OF THE LINGARAJ TEMPLE, BHUVANESWAR.
From the N. E.



TOWER OF THE LINGARAJ TEMPLE.
From the North.

the said George Shee, but to no effect; and this deponent saith that at each time he went to the house of the said Leonard Collins he was met by some of the servants belonging to the said house who enquired their deponent's business, and prevented the deponent going into the said house for some few minutes, until someone of them went in before him and this deponent saith that from the intelligence he received from the said Sergeant and others at Chandernagore and the great precaution taken by the servants at the house of the aforesaid Leonard Collins at Chandernagore aforesaid, he (this deponent) believes the said George Shee then was at Chandernagore, and secreted himself to avoid being served with a *sub-pœna* in this cause.

Sworn this 20th day of January 1779 before me.

The mark of
HENRY NICHOLS. } +

J. HYDE. Read 21st January 1779.

WILLIAM SMOULT—Reading Clerk.

A True Copy
RD. LITCHFIELD,
Prothonotary.

THE following letter is not only of importance as determining the date of the present Military Cemetery, but it throws much light on the interpretation of the name Esplanade and also illustrates the history of the construction of the Chauringhi Road.*

[1784, O.C. 30th July.]

TO—THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ETC.

FORT WILLIAM, 26th July 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—In obedience to your Commands, I have endeavoured to find out a spot proper for a Military Burial Ground. The place that has appeared to me the most eligible is situated near the corner of the Esplanade contiguous to the Bridge leading to Mr. Livins's Garden.† Mr. Pemberton accompanied me yesterday morning and approves of the situation.

A spot nearer to the Fort but more distant from the Hospital (the two places from which the dead are to be removed) might have been chosen from the ground belonging to Mr. Short, but this must be purchased by the Company; and another material objection might perhaps be made of its vicinity to the new house now erecting or intended to be built, and also to the public roads of Russa Puga and new boundary of the Esplanade, the latter of which must soon become a very general one for the use of carriages at the usual times of carrying the dead to the graves.

I am, etc.,
HENRY WATSON.

*There is also preserved the estimate for building a compound wall and two rooms, Rs. 11,232-10—signed by Watson, dated 9th August 1784.

† That is the Garden House which had been the property of Sir F. Francis, and which was to be the early home of Wm. M. Thackeray.

IT has often been said that, although the Danes at Serampore provided themselves with a Church, they never maintained a minister. This is a mistake, and it is pleasant to be able to associate the name of the Danish clergyman with an act of heroism. *The Asiatic Annual Register* for May 1800 gives the following paragraphs:—

Calcutta, June 1, 1799.—On Thursday afternoon, the 23rd ultimo, a severe thunder-storm was experienced at Barrackpore and Serampore. The wind was so violent for ten minutes, that the flagstaff at both places were broken: the bungalows suffered very much in their roofs; and the windows of several giving way, admitted a torrent of rain, mingled with hail, to the no small annoyance of the inhabitants, and destruction of furniture: many pillars in the verandahs were cracked, and some thrown down. The river exhibited a scene of equal distress: many boats were upset: and such of the crew as could not swim, or were unable to secure a place on the wrecks, perished. A Danish ship went down at her anchors: only the top masts and yards remained above water—on which the crew were clinging, and looking earnestly for relief to the shore, from whence no one durst venture off to their aid, till the Rev. Mr. Fruchtenicht, a Danish missionary, sprung into a boat, and, by offer of reward, seasonably reinforced with menaces and a vigorous application of his cane, prevailed on the mangy and dandies to carry him to the wreck and carry the trembling wretches to the shore. The hurricane, so dreadful in its effects, fortunately was confined within very narrow bounds. At Calcutta, the gathering of a few clouds, and the rolling of distant thunder, gave merely some slight indications of a north-wester, which soon vanished; and neither at Chandernagore, Chinsurah, nor even at Paltah was the gale felt with any degree of violence.

ON Thursday, 21st October last, I, in company with my friend Mr. J. Hart, paid a visit to a part of my parish thirty-five miles distant from St. Stephen's Church—Diamond Harbour. The journey was a somewhat tedious one, for the day was hot, and the train, for no reason apparent to the layman's view, stopped at least five minutes at each station on the way. It had been my intention to make copies of all the inscriptions on the European tombs in the Diamond Harbour Cemetery, but for this sufficient time was not available. I have to thank the Resident Assistant Engineer, Mr. William G. Melvin, and Mrs. Melvin for the hospitable reception they accorded to my friend and myself on this occasion, and I am not only indebted to Mr. Melvin for much information but am also glad to record the manifest interest he takes in those memorials of the past which still exist within his district. In the compound of his bungalow there are two graves, of these one has a slab obviously intended to bear an inscription which has never been indented. The slab was loose and so in the suspicion that possibly it might have been inserted face downwards by some unintelligent *mistry*, I had it turned over, but I was not rewarded by the discovery of an inscription. The blank tablet was as soon as possible properly adjusted to its position and some further

repairs were executed. Although the tablet bears no name, the inscription on the adjoining grave is a sufficient witness to the tragedy of these two forlorn European graves:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MR. JOHN AITKEN
Late Inspector of Police,
Who with his wife and child were
Killed in the Cyclone of October 1864
And are buried beneath these mounds.

I am inclined to conjecture that the bodies of the Aitkens were found here after that terrible disaster, in which it has been estimated that nearly seventy thousand persons in this district perished. The bodies of the Aitkens would, no doubt, have been covered with earth, and later on the tablet relating to the "mounds" erected. Then, when in 1882 the bungalow was erected for the purposes of the Great Trigonometrical Survey (the mark ^{G.T.S.} □ ₁₈₈₂ will be found in the floor of the verandah), the mounds were converted into tombs. Mr. Melvin informed me that he had found the remains of a large masonry tomb elsewhere: it bears no name and native tradition assigns it to a "lame sahib" which reminds one of a similar tradition at Hajipur relative to what seems to be undoubtedly the grave of Captain Peter Carstairs.

PASSING on our way the new sluices—a piece of engineering work of no small importance—we were conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Melvin past the Telegraph Station so familiar to all who travel up the Hughli, to the Cemetery which occupies the corner formed by the river and the creek. The clump of lofty casuarina trees, through whose foliage the summer wind whispers the music of the ocean, will indicate to those who pass by in ships the place where lie so many of our race, whose expectations of reaching their native land were at Diamond Harbour thwarted by the call to a far longer journey, and let us trust that they went on it in the confidence "it is a far, far better thing that I do than I have ever done; it is a far, far better rest that I go to than I have ever known." The grave with the earliest inscription I could find was to one Thompson who died in 1795, that with the latest to gunner Henry George Yellow in 1896. The *Bengal Obituary* betrays the reader into the belief that the Donnithorne inscription is at Khijri: it is, however here—or at least the greater part of it is here—fixed on to a massive

masonry monument. The epitaph as given by the *Bengal Obituary* is as follows :—

Sacred to the Memory of
 CATHERINE MARIA DONNITHORNE,
 Who departed this life at Hidgelli Contai,
 On the 11th day of June 1832,
 In the sixteenth year of her age.
 Also to the Memory of her sister,
 PENELOPE DONNITHORNE
 Who died at Kedgerree on the 13th day of
 the same month in the eighteenth year of her age.
 And lastly to the memory of their fond mother,
 SARAH ELIZA DONNITHORNE,
 the beloved and exemplary wife of
 [James Donnithorne Esq.
 of the Bengal Civil Service, who died of a
 broken heart at the Presidency,
 on the 4th day of September 1832
 in the forty-fifth year of her age.]

THE portion of the tablet bearing the words I have placed in brackets has disappeared. Can it be that this tablet was brought here from Khijiri (Kedgerree) and placed on a tomb to which it does not really belong? The inscription on the grave of Mr. Wm. White shows that, in 1814, that gentleman was "Port Master of this Harbour," and seven years before Thomas Cay was "Deputy Agent of Diamond Harbour." Alexander Stewart was fourth mate of the *Lord Camden*, a ship in which Mrs. Fay once travelled. Amongst other inscriptions I noted Agnes Miller, 1779; J. H. Hallan (Surgeon Queen's Troops) 4th May, 1859; Andrew McDonald (Branch Pilot) 1814; Wm. Elliot of the IVth Regiment, and Isabel Hutchinson. The Diamond Harbour Cemetery is not dealt with by Wilson in his *List of Inscriptions*, and, but for the possibly erroneous reference a Donnithorne inscription to Kedgerree, it is ignored by the *Bengal Obituary*. No plan of the cemetery has ever been kept.

I GIVE below a letter I have received from my friend Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford. The Colonel refers to his most interesting "Notes on Monghyr." Far be it from me to embark on any enquiry tainted by modern "politics," but a Bengali orator, who recently referred to the early part of the 18th century as



GATE OF MONGHYR FORT.



NORTH GATE, MONGHYR FORT.

(Photo. by A. de Casson, Esq.)

the "Golden Age" of Bengal, has provoked me to print here the following informing passage from Holwell's *Interesting Historical Events* :—

"The twentieth of October (Anno 1733) was the day of payment; at which time the *English* army, under the command of Commandant *Holcomb*, lay enclosed in Mongheer grove with the Company's trade for the *Patna* factory.—At eleven in the forenoon, we observed a boat which had come out of the *Sandoo* river, making for *Patna*; the Commandant dispatched two light *pulwars* after her with orders to bring her to—imagining she had a cargo of fish. The boat being brought to and laid alongside the Commandant's *budgerow*—guess, reader, our astonishment, when in place of the cargo of fish, it contained a cargo of human *heads*! five baskets full, and a single head in the sixth."

AND NOW for the Colonel's Letter:

CHINSURA, 21st November 1908.

MY DEAR FIRMINGER,—I have just come across two entries in Manucci's *Storia do Moger* referring to subjects I have recently written on in *Bengal: Past and Present* for July 1908.

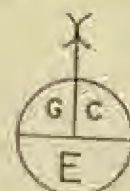
In my "Notes on Hughli" I gave a large number of variations of spelling of the name Hughli. Manucci, describing the insult offered by the Portuguese at Hughli to Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), uses the form *Ugolli*. This is not unlike the form used by his contemporary, Bernier, *Ogouli*. (*Storia do Moger*, Vol. I., p. 176.) In my notes on Monghyr I mentioned "Shah Shuja's bund," which runs from the Monghyr hills to the Ganges. Manucci (*Storia do Moger*, Vol. I., p. 334) thus describes its construction: "At this place" (Monghyr) "the best that could be found in these regions, Shah Shuja fortified himself. For greater security he made a great wall of earth, beginning at the foot of the hill and ending on the bank of the Ganges, a distance, more or less, of half a league. It was made at a distance of twelve leagues from the city of Munger, and its object was to bar the passage to Mit Jumlah." Manucci was writing from hearsay, he had not himself seen the *bund*. He overstates its distance from Monghyr, which would be about 25 miles, but much understates its length, which must be fully six miles.

Yours sincerely,
D. G. CRAWFORD.

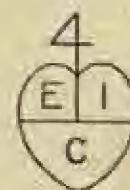
MR. HERBERT STARK writes to me:—

DEAR MR. FIRMINGER,—I am at present interested in the "Flag" and "Nishan" of the E. I. Co.

1. Willson in "Ledger and Sword" says the "trade mark" was: 1600.



2. Miss Blechynden in her "Calcutta: Past and Present" depicts the Company's "nishan" as
But she gives no date.



3. Between 1791 and 1794 the Company's copper coinage has on its pice. I am anxious to know how these variations are accounted for.



Another matter. Can you put me in the way of a picture of the Company's flag? I shall be much obliged.

Talking of the flag reminds me that I have traced the foundation-stone of the platform from which the Danish flag fluttered over Serampore, to a *gosai bhana*.

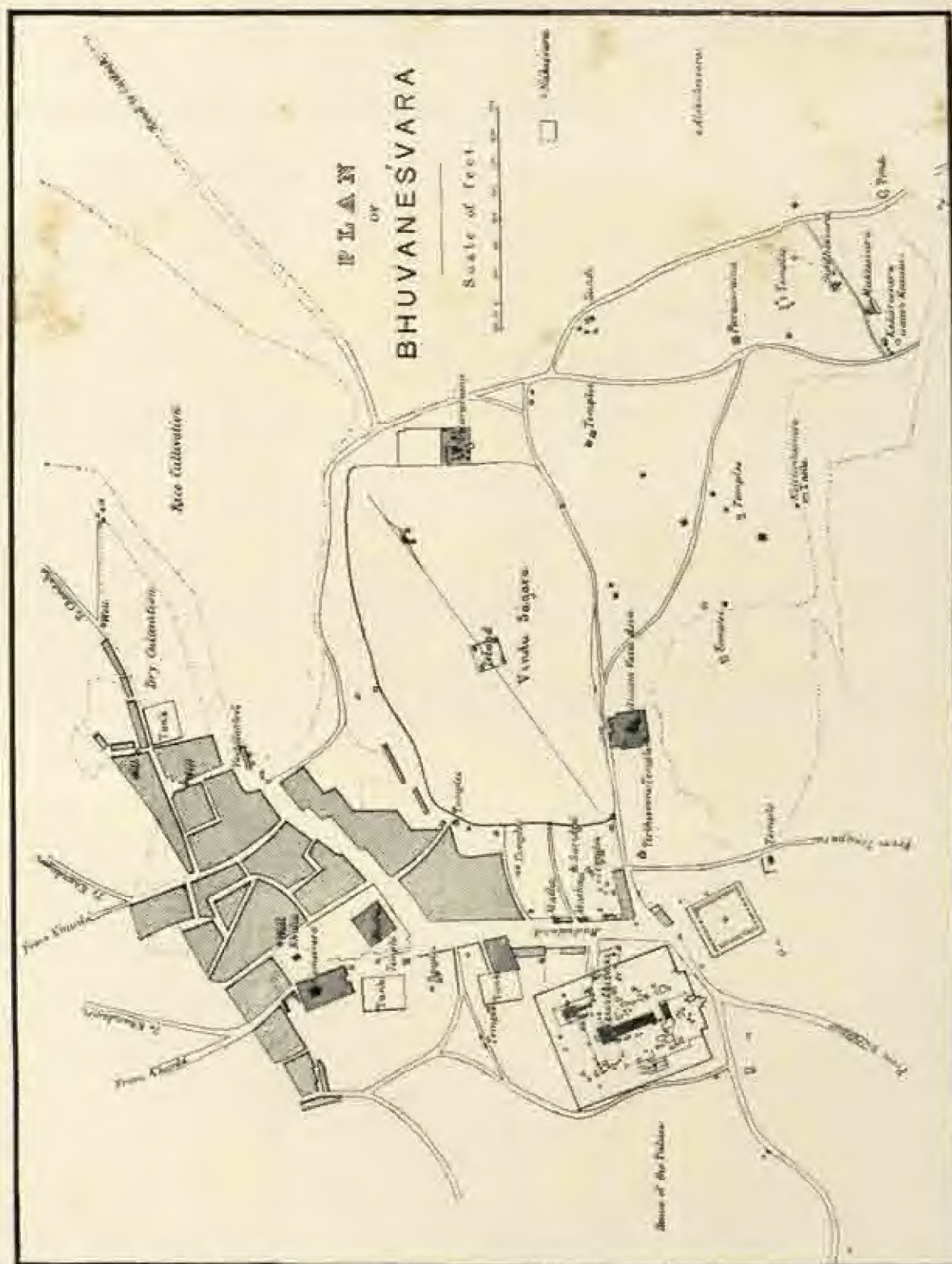
The Latin inscription is on it, but it is used for the exalted purpose of a seat, while the gentleman who owns it is bathing! Later on, I hope to tell the readers of the *H. S. J.* something about it and the *Jhanda* and *Nishan* of the H. E. I. C.

Yours truly,
HERBERT A. STARK.

IN November last I took my annual ten days' holiday, and I used it with a view to planning out an expedition of our Society to Bhubaneswar. I must confess that I had for myself more ambitious views. I hoped that, after a week of sea air and rest at Puri, I might be fit for a visit to Dhaulai and its famous Asoka rock-hewn edicts. I had, however, much to my disappointment, to give up the Dhaulai part of my programme, but perhaps this curtailment was to the advantage of the mapping out of the Bhubaneswar expedition. On the Bhubaneswar expedition the objects we want to see are—

- (1). The Bhubaneswar Temples.
- (2). The Cave Palaces, Temples, etc., of the Khandagiri and Udagiri Hills.

An expedition to Bhubaneswar alone could be most easily arranged, but Khandagiri and Udagiri are perhaps more than three miles from the railway station, and although the road is not a bad one, there is a stream about three or four feet deep to be crossed. As a matter of fact, an expedition to Bhubaneswar, without an extension to the Caves on the hills, would reveal to the majority of our Society delights of which they are at present unaware. But this I must say: We have had the successful visits to Plassey, Berhampore and Murshidabad, and so smoothly were these arranged, that I do not suppose that those who went on these expeditions ever realised the depth of their obligation to H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad. When the Society goes to Bhubaneswar it will miss all this kind help. My present advice to the Society is this: Let us go to Bhubaneswar as soon as possible. Let us leave Howrah in time to reach Bhubaneswar at daybreak. Rather beyond a mile below the railway station there is a level crossing over the lines; here our special train must stop. The Dāk Bungalow, where we should have breakfast, is about two hundred yards from the level crossing, and thence we should



proceed to the temples. At 10 P.M. or so we should have a more substantial meal, and then those who can bring bicycles or traps, would go on to the Khandagiri Hills. It is absolutely certain that no one will come back disappointed from this expedition, whether or no he gets on to Khandagiri, unless he be a person who is insensible to the charms of beauty and history alike.

THE following extract from the Vestry Proceedings of St. John's Church will be of interest to those who care for Zeffani's painting:—

1787, 15th October.—The picture made by Mr. Zeffani and hanging over the Communion Table having been represented by Mr. Alefounder (a painter and friend of Mr. Zeffani) to be damp and in some degree injured, the Churchwardens accepted the proffered services of Mr. Alefounder to have it dried, and this has been done as well as circumstances would admit, as appears from the following letter from Mr. Alefounder:—

TO—E. HAY, ESQ.

SIR,—I have this forenoon aired and cleaned the misdeu of the picture with the utmost care and attention. I fear the painting is injured by the mould, as it remains spotty after cleansing it off. The cause I believe to have arisen from a canvas having been fixed behind the picture to preserve the original one, and being oiled after it was nailed on. The damp air remaining between the two must have in some measure occasioned it. I took the liberty of having it un-nailed sufficient to admit a small quantity of air.

I am (etc.)

JOHN ALEFOUNDERS.

11th October 1787.

Mr. Alefounder attending the Vestry represents that the cloth or canvas put at the back of the picture ought to be removed; that the admission of air may prevent any injury from the dampness of the wall.

Ordered that the cloth be removed from the picture without delay.

THE Secretary in his pages in our last issue revealed the fact that I am at present engaged in putting together a volume of records dealing with privateers and their fortunes on Indian seas 1778-84. The subject is a most delightful one, but occasionally one comes across some very gruesome incidents. The following letter supplies materials for such a picture as R. W. Stephenson knew so well how to paint.

[1784, O.C. 14th June, No. 5.]

Extract of a Letter from Captain James Scott to Thomas Mercer, Esq., dated Salimgore, August.

SIR,—When I went up to Quidah in August I found your friends, Caston and Overbury last from Junkceylon their vessel proved leaky, and obliged them to bear away for Junkceylon whence they were come monthly, and come to Quidah to finish their taly. My stay at Quidah was short, but in that period they sailed, and I left this place a day or two after them and went to Salimgore and was back again in a very few days. On my return I was shocked beyond anything that I have ever experienced by the following melancholy relation, viz., 4 days

after their leaving Quidah, off the St. End of the Lukaw(?) they were all seized after supper with a vomiting and purging, which continued till past midnight with great violence. About 3 or 4 A.M. they got a little easier and went to bed, and a short time after a Malay, which they had taken on board at Junkiceylon, came into the cabin, and stabbed Captain Caston as he lay in his berth (?). Captain Caston, notwithstanding, got up, and remembering he had left a table knife on the table before he went to sleep, he seized it, and made two strokes at the Malay, and cut his hand, but being round pointed did no execution. At this time a Kalassee, confederated with the Malay came in, and cut Captain Caston down with one blow. They then went and murdered the Gunner, hove one officer overboard, killed the others. Overbury, in place of assisting, had got up into the main-top with the..... where he stood begging his life and requesting them to take all. He came down, and was despatched. Had he shewn any spirit he might have saved his life and the vessel, as there was only one Malay and two Kalasseees as actors in this horrid massacre. The business done, they put in for the Laddoy, and anchored, and sent two of their confederates on shore to inform their companions that he, the Malay, was Captain, and had a ship and cargo.

The wound which this Captain, as they called him, had received on his hand continued to bleed, and the Serang, offering to dress it, got within his reach and seized him, together with the other Kalassee his assistant. The Malay they cut open with an axe, burnt his heart, slung him along side, and brought him in their vessel to Quidah. She is now in the possession of the king, who most falsely considers her his property by selling some of her cables and landing the Cargo.

In the course of conversation with Overbury I learned that they had received on their own and the Company's account as follows.....

A true copy.
WM. JOHNSON.

A FEW years after this event a Captain of the name of Light, put into Quidah (or Queddah or Keddah) and succeeded in wooing the King's daughter. By way of marriage settlement, Penang was given to the Captain and his bride. The Captain ultimately sold Penang to the H. E. I. Company. A son of Captain Light, by his Asian bride, the "Queen of Quidah," was destined to be the founder of Adelaide. It may be noted that a Miss Light, who in 1776 married the Madras Civilian, George Stratton, the usurper of Lord Pigot's office, had been the bosom friend of Sterne's Eliza—Mrs. Draper.

THE following documents I publish here by the kind permission of the Government of India, and will be of great importance to anyone who may attempt to write the history of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal. It is part and parcel of that book I am anxious to produce—"John O'Donnell and the Cruise of the *Death or Glory*."

Separate Letter.

To—The Hon'ble the Court of Directors for affairs of the Hon'ble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies:—

HON'BLE SIRS,—The purport of this separate address is to draw your attention to the state of the Admiralty Jurisdiction in this settlement, the defects of which we have lately experienced,

having had complaints brought before us of the most enormous nature for which neither our power nor those of the Supreme Court could afford the proper redress.

2. Captain John Maclary commanding the ship *Dodaley* bound for China obtained from this Government in January 1780 a letter of licence to cruise against the ships belonging to the Kingdoms of France or Spain. On the 20th of May 1781, Captain Maclary, being himself at Macao, sent out his ship to seize a sloop bound from that port to Manila, on the supposition of her being Spanish property. It appears that he acquainted the Governor of Macao with his intention to bring her back to that harbour that she might undergo his examination. Captain Maclary was nevertheless taken up by the Portuguese Government, and after suffering a rigorous confinement was compelled to give an order to his officer for the release of the sloop. The order was produced to the officer on board the *Dodaley* who immediately bore down towards the sloop for the purpose of carrying it into effect, but before it could be accomplished a violent gale of wind came on and the sloop was lost. Captain Maclary was therefore retained in person at Macao until the Government had exacted from him the value of 70,000 Dollars at which the sloop and her cargo were estimated and then released.

3. Captain Maclary sailed from Canton in the *Dodaley* on the 16th of December 1781, and meeting with two Portuguese ships bound to Batavia in the Streights of Banca named the *Saint Antonio Novo* and the *Santa Maria Mayor*, he captured them both and brought them into this river, but landed the Commanders and Officers at some of the Ports to the Eastward.

4. Several Portuguese Super-Cargoes and Captains of ships who happened to be at Calcutta at the time of Captain Maclary's arrival joined in a formal representation against him; and, as neither of the Captains or the Officers of the captured ships were arrived, the Memorialists solicited an interference to prevent any interruption to that free trade and harmony which subsisted between the English and Portuguese.

5. On the receipt of this memorial which was presented by the Super-Cargoes to the Governor-General, he assured them of every legal assistance and support which this Government could give to put the charge against Captain Maclary into a regular cause of trial and to obtain redress for the injury complained of; but informed them that the nature of our laws were such as to render it absolutely necessary that the allegation should be delivered on oath and formal evidence of the facts exhibited before any prosecution could be carried on with success. We likewise repeated this answer with an offer of the assistance of the Company's Law Officers if any one of the petitioners would undertake to prosecute the claims and to collect the witnesses necessary for that purpose: but this they all declined.

6. In the month of February last we received letters from the Government of Macao complaining of the piracies committed by Captain Maclary and desiring retribution for them. The Captains or Owners of the captured ships likewise arrived here by the same opportunity and addressed us for our assistance in the recovery of their property, we consequently ordered the Company's Law Officers to grant them every information and aid in their power for commencing prosecutions and to carry on the suits on their account. Messrs. De Barros and DeRoxa, who had come here to sue for their property in the *Saint Antonio* and her cargo at the time of her capture, preferred submitting their claims to arbitration. Messrs. Francisco Xavier DeCastro, Agostino Antonio Spada, etc., having produced their evidence to the Company's Attorney, a suit was accordingly instituted by him.*

7. Their ship had been sold to Messrs. Petrie, Keble and Pasley by Captain Maclary for 1,10,000 sicca rupees, against whom they brought an action of Trover, and recovered

* See above p. 43-4.

that sum in damages. They have since brought an action against Captain Maclary for special damages. The causes were by order of the Governor-General and Council carried on by the Company's Attorney; justice was speedily done them in their first action in the Supreme Court. They arrived in Calcutta in February last, and obtained judgment in the fifteenth day of March: the other action was commenced later and will be tried in the next Term.

8. Though they may procure civil reparation for their private losses, they cannot here obtain that which was one of their main purposes of coming from so great a distance as Macao—Public Justice.

9. In July last a complaint having been made to the Governor-General and Council that several piracies and murders had been committed by Captain John Maclary and Mr. John O'Donnell in the Straights of Malacca, the Council was convened and the Chief Justice desired to assist us in examining into them. Being of opinion that the charge was not made out against Captain Maclary, we discharged him. But we thought that Mr. O'Donnell ought to be put on his trial. This gave occasion to inquire into the powers vested either in the Governor-General and Council or the Supreme Court relative to crimes committed on the High Seas, and it being the opinion of both of us and of the Chief Justice, that there was no power in either to try him. The witnesses were bound over to appear and the prisoner was sent to Madras to be tried at an Admiralty Court to be there held, where it was understood there was an existing Admiralty Commission. The event was that the principal witness did not appear and the prisoner was acquitted.

10. After stating these facts it is needless to observe how much both justice and the credit of your first Settlement in India are interested that powers should be placed in some part of this Government capable of giving effectual redress in crimes of this nature.

11. By referring Prosecutors to another settlement they suffer much vexation, justice is certainly impeded and most probably defeated. Strangers can with difficulty conceive that their not obtaining justice in the principal seat of the English Empire in India is caused by a defect of power. They can hardly believe that the inferior settlement has that jurisdiction which the principal has not. They most naturally attribute it to want of inclination to do justice to foreigners against the subjects of this Government, a more illiberal and inhuman opprobrium cannot be incurred by any nation or any Government.

12. These we have no doubt would be sufficient reason to induce you to make the proper applications for necessary Charters or Commissions to punish these crimes, though there had been no precedent for it but in fact before the alterations in this Government made by the Act passed in the 13th of His Majesty's Reign, there were full and ample powers for trying such causes, and it is we conceive by omission or mistake they were not continued in the present Government, or that a competent jurisdiction in the Supreme Court was not established in its stead.

13. To evince this it will be proper to state what that tribunal was, how it has been vacated, and from what causes the Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Supreme Court has proved ineffective.

14. A Commission (on the petition of the East India Company) bearing date the 12th of November, 31st of George and was granted by his late Majesty to his Admirals, etc., and also to John Stackhouse, Hugh Barker, Thomas Brady, Humphry Cole, John Bowker, Edward Corbett, Francis Kussell and Richard Eyre, and the President and Council of Fort William for the time being, the President to be of the *quorum*, for hearing, etc., in any place on sea or at land, at Fort William, all piracies, felonies and robberies committed, etc., on the sea within any haven, river, creek or place where the Admirals, etc., have power within

the East Indies or the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and in the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns and places of Asia, Africa and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan within the limits of trade granted to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. This Commission is understood to be abrogated by the new constitution given by the 13th of His present Majesty to the Government.

15. We have stated the local extent of this Commission, that it may be compared with that of the Supreme Court which by the Charter which erects it establishes it to be a "Court of Admiralty for the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and all other territories and islands adjacent thereto and which now are or ought to be dependent thereupon" and after authorising it to take cognizance of all causes, civil and maritime, etc., between merchants, owners and proprietors of ships and vessels employed or used within the jurisdiction aforesaid or between others contracted in, upon or by the sea or public rivers or ports, creeks, harbours and places overflowed by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, etc., it proceeds to give a criminal jurisdiction to try by jury all treasons and murders perpetrated, committed on the high seas within the limits and jurisdiction aforesaid, with this additional restriction. Provided always that the several powers and authorities hereby to proceed in Maritime Causes, and according to the Laws of the Admiralty, shall extend and be construed to extend only to the subjects of us our Heirs or Successors who shall reside in the Kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Behar, or Orissa, or some of them, and to persons who shall when the cause of suit or complaint shall have arisen have been employed by or shall then have been directly or indirectly in the service of the said United Company or of any of our subjects.

16. The former Commission was ample as to criminal matters, the jurisdiction extended thro' the Company's limits of trade, and over all persons whomsoever. The restriction on the power of the Supreme Court in Maritime Causes both civil and criminal being, as to locality *in and for the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and all other territories and islands adjacent thereto and which now are or ought to be dependent thereupon and upon or by the sea or public rivers or ports, creeks, harbours and places overflowed by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, etc., and as to persons, only to the subject of us our Heirs or Successors who shall reside in the Kingdoms or Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa or some of them and to persons who shall when the cause of suit or complaint shall have been arisen have been employed by, or shall then have been directly or indirectly in the service of the said United Company or any of our subjects,* its powers are so much abridged that there are rarely any cases to which they can be applied.

17. After having recommended the procuring of powers regarding matters to which remedies have been formerly applied we are led to submit it to your consideration whether it may not be proper that the Admiralty jurisdiction here should be further amplified we mean with regard to condemnation of lawful prizes made in time of war, no Court in India is at present competent to that purpose, and the great risk, inconvenience, and loss, which must accrue to captors by being put to the necessity of conveying their prizes taken in these seas to Great Britain before they can obtain a lawful property in them, is obvious, but cases, which have happened since the commencement of the present war with France and Spain, have brought this matter more directly to our attention. One relative to a Spanish ship taken by the *Nancy*, one of the Company's armed vessels commanded by Captain Hefnerman, in 1778, he carried her into Madras, where Admirals Sir Edward Hughes then lay with his Majesty's fleet who claimed and seized the Prize, the Admiral applied to the Presidency of Madras for the purpose of having her condemned. That

Presidency declining to act for want of legal powers, Sir Edward wrote to the Chief Justice here for the same purpose who informed him that no such power was vested in the Supreme Court. The other was the case of the *Hinchenbrooke* taken at St. Iago by a French man of war and retaken by the *Jupiter* man of war. She was suffered to proceed on her voyage to India, but agents were put on board her by Commodore Johnstone, part of whose fleet the *Jupiter* was, for the purpose of prosecuting the *Hinchenbrooke* to condemnation. But on a regular application to the Supreme Court here by petition for that purpose, the judges were unanimously of opinion that they had no powers to grant the prayer of it.

18. This matter was afterwards compromised. We need not point out to you what would have been the detriment to your interests if the Commodore had either not permitted the *Hinchenbrooke* to proceed on her voyage, or after her arrival here had not consented to the compromise.

19. In this latter case the extension of the jurisdiction of any Admiralty Court here to the limits of the Company's trade, would not be sufficient for the capture and re-capture were on the other side the Cape of Good Hope, which makes us take the liberty to suggest the propriety of applying for an Act of Parliament that the ships belonging to the East India Company who shall be retaken on an outward voyage to India, shall on giving proper securities be allowed by the recaptors to proceed to the places of their destination, and that authority be given to a Court of Admiralty in India, to proceed to the condemnation of such ships, wheresoever taken or retaken.

We have the honor to be, etc.

FORT WILLIAM, 5th April 1783.

I SHOULD like to seize this opportunity of correcting a blunder which I have perpetrated in my note on Mrs. Warren Hastings on p. 231. I wrote "she married, at Madras, Christopher Adam Carl V. Imhoff." I cannot account for my having written this. It is, of course, not known where the Imhoffs were married, but they certainly came out to this country as man and wife. Looking through *Press List of Ancient Records in Fort St. George* for 1780, I find that the Tellicherry Factory papers would throw some further light on the subject of the English captured at Calicut by Sader Cawn.

1st January. Tellicherry Factory Vol. lix., p. 11. A letter received from the Danish Resident at Calicut with regard to the detention of certain European gentlemen and a lady by Sader Cawn.

6th January. Fort St. George. Milty. Const., Vol. lix., pp. 25-33. "The President's minute on a copy of a memorial of John Hare and other British subjects praying for their release, and for the restoration of their property and private papers and for a passport for the pursuit of their expedition."

14th February. Fort St. George. Milty. Country Correspondence, Vol. xxix., pp. 22-23. Copy of a letter from the Governor to Hyder Ally requesting the release of Mr. Hare and ten other Europeans who were imprisoned in Calicut by Sader Cawn.*

* Since the above was in print, the Government of Madras has been kind enough to send me copies of these and several other relevant documents.

As to Hare. He seems to have thrived as a barrister in Calcutta, and then suddenly disappears from the list of advocates given in Hyde's notes. Can this extract from a letter addressed to Bengal by William Digges La Touche, the British Resident at Bussora, refer to the lawyer?

[1784. O. C. 8th November, No. 1.]

DUPLICATE.

BUSSORA, 1st July 1784.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The 21st April, by the *Neptune*, I received your Secretary's letter of the 7th February, and have now the honor to inform you that the original and duplicate packets which accompanied it were dispatched to Aleppo by messengers express, who departed from hence the 26th April and 8th May, and dispatched from thence to Constantinople the 13th and 27th.

With the greatest concern I inform you also that Mr. John Hare, who arrived here the 3rd February by the *Bombay Grab*, and who departed the 24th March for Aleppo by way of Bagdad, was attacked, robbed and murdered by the Arabs between this and Hilla, and that the *Nancy* packet, by which he forwarded from Bombay one of the packets, which you entrusted to his care, was lost on the rocks of Scilly about the 28th February. Fortunately, however, the other was sent by a pair of messengers, who departed from hence the 14th February, and according to the London papers was received there the 13th April.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM DIGGES LATOUCHE

(Resident).

IN the "Selections from Hyde's Note Books" the entries of Hicky's trial for libelling Warren Hastings and Kiermander have been given. I have been unable to trace the libel on the latter in the number of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* cited. The text of the Hastings' libel reads as follows:—

TO—MR. HICKY.

SIR,—It is impossible to describe half the mortification and surprise occasioned here by the news received last night, "that a large party of Mahrattas had entered the Company's territory in Midnapore, plundered, and laid waste the country, and that the small force wisely left in District had been obliged to retire before them, leaving the country open to their depredation." Independent of the indelible disgrace this corruption is to our arms, and even to our very name, how must it irreparably sink us in all the native powers, and what a particular ill effect it must have upon our present military operations upon the coast, that it has been either that we are unable to repel these invaders like men, or that we are sunk into that contemptible state, to be obliged to purchase their absence, and their quiet with the fortunes and property of our employers. Shade of the immortal Clive, if sublimary concerns still fall under thy observation, how must it wring thy heart to see these marauders, whom those reduced to dependence, and taught to tremble at the name of Englishmen, after a period as long as thy retirement from power, again and with impunity, advance their hostile flags in that dominion which then, with consummate wisdom, and encountering a thousand dangers, didst annex to the power of Britain! Shed one spark of thy unfailing

courage, unsay of thy superior intellect upon thy miserable successor, who disgraces the seat which fitted the reflected lustre on thy whole nation and reduces the name of Briton to contumely and contempt."

DR. BUSTEED has most kindly presented to the Society a copy of the privately printed *Sketches from the Diaries of Rose Lady Graves Sawle, 1833-1896*. Although Lady Graves Sawle has never visited our city, yet we may venture to claim no small interest in her, because her mother was half-sister to our own Rose Aylmer and from Rose Aylmer Lady Graves Sawle derives her name. I suppose the authoress of this charming book was one of Walter Savage Landor's "Three Roses:" in any case she enjoyed the friendship of that great man. She writes (1834):—

"At Florence we made the acquaintance of Walter Savage Landor, who was living with his family at Fiesole, in a villa now shown to tourists as the Villa Landore. On hearing that my mother was half-sister of Rose Aylmer, his first love, and that I was named after her, he came to see us; and from that time onward there was the closest friendship between him and my family. The details of his boyish worship have been so frequently alluded to in the memories of his life that I need not repeat them. His exquisite lines, written when he heard of Rose Aylmer's death, elicited the expression from Charles Lamb: 'I lived on them for weeks.'

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
Ah, what the form divine !
What every virtue, every grace !
Rose Aylmer, all were thine.

Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep, but never see,
A night of memories and sighs
I consecrate to thee.

She died of cholera on March 3, 1800, at the age of nineteen, when on a visit to her aunt, Lady Russell, the wife of Sir Henry Russell, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta."

WRITING to Landor, Crabbe Robinson said: "I have just seen Charles and Mary Lamb living in absolute silence at Enfield. I found your poems lying open before Lamb . . . He is ever muttering Rose Aylmer." Dr. Busteed in the latest edition of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* gives the lines as if they made one verse: he now writes to me to point out that they should be printed as two verses, and, moreover, the line as usually quoted

"A night of memories and of sighs"

in all probability should read, as Lady Graves Sawle gives it,

"A night of memories and sighs."

I am glad to say that Sir Charles Allen has given his permission for these two verses to be placed (at Lady Graves Sawle's desire) on Rose Aylmer's tomb in the South Park Street. Mr. Stephen Wheeler, who is an authority on Landor, supports the revised reading; but members of the Society will be glad to know that the advice of Algernon Swinburne is to be taken before anything is done in the present matter.

HAVING kept my eyes bent so long on Bengal, I trust that I may be pardoned if they now travel over other lands. Our Rose was Rose Whitworth Aylmer. Earl Whitworth* mentioned in the following extract was her uncle.

"As I watched this peaceful procession of *le bon roi bourgeois*, I thought of the stormy interview within those walls, in 1803, between Napoleon and Earl Whitworth, my great-uncle. After his return from St. Petersburg, where he had been plenipotentiary for twelve years, he was sent as Ambassador to Paris; and at his interview at the Tuileries with Napoleon, then First Consul, occurred the scene, the report of which caused so great a sensation in Europe. During the *mauvais quart d'heure* that ensued, Napoleon lost his self-control and shook his fist in Lord Whitworth's face, who thought he was going to strike him. The result was the Ambassador's immediate departure from Paris to London. The journey at that time occupied three days. When asked by his family 'What would you have done if Napoleon had struck you?' he quietly answered: 'I should have run him through the body.' In full dress small rapiers were worn by diplomats in lieu of a sword. Lord Whitworth married in 1801 the Dowager Duchess of Dorset; and dying without issue, he left all his valuable possessions to the Duchess, though he had five nephews of his own. Among these valuable effects was a fine dinner service given him by Catherine II., Empress of Russia."

I CANNOT forbear quoting from Lady Graves Sawle a reference to yet another Rose. She writes from Rome:—

"We also visited, in the English cemetery, the tomb of Rose Bathurst. She was a beautiful English girl whose tragic death in 1824 excited much sympathy and regret amongst the English society then at Rome. She was the daughter of Mr. Benjamin Bathurst, who, fifteen years previously, during the wars of Napoleon, had mysteriously disappeared whilst carrying dispatches. When Secretary of Legation at Stockholm, he was sent on a secret mission to Vienna; and on his way back he was either murdered or kid-

* Charles, Lord Whitworth (1752-1825) was appointed Ambassador to France in September, 1802. The famous scene with Bonaparte took place on March 13, 1803. He was created Earl Whitworth of Adleston in June, 1815.

napped. He was last seen at Perleberg in November 1809. His young wife, daughter of Sir John Call, of Whitford, Cornwall,* had thrown herself at the Emperor's feet, imploring for a pass to enter the prisons containing English officers. She visited several, but without success.

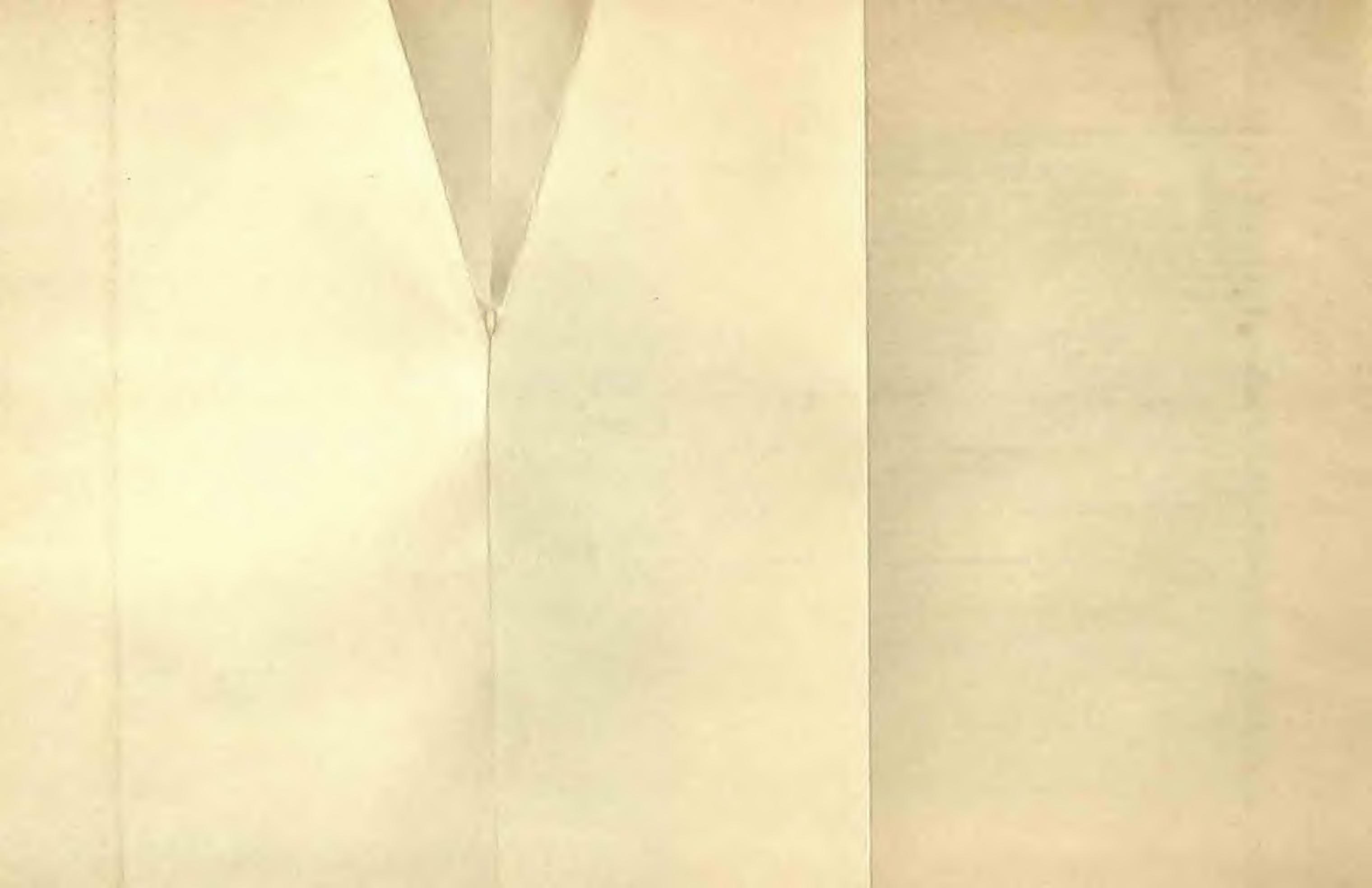
" Their daughter, a lovely girl of eighteen, was spending the winter with her uncle and aunt, Lord and Lady Aylmer at Rome, where her beauty and charm of manner had won her much love and admiration. They were all three fond of riding and in one of their expeditions took the route by the Ponte Molle to the Tiber. In consequence of a locked gate they had to make a circuit in a part with which they were not acquainted, in order to reach the river. The party consisted of Lord and Lady Aylmer, Rose Bathurst, and the Duc de Laval-Montmorency, who offered to guide them, assuring them that the narrow pathway between the wall and the bank, which slopes down to the river, would soon lead them down to a wider and safer road.

" Rose rode her English horse. They went in single file. At a bit of broken road, her horse shied and tried to turn, got his hind foot on the slippery turf, slid down to the edge of the river, and was carried out into the middle of the current. Rose was a splendid horsewoman; had she lost her seat at once, she might have been saved. But she sat motionless in her saddle; her hat fell off and unloosed her hair over her shoulders. Her uncle, who could not swim, threw himself into the river, but embarrassed with his heavy coat, he regained the bank, tore off his coat and plunged again into the torrent, swollen with winter rains and carrying with it young trees and large branches. He caught her hat; but alas, she was already far beyond his reach; and the distracted onlookers saw that the horse in tossing his head, had at last unseated his rider. She sank down out of sight under the turbulent waters. A groom, who had been sent back to Rome with a restive horse, was the only man of the party who could swim. Another, Lord Aylmer's groom, ran down to a point in the river at a mile's distance, where Rose's horse landed.

" My uncle was unconscious, and was taken home in Lady C——'s carriage, which happened to be passing. The river was dragged, and every possible attempt made to recover the body, but without success. Mourning was almost universal, and the Jews in the Ghetto closed their shops out of respect to the *bella signorina inglese*, who had often ridden through their streets.

" Six months later, Mr. Mills returned to Rome, and having left his carriage at the Ponte Molle, was leaning over the parapet of the bridge sadly gazing at the scene of the tragedy which had broken up their happy circle. It was now July, and the river was a narrow stream that one could step across. His

* Sir John Call, a famous retired Anglo-Indian.



notice was attracted by two peasants walking down the bed of the river; one of whom carelessly pulled at a piece of cloth half buried in the sand. It resisted, and a sudden idea struck Mr. Mills. He called to the men, and himself ran down from the bridge. Finding the piece of cloth resisted his strength also, when he pulled at it, he sent the men for spades, and on carefully removing the sand, the body of Rose Bathurst was uncovered in perfect preservation. The lovely features were undisturbed, as though in peaceful slumber, her long habit was wrapped round her limbs, and one ear-ring only was missing. She was buried in the English cemetery, and a white marble monument by Westmacott was placed over her grave. On one side is a draped figure, rising from the water to the outstretched arms of two angels, on the other side is a broken moss-rose bud."

IN the winters of 1892 and 1893 the present writer was in Rome. An afternoon sleep on the sunny side of Monte Palatino and a ramble back home through the Ghetto was then his almost daily delight. Would that I had then known of this story. The preservation of Rose Bathurst's body reminds one of the beautiful description of the discovery of the early Christian Martyr, St. Cecilia, by Baronius and Bosio in 1599. "I saw," writes the Cardinal, "enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, a coffin of cyprus-wood, which enshrined the sacred limbs of Cecilia. It was covered with a sliding lid, a little decayed Within we found the holy body of Cecilia laid as it had been found by Pope Paschal* with the veil steeped in her blood at her feet. Some threads of silk embroidered with gold, which were visible, were the remnants of that gold-enwoven robe mentioned by Paschal, which was now decayed by age. Another vesture of silk, of light texture, laid over the body of the martyr and clinging to it, permitted the posture and the form of her limbs to be seen. It was remarkable then to behold how the body was not lying supine as if in a tomb, but as a maiden might lie on her couch, upon the right side, with the knees a little drawn up, looking more like the form of one who slept than of the dead, and so ordered as to convey to all beholders the idea of virgin modesty." A monument in an old cemetery at Monghyr bears no other words than these: "Hush, she sleeps."

LANDOR's friendship with Rose Aylmer's half-niece belongs to the history of English literature. In 1838, Lord Elgin presented to her on her departure from Paris "a white marble bird on the wing, held by a restraining hand," and the gift was accompanied by a letter, which Landor considered

* That is in the year 821, A.D.

to be "the most graceful letter he had ever read." Lady Graves Saule gives, in their original form the verses, Landor wrote on this occasion:

He who rais'd high o'er war tumults,
Rescued from time his richest spoils,
Had laid them at thy feet, O Rose!
But Britain cried—to me belong
Trophies beneath whose shadows sung
The choir of Pallas where Ilyssus flows.

Of purest alabaster, well
Expressing what our speech would tell,
Beauteous, but somewhat less divine
Than Phidias, taught by Pallas, plann'd,
Elgin presents the only hand
That throbs not at the gentle touch of thine.

The *Letters of Walter Savage Landor to Lady Grace Saule* were published by Mr. Stephen Wheeler in the year 1899, but perhaps the reader will easily recall these lines.

My ^{own} ~~verse~~ was for thine eyes alone,
Alone by them it was repaid;
And still thine ear records the tone
Of thy grey minstrel, thoughtful maid.

Amid the poms of regal state,
Where thou, O Rose! art called to move,
Thee only Virtue can elate,
She only guide thy steps to Love.

Sometimes, when dark is each saloon,
Dark every lamp that crown'd the Seine
Memory hangs low Analfi's moon,
And lights thee o'er Salerno's plain.

ON page 173 of my Edition of Mrs. Fay will be found this passage: "28th March 1782, I had the pleasure last evening of being present at the marriage of Captain P. M.— and my young friend Miss T.—" I have very good reason to suppose that the "Captain P. M.—" here mentioned was Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, and the lady was Miss Susanna Sophia Selina Templer. This couple, together with Sir Robert Chambers, Mrs. Wheeler and Mrs. Moore, stood as sponsors at the baptism of Charlotte Hosea, on February 2nd, 1782. The Hoseas apparently brought down with them

a little illegitimate daughter of old John Shakespear "late Chief of Dacca," for this child, baptised on the same day, Hosea stood as Godfather, and Mrs. Hosea and Mrs. Martin (by her proxy Lady Chambers) stood as God-mothers. It is interesting to note that on February 4th, we find the following entry in the Baptismal Registers at St. John's :—

Charlotte, daughter of Edward Weller, Esq., first member of the Supreme Council, and Charlotte his wife. Sponsors to this child were: Godfather—George Livius, Esq., Lady Wheler, by her proxy Mrs. Hyde, and Lady Chambers, by her proxy Mrs. Watson.

It must have been on either the 2nd or 3rd of February, that Lady Chambers parted with her little son who was to perish in the number of the unfortunate survivors from the wreck of the *Grosvenor*. On the 8th, according to Mrs. Fay, poor old Mrs. Chambers began to give way, and on the 7th she died. It will be recollected that at the time of these baptisms, Warren Hastings was on a very historical journey up-country, and Wheler was for the time the only member of the Supreme Council in Calcutta. The absence of Lady Chambers from the Baptism is easily to be explained. On the Baptismal Register of St. John's, February 27th, 1784, occurs the entry:

Theophilus John, son of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service and Susanna Sophia Selina, his wife.

WILLIAM JOHNSON CHAPLAIN.

Then on April 18th, 1785, we find:

Charles Theophilus, son of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq., in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Susanna Sophia Selina, his wife.

The reader will not need to be reminded that this second child of Mrs. Fay's friend was destined to display one of the finest characters ever exhibited in the course of Anglo-Indian history. Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe became a director of the Hon'ble East India Company and a baronet, but this is all that Dodwell and Miles can tell us of him. "Ensign, July 31st, 1767; Lieutenant, September 23rd, 1767; Major, July 28th, 1781; Struck off, 1793."

I HAVE received, but unfortunately too late for review in this present number, a copy of Mr. E. S. Wenger's *Story of the Lall Bazar Baptist Church, Calcutta*. The volume is full of illustrations which will delight all students of Calcutta history. It need hardly be said that a book, in which so much is to be found concerning such great missionary pioneers as Carey, Marshman, Ward and the Judsons, is of more than local importance. Mr. Wenger's volume will be the subject of a learned article by Mr. E. W. Madge in our next issue. Too late also for review in the present number comes from Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.'s Press the long expected reprint of *Hartly House*. The preparation of this work for the press, commenced by the late

Mr. John Macfarlane, has been completed, as a work of loving friendship, by Messrs. H. E. A. Cotton, Denison Ross, G. F. Barwick and S. C. Sanial. The reprint of *Hartly House* will be reviewed by the present writer in the April number of *Bengal : Past and Present*. From the Archaeological Survey of India the following reports have been received :—

Annual Progress Report.—Southern Circle, 1907-08.

"	"	"	Northern Circle	"
"	"	"	Burma Circle	"
"	"	"	Frontier Circle	"
"	"	"	United Provinces	"

WALTER K. FIRMINER.



General Note-Book.



HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO, whose portrait appears in this number, was the second son of Francis Derozio, Chief Accountant in the Agency House of Messrs. James Scott & Co., by his first wife, Sophia Johnson. He was born on the 18th April 1809, at No. 155, Lower Circular Road—the large and now three-storeyed building which stands on the south of the Maula Ali Durga, facing the new St. Teresa's Roman Catholic Church. He was baptized at St. John's on the 12th August following, by the Rev. James Ward, D.D., who at that same font three years later baptized William Makepeace Thackeray. In 1815—the year in which his mother died— young Henry began to sit at the feet of a veteran educationist, David Drummond by name. For eight years (from the sixth to the fourteenth of his age) he continued under Drummond's tuition, made rapid progress in his studies and won the affection both of his teachers and schoolfellows. Leaving school in 1823 he entered the firm of Messrs. James Scott & Co., but gave up the situation two years later to join the indigo-concern of his uncle, Mr. Arthur Johnson, at Tarapur, District Bhagalpur. Amid the country scenery of that place, with the ripple of the river in his ears and its music in his heart, the boy-poet began to weave his wreath of song. From here he sent contributions to the Calcutta Press under the pen-name of "Juvenis." After a stay of over a year at Bhagalpur he returned to Calcutta in 1826 to see his first volume of poems through the press. In November of that year he was appointed fourth teacher at the Hindu (now Presidency) College on a salary of Rs. 150 per mensem. It was at this time that his first book was published, receiving great encouragement and even eliciting the applause of a section of the London Press. His poetry is cast in the mould of Byron's, and his chief poem is the *Fakir of Janghira*. His critique on the Philosophy of Immanuel Kant was justly admired. As a teacher Derozio stands unique. His mode of teaching was original, his endeavours were attended with marked success, and he soon became the idol of his students and friends. He established the first debating club known as the "Academic Association" and inspired his pupils with his own youthful enthusiasm. He assisted them to maintain a magazine entitled *The Enquirer*, and himself conducted an evening paper called *The Hesperus*. Among his more notable students and followers may be mentioned the names of the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea, C.I.E., Babu Ramgopal

Ghose, Rai Hara Chandra Ghose Bahadur, Raja Dakshinaranjan Mukerji, Raja Digumbar Mitter, C.S.I., Babus Pyari Chand Mitra, Ramtanu Lahiri, and others. The managers of the College, however, were alarmed at the progress which some of the pupils were making, and Derozio was unjustly charged with having, among other things, denied in public hearing the existence of God. To all the charges he pleaded "not guilty," and although the Founder and the Visitor of the College declared themselves fully satisfied with his defence, they were compelled to yield to the clamour of the managers, and Derozio was obliged to resign his appointment. He had been Sub-Editor of the *India Gazette* which, with the *Bengal Harkara*, has long been merged in the *Indian Daily News*. On leaving the College he started *The East Indian*, but his brilliant career was cut short by the hand of death, and he succumbed to cholera on Monday, 26th December 1831, at the age of twenty-three—just as many years as there are letters in his name! He was buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground. His talents had obtained for him admission into the best society of his day. In society he was lively, in conversation humorous and brilliant, while in private life he was a dutiful son, a kind brother and a warm friend. We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. H. A. Stark for the portrait. It appeared in the *Oriental Magazine* for October 1843, and is known as Bennett's lithographic miniature. Derozio's tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery remained undistinguishable until a few years ago when the late Babu Durga Mohan Das had it repaired and a brief inscription engraved on it. Mr. George O'Connell, the new Secretary to the Christian Burial Board, has recently had a suitable monument placed over it at his own expense. A Memoir of Derozio appeared in 1884 from the pen of Mr. Thomas Edwards, and the above note has been adapted from a lecture delivered at the Y.M.C.A. Hall on 10th December 1904 by Mr. E. W. Madge, which has been printed.

K. N. D.

It should gratify the many admirers of Derozio, the youthful bard and teacher, to learn that his grave in South Park Street Cemetery has just been marked with a tablet, erected (at his own expense) by Mr. George O'Connell, the new and energetic Secretary to the Christian Burial Board. The grave had remained indistinguishable for over half a century until attention was called to it in the Calcutta newspapers some years ago, when an Indian gentleman (the late Durga Mohun Dass, Vakil High Court) had it repaired and a brief inscription engraved on the cement. Mr. O'Connell has now had it planted round with shrubs, thoroughly renovated, and surmounted by



HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO

a large slab of white marble, bearing the following inscription:—"In memory of HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO, the Eurasian Poet and Reformer. Born April 18, 1809. Died December 26, 1831. Erected by his admiring countryman, G. O'Connell, Secretary, Christian Burial Board, 1908."

It may be added that the work was entrusted to Messrs. P. Swarles and Company of this city. In the *Bengal Obituary* the date of Derozio's birth is given as 10th April and that of his death as 23rd December, and these were adopted by Mr. Thomas Edwards in his *Memoir of the Poet*; but the dates quoted above are taken from the old vestry records of St. John's. With the permission of the unselfish and disinterested donor, it seems a pity nobody thought of arranging for a public or semi-public unveiling ceremony. In a future number of *Bengal: Past and Present* it may perhaps be possible to publish photographs of the grave as it once appeared and as it may now be seen.

E. W. M.

THE following appeal has been issued by the Chaplains and Vestry of St. John's Church, Calcutta:—

During the last two years the Government has spent considerable sums of money on repairing this beautiful old building, on the upkeep of its garden and the renovation of the tombs in the Church-yard; it has also enhanced the cleanliness of the surroundings of the Church and comfort of the worshippers therein. The following figures speak eloquently of the generosity of the Government towards St. John's:—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
1. Drainage of compound	2,230	0	0
2. Wire-netting of tops of verandahs	900	0	0
3. Paving East verandah and West ramps	1,164	0	0
4. Marble flooring to the body of the Church	1,487	0	0
5. Gas system	1,045	0	0
6. Monuments, Sculptures, Pictures, etc....	.....	
TOTAL	6,826	0	0
7. Replacing at an early date the old servants' quarters	8,000	0	0

The Chaplain and Churchwardens think that the time has come to mark a proper appreciation of this continuous liberal treatment, by which the Town gains in its busy midst a well cared for oasis of religious quiet, beauty and wholesomeness. They suggest accordingly that efforts might be made by the congregation among city people, all of whom are interested, in the following direction:—to complete the marble paving in the north and south aisles, to raise the Font, Lectern, and Pulpit, to bring the last forward a little and provide it with a sounding-board, to re-cover all the kneelers, to provide some new

cassocks and surplices, at a cost roughly of Rs. 2,500. Gifts will be gratefully received by the Chaplain and Wardens.

T. E. F. COLE, *Chaplain*.

W. R. C. JEWELL,

S. S. COOPER,

F. M. LESLIE,

J. J. MEIKLE,

} *Churchwardens*.

October 1908.

To this appeal are appended the following interesting notes by Archdeacon Hyde:—

The Church of St. John, in the city of Calcutta, is the original Parish Church of the whole Presidency of Bengal. The present building was consecrated in 1787, and is the *sixth* edifice in succession that, since the time when Hughly was the Company's Capital in "The Bay of Bengal," has held the rank of sole Presidency Church.

The traditions of the Parish, together with a growing series of registers and other records (commencing 1713), have been handed down to the present time through a line of 38* incumbents of the Senior and 38* of the Junior Chaplaincy (not reckoning officiating appointments) from the first Bengal Chaplain who came out in the reign of King Charles II.

1. The *earliest* in the succession of Presidency Churches was the Factory Chapel at Hughly, to which allusion is found as early as 1679.

2. The *next* was some "decent and convenient place" devoted to Divine Worship within the original Fort William of which nothing is yet known; but where the Chaplains ministered until the consecration of St. Anne's.

3. The *third* was the small but beautiful church of St. Anne, built by public subscription, and consecrated, by commission of the Bishop of London, on the 5th of June 1709. This Church was destroyed in 1756.

4. The *fourth* was the old Portuguese Church seized for Anglican use on the recovery of Calcutta, but restored in 1760 to the Portuguese.

5. The *fifth* was St. John's Chapel, built within the ruined Fort William, which continued to be the Presidency Church from July 1760 to the consecration of the present building.

6. The latest of the series, the present noble Basilica, was built, like St. Anne's, by public subscription. It cost Rs. 1,84,136-14-11, and was consecrated on St. John the Baptist's Day 1787 by commission of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Governors-General Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis each took an active interest in its building; and Lord Minto in its improvement in 1811. In 1814, the 2nd of December, Bishop Middleton was inducted within its walls into possession of the See of Calcutta as its first occupant. St. John's then, as being the chief Church of the Presidency,

* 48 Senior in 1908.

39 Junior in 1908.

became the Cathedral of the Diocese until St. Paul's was consecrated in 1847. Here five Bishops were all enthroned, and two of them buried. The chair in which they were all enthroned is preserved in the Church, and within the walls hang the funeral hatchments of four of them.

St. John's is a comprehensive monument of the history of the British in Bengal. Within or without her walls are memorials of an illustrious line of Indian worthies beginning with the Mausoleum of the* Father of Calcutta himself. Every generation is visibly represented in some manner or another. Among the earlier tombs and memorials are those of Job Charnock (1693), the Founder of Calcutta, Surgeon William Hamilton (1717), the Author of her commercial prosperity, and Vice-Admiral Charles Watson (1757), her Liberator from Mahomedan occupation.

The Church is an imposing edifice in a Greek style, but with a steeple; this latter is the only stone building in Calcutta. Within the Church are several paintings and pieces of marble sculptures of great merit. Among these are Zoffani's famous altar-piece, and two monuments of remarkable beauty to Lieutenant-Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1805), and Alexander Colvin (1818).

The area of the Parish, which originally embraced the whole Presidency of Bengal, has been retrenched by successive enactments, until in 1869 its present limits were assigned. These practically make the Parish to be now but the strip extending through the middle of the town, between Esplanade and Hare Street, and the roads extending eastwards from them as far as Wellington Square.

The Parish is the only one in Bengal constituted legally after the English model; its ancient select vestry of Chaplains and Churchwardens having been re-organized as at present by the Governor-General in Council in 1835. This Select Vestry has perpetual legal succession, and forms a body of trustees of many charitable endowments, and are *ex-officio* governors of the Free School.

MR. NORMAN MCLEOD has sent us the following query :—

"As you probably know, some baboo left a sum of money or property in trust for the payment of a daily fee of Rs. 16 to the officer on guard at Fort William. I have often heard people express a curiosity as to the history of the fund, but there seems to be nothing authentic, and even the Military authorities are much in the dark regarding it, possibly from the fact that the property has much appreciated, though they still pay the subaltern only Rs. 16. I think a short note on the subject would interest members and, perhaps, you could move some one versed in Old Calcutta to make an inquiry and clear up the facts."

* Job Charnock.

Secretary's Pages.

"Mr. Popham is one of the most eccentric beings I ever met with. Poor man, he is a perpetual projector—a member of a race whose exertions have frequently benefited society, but seldom, I believe, been productive to themselves or their families."—MRS. FAY.



HE lines from Mrs. Fay, cited above, seem not inappropriate as applied to Waghorn. The following newspaper cuttings were sent out to our Society by Dr. Busteed. Unfortunately the dates and sources of these extracts have not, in every case, been noted. The first seems to come from the *Standard*.

1. A meeting is to be held at the Mansion House to-day for the purpose of aiding in the movement for the erection of a Memorial to Lieutenant Waghorn. Monuments and memorials to people in no danger of being forgotten, or whose memory posterity had rightly considered unworthy of keeping green, have of late become too common; but the fame of the self-denying sailor to whom we are indebted for the Overland Route to India, whose exertions brought England and the Eastern Empire three months nearer together, and who, as M. de Lesseps is ever ready to acknowledge, gave him the first idea of that canal of which we have heard so much of late, and are likely to hear a great deal more before long, falls under an entirely different category. The exploits of such a man ought surely to be fresh in the recollections of those who have reaped so rich a harvest on the soil where he laboured amid derision and doubt. Yet, though only thirty-four years have elapsed since he died, the name of Thomas Waghorn is already obscure. Every well-informed person knows, of course, that there was such an individual, just as all know that Thomas à Kempis once wrote, or that Job Charnock was a factor of the East India Adventurers. But many a Competition Wallah has taken his first leave, and yet found it necessary to "look up the history" of the grim explorer whose statue faces him on Waghorn's Quay, hard by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's landingplace at Suez. Nor did Waghorn gain in profit what he is losing in reputation. For he died too soon to reap any reward for his sacrifices in time, toil and money, or to see the full realisation of the project which he so ardently advocated. And when he died, thirty-four years ago, worn out by the anxiety and exertions of his life's labour, he was only a Naval Lieutenant, in receipt of a pension of two hundred pounds from the Civil List. Even this he enjoyed but for a short three months. His widow obtained an allowance of forty pounds, increased after twelve months to one hundred pounds. On her death in 1856, an annuity of fifty pounds was granted to his aged mother, which, in 1872, was continued, with the addition of twenty-five pounds extra, to his three sisters, one of whom still survives to receive the humble dole from the bounty of a nation which has gained so much from the exertions of their unfortunate brother.

When first the wealth of the distant East excited the avarice of the Western World, the route adopted was to carry the rich products of India up the Indus, as far as that river was navigable, whence they were transported down the Oxus to the Caspian. From this inland sea the traders entered the Volga, and sailing a certain distance up that current, made a "portage," as the *voyageurs* of the Fur countries say, to the Euxine, where ships

from Constantinople waited the arrival of the caravans. Another route, favoured by Italian merchants in the Middle Ages, was that from Hindostan by way of the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and the Tigris as far as Bagdad, and thence across the Desert of Palmyra to the Mediterranean ports. In time, the costliness of the Indus and Oxus route led to its abandonment, and when the feuds between the Crescent and the Cross waxed furious the Syrian and Mesopotamian overland journey grew equally unpopular. Almost coincidently the discovery of the easy voyage by the Cape of Good Hope altered the entire course of commerce, ruined a score of flourishing Italian cities, and gave rise to those enterprises on the part of our own merchants from which may be dated the beginnings of our Indian Empire. For more than two centuries scarcely any other route to the East was followed, and even after it had been practically superseded, some of the more conservative Anglo-Indians affected to prefer the four months' voyages in the stately East Indiamen of their youth, when calms and storms, brushes with pirates, privateers, letters of marque, and men-of-war, rambles on St. Helena, and ostrich hunts at the Cape, were among the *divertissements* of the passage. In those days England and India were far apart, and twice in a lifetime was quite enough to make such a voyage as that between Calcutta and Southampton.

To Thomas Waghorn is due the vast revolution which the last forty years have wrought in the manners and customs of the Anglo-Indian world. Of his personal history very little is known, and perhaps there is little worth knowing; for his work was what made him interesting.

At the age of twelve he entered the Royal Navy, but soon after attaining his lieutenancy, transferred his services to the East India Company's Marine, and highly distinguished himself in the Expedition to the pestilential shores of Arracan. But Waghorn's *notre* was in the victories of peace rather than in those of war. In the course of his professional duties he became familiar with both sides of the Isthmus, and conceived the idea of establishing a route across it by way of Suez, Cairo and Alexandria. For a time this notion was scoffed at, and the vested interests which saw in the accomplishment of his scheme the ruin of the Cape voyages did their best to render his exertions futile. Looking at the scheme in the light of subsequent events, it seems almost incredible that both the Imperial and the East Indian authorities threw every opposition in his way, and it was not until he incontestably proved the superiority of the new route over the old one, that they would even extend their countenance to the young Lieutenant. At his own cost he was allowed—unaided except by the Bombay Steam Committee—to build the eight halting-places in the Desert between Cairo and Suez, and the three hotels established above them, provide carriages, and place small steamers on the Nile and the Canal of Alexandria. But Waghorn was a man of too much energy, intelligence, and resolution to be easily depressed, and so year after year he persevered, at great sacrifice to himself in money and professional prospects, until at last he triumphantly bore into London, the Bombay mail only thirty days old, after a journey which was expedited by the Government of every country interested except France, which even in those days, had begun to foresee that we were to be its rivals in Egypt. This memorable feat was accomplished on the 31st of October 1845—fifteen years after the initiation of the scheme—and it established once and for all the superiority of the Suez route over that by way of the Euphrates, which had been his first thought. So energetic was Waghorn that on one occasion—having been disappointed in the steamer which was to carry him to Bombay—he embarked in an open boat, without chart or compass, to sail alone six hundred miles of the Red Sea between Soer and Jeddah, and in six days and a half accomplished the feat. At first the mails only were conveyed

by the new route, for a time by Waghorn himself, and up to the year 1840, when the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company took the contract, the service between Suez and India was carried on by means of the vessels of the Indian Navy. Even after a few adventurous passengers had essayed the so-called "Overland journey" they had to jolt between Alexandria and Cairo and between Cairo and Suez in camel or four-horse vans. It was only in 1852 that a railway between the first-mentioned cities was completed, and in 1857 between the capital and the port of departure in the Red Sea; though in 1870 this line through the waterless Desert was abandoned in favour of a new and longer but better track, along the Freshwater Canal to Ismailia and the Maritime Canal to Suez. Finally, it is almost needless to remark that the excavation of M. de Lesseps' great waterway has diverted traffic into a new channel, ruined St. Helena, and transformed Suez, from the wretched Arab village it was when Waghorn commenced his labours, to the important town now so familiar to travellers. But the initiation of the project was due to the energetic Lieutenant who first proved that the level of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean was nearly identical, and succeeded in directing public attention to a route from which it will never again be diverted. Such a man is well worthy of the esteem of his fellow-townsmen at Chatham. Nor can we doubt that the thousands who pass and repass over the Isthmus on their way to and from India and Australia will be ready—fardily it may be and in a very unsubstantial fashion—to try and repay their long outstanding debt to the man who so notably increased the commercial importance of England, while—it must be admitted in the face of the present crisis—adding so materially to her responsibilities.

2. From the *Overland Mail*, September 20, 1872.

A memorial has been addressed to the merchants, shipowners, etc., of Great Britain by the three surviving sisters of the late Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn, who first practically opened the Overland Route to India. These ladies, at a very advanced period of life, are unfortunately in straitened circumstances.

The eldest, Ann Munday, is a widow, aged seventy-four years, residing at Melbourne, Australia, quite infirm and unfitted for any exertion; the third sister, Sarah Ransom, is likewise a widow, aged fifty-nine years, living at Melbourne. She is suffering from weakness of the lungs and debility, which will soon oblige her to relinquish her present occupation as schoolmistress; and the second sister, Mary Jane Waghorn, resides at Rochester, Kent, an invalid, and almost helpless. Under these circumstances an appeal is made to the public for such pecuniary aid as would provide a small allowance for them in their declining years, and in doing so their friends draw attention to the immense advantages resulting to all nations from the successful establishment, through the untiring energies of their brother, of the route to India, through Egypt. Captain A. P. Wall, 11, Glengall Terrace, Old Kent Road, London, and Captain J. Childs, Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge, have arranged to take charge of any donations which may be sent to them for the relief of these ladies, and subscriptions for the same object will also be received by the London Chartered Bank of Australia, 88, Cannon Street, E.C.

3. LIEUTENANT WAGHORN'S SISTERS.

Alderman G. R. Foard, of Rochester, having written to Mr. Gladstone, asking that the Civil List pension of £25 per annum paid to the late Mary Jane Waghorn, sister to the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N., and who recently died in the North Aylesford Union Workhouse, might be divided between the two surviving sisters now living in Australia, has



RIVERSIDE GRAVEYARD AT PIRPAINTI (BHAGLPOUR DISTRICT).
(Photo, by A. de Casson, Eng.)



GANGA BOAT.
(Photo, by A. de Casson, Eng.)



TEMPLES, DEOGHAR.
(Photo, by A. de Casson, Eng.)

received the following reply from Mr. Gladstone's secretary :—" 10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W. Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Gladstone to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 22, and to inform you that the amount distributed in pensions from the Civil List is a fixed annual sum, and that the death of an annuitant does not create a fresh pension available for distribution. He is unable, therefore, to advance your wishes in favour of the Misses Waghorn.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, HORACE SEYMOUR."

4. MISS WAGHORN.

Mr. W. H. Bell, deputy coroner for Rochester, held an inquest at the South Aylesford Union Workhouse, on March 21, upon the body of Miss Mary Ann Waghorn, sister to the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N., the originator of the overland route to India. The deceased died in the workhouse the previous Friday under very distressing circumstances. She was seventy-six years of age, and all she had to live upon was a pension of £25, granted by the Queen in recognition of the great services rendered to the country by her late brother, and a small sum of money allowed her by some friends in India. She lived by herself in a house at Strood, and had latterly been of peculiar habits. As she was not seen for two days, the house was broken into, when she was found lying on the floor in an unconscious state, with a bruise upon her forehead. She was removed to the workhouse infirmary, where she died on Friday. Evidence was given that the deceased frequently fell down in fits, and, as Dr. R. R. Brown, who attended her, stated that death was caused by an extravasation of blood on the brain, the result of the bruise, and that such bruise might have been caused by a fall, the jury returned a verdict "That death was the result of natural causes, accelerated by a fall."

5. MISS WAGHORN.

May, 1885.

ON Friday last there died in a workhouse infirmary the last surviving sister of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, the well-known pioneer of the Overland Route to India. Only two days before had the poor old lady been removed to the Rochester Workhouse from her own humble home at Strood, where she was found lying bruised and insensible on the floor, with no one to look after her. For some years past she had been struggling to live on a pension of £25 a year granted from the Civil List, and eked out by the help she received from a few friends in India. She suffered, it seems, from fits, and may have been lying where she was discovered for more than a day. The fall, no doubt, hastened her death at the age of seventy-six. She was the last of two sisters who had lived together for many years on a pittance which barely kept them from starving. That the sisters of a man to whom England and India owed so much should have been left to linger in such poverty would be hardly credible, were it not true. Of all the millions of money yearly made in this country by our Indian trade, hardly an infinitesimal portion found its way to the hands and mouths of these two neglected women. Waghorn himself died poor and almost unrewarded in 1850, after having spent his life in the service both of the Company and the Crown. It is more than fifty years since the sailor who had distinguished himself during the first Burmese War began to proclaim in India and in England the feasibility and advantages of the route across the Suez Isthmus to Bombay. It was only in 1823 that he induced the India House and the Board of Control to send him out with despatches for India on the experimental trip which pioneered the way for the P. and O. Company's steamers. No steamer being ready to carry him on from Suez, he hastened down the Red Sea to Jedda in a half-decked Arab dhow, and then took another ship which brought him to Bombay in forty-six days after leaving England. For some years after that Waghorn was left

to conduct the mail service across the Isthmus, with such help as the India Government and a private company might dole out to him. In due time the great P. and O. Company took charge of the overland mails to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and the six weeks' journey was reduced to four. But the pioneer of the Overland Route gained little enough for his services, except a small pension and honorable remembrance in his country's annals.

6. THE ORIGINATOR OF THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

The death in the infirmary at Strood of the sister of the man who originated the idea of an overland route to India is painfully suggestive. Lieutenant Waghorn was an officer in the East India Company's service, and devoted a great portion of his life to the project of bringing India nearer to England by a shorter journey than that round the Cape. On October 31, 1845, he arrived in London with the Bombay mail of the 1st of that month, an exploit unprecedented at the period. His despatches reached Suez on the 19th, and Alexandria on the 20th, whence he proceeded by steamboat to a place twelve miles nearer London than Trieste. He hurried through Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, and Belgium thus gaining over two days on the ordinary express by Marseilles. A few days afterwards he wrote a letter to the papers, expressing his confidence that the mails would yet take but three weeks from the capital of Western India to the British metropolis. But his grand scheme was that which subsequently raised M. de Lesseps to a pinnacle of deserved fame—the connection of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal through the desert. Waghorn died in 1850, a heart-broken pauper, who was believed by an incredulous world to be the victim of an amiable craze. His bust has since been erected by the French at Suez, and his own grateful country tardily recognised his services by granting the lady who has just breathed her last in a workhouse the *magnificent* pension of ten shillings a week.

THE following passage from Professor A. S. Church's *Memory of Men and Books* refers to a very distinguished Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. It will not be unfair to quote it here, as Kaye's memory is beyond reproach on the score of generosity.

I must give another specimen of Henry Whitehead's humour. The occasion was an event, mentioned above—William Kaye's leaving Oxford to take up the principalship at Bishop's College, Calcutta. Kaye, it should be explained, was considered to be over-frugal in the hospitality which he occasionally showed to his pupils. I have been his guest at breakfast, and I can testify that the meal was very different from the abundant, doubtless too abundant, repast with which the undergraduate is accustomed to regale his friends. This was the failing which Whitehead touched upon in the following stanza:—

"The breakfasts be'll give to the lads of Calcutta
Will be on the plan neither novel nor fresh;
Each will bring his own commons of stale bread and butter,
And no Brahmin be asked to eat animal flesh."

THE Excursions Sub-Committee had made arrangements for an excursion to Bhubaneswar on New Year's Day, but it was discovered that that day would be exceedingly inconvenient, both to the members of the Society and also to the railway authorities. This expedition, therefore, stands postponed, but not, it is trusted, indefinitely. The views published in the present number,

although they fail to do justice to the wealth of beauty and interest in the place, will, it is hoped, awaken some enthusiasm among the members of the Society. Bhubaneswar is almost unknown, even by name, to the average Calcutta citizen, but yet within ten hours' railway journey there exist some of the most magnificent monuments of Hinduism to be found in India, and a few miles beyond, monuments which take one back beyond the fourth century before Christ. It is to be hoped that this Expedition will be negotiated at no distant date. On January the 27th it is proposed to visit Pandua and Burdwan. At the latter place the Maharaj Adhiraj has kindly promised to welcome the Society. The beauty of the Palace and its precincts will appeal to all who avail themselves of this opportunity. The two objects of historical interest which will appeal most powerfully to the members of this expedition will be the graves of the heroic Shere Afghan, the first husband of Mher-ul-Nissa (afterwards the Emperor Jehangir's Nur Jehan), and Kutub Abdeen, Jehangir's foster-brother. The intended victim, and the man who would have slain—but was slain by—Shere Afghan, lie side by side in Pir Baharam garden. Another place of interest, connected with the event which led to the first beginnings of Fort William,—Kwhaja Anwara's Bera, will also be visited. Burdwan and its Rulers have played a great part in the building up of British Bengal, and this particular expedition should prove to be of great interest. Of Pandua it is scarcely necessary to say anything, for the reader has only to refer to Colonel Crawford's article in the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

THE thanks of the Society are due to Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., for his kindness in procuring from Lord Tweedale a photograph of Zoffany's painting of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cockfight." Mr. Sykes, however, was good enough to place at our disposal the phototype block made from the engraving and as this would afford a clearer result than could be obtained from the photograph from the original, it has been used. The Society, however, is deeply obliged both to Mr. Keene and Lord Tweedale for their kind interest. Of Zoffany's "Embassy of Hyderbeck" something will be said in our next issue. In the picture the reader will note the famous Granary of Patna, and Zoffany himself riding on a little steed close to the infuriated elephant. We are indebted to Mr. Sykes, late of the Lucknow Martinière, for the use of several blocks, and to Mr. F. C. Scallon for the frontispiece. The views of Bhubaneswar are taken from Rajendra Lall Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*. The services of Dr. Pearse, who on a very hot day was good enough to go out to Dum-Dum to photograph Colonel Pearse's monument, are gratefully acknowledged.

MEMBERS of the Society in England will hear with satisfaction that the letter copy books of Richard Barwell have recently been presented to the Society by a number of friends. The light which these volumes will throw on the history of Bengal will be brilliant.

IN the Calcutta press of to-day appears a notice which should perhaps be placed on record here. The services of the Rev. W. K. Firminger are placed at the disposal of the Government of East Bengal and Assam from date 4th March 1909.

J. C. MITCHELL,
Honorary Secretary.



NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES	ADDRESSES	DATE OF MEMBERSHIP.
Campbell, D. F.	<i>Lachutpore T. E. Syket</i>	1st Jan. '09.
Cotman, H. W.	<i>United Service Club</i>	" "
Edwards, Major R. M.	<i>5th Light Infantry</i>	3rd Nov. '08.
Finch, Dr. H. H. G.	<i>19, Camac Street</i>	1st Oct. '08.
Grice, W. T.	<i>9, Dalhousie Square</i>	1st Jan. '09.
Ketteren, C. H.	<i>Royal Insurance Buildings</i>	" "
Mawjee, Purshotam Vishram	<i>Vishram Bhaiya, Warden Road, Bombay</i>	4th Oct. '08.
Mitter, S.	<i>Chhatrapur, Bundelkhand</i>	3rd Nov. '08.
Swan, J. A. L., I.C.S.	<i>United Service Club</i>	1st Jan. '09.
Taylor, A. K.	<i>Office of the Electrical Executive Engineer</i>	" "
Wulpert, M.	<i>9, Middleton Street</i>	3rd Nov. '08.

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Mrs. CARWAC.
By Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Forgotten Graveyards.



IN *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, No. 2 (April 1908, page 221), the Editor remarks on the need of a "*Corpus Inscriptionum Indiae Britannicae*," and quotes from the preface of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal* a passage to the same effect. The desire to collect epitaphs from the tombstones of our departed fellow countrymen, scattered throughout the country, has been felt and expressed for more than a century past. Several such collections have, from time to time, been published; and during the past twelve years, several Provincial Governments have published such lists, more or less well done, of the most noteworthy inscriptions in their respective provinces.

In this connection we should remember, I think, that it is not the names of the very first rank which require such commemoration. These men have made their mark in history. There is no fear of their names being forgotten. The principal facts and dates of their careers have been recorded, and any one who wishes to do so, can ascertain them without trouble. It is the men of less note whose epitaphs should specially be recorded; men who are for the most part forgotten nowadays; whose careers have not been told in well-known works; whose records, if they exist at all, are neither well-known nor easy of access. Yet all in their way, soldier and civilian, planter and merchant, man and woman, have helped to build up our mighty Indian Empire. To quote from the special poet and story-teller of the Anglo-Indian.

"Never the lotus closes, never the wild-fowl wake,
But a soul goes out on the east wind that died for England's sake—
Man or woman or suckling, mother or bride or maid—
Because on the bones of the English the English Flag is stayed."

Kipling "Barrack Room Ballads."

Several collections of epitaphs were published about a century ago. The oldest which I have seen is Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary*, 1809-1813, the full title of which runs as follows: "The Oriental Obituary; or a Record to perpetuate the memory of the Dead, being an impartial compilation from Monumental Inscriptions on the Tombs of those Persons, whose ashes are deposited in these remote parts of the world, since the formation of European

Settlements to the present time, to which is added Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., illustrative of the Public Services, General Character, and Virtues of Departed Worth," by William Urquhart, and printed by him at the Journal Press, Vol. I, Madras, 1809; Vol. II, Madras, 1813.

The epitaphs in Urquhart are chiefly taken from the Madras and Calcutta burial grounds; there is a copy of the work in the Imperial Library.

The next work of the kind which I have seen is De Rozario's *Monumental Register*, published in 1815. This work also may be seen in the Imperial Library. Its full title is: "The Complete Monumental Register, containing all the Epitaphs, Inscriptions, etc., etc., etc., in the different Churches and Burial Grounds in and about Calcutta; including those of the Burial Grounds of Howrah, Dumdum, Barrasut, Barrackpore, Pultah, Serampore, Chandernagore, Chinsurah and the Convent of Bandel. Together with several inscriptions from the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, Isle of France, etc. To which is added short sketches, anecdotes, etc., etc., illustrative of the Public Services, General Characters, and Virtues of the Dead." By M. De-Rozario. Calcutta. Printed by P. Ferris, 1815.

This work contains a full list of inscriptions in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood; but, as its title implies, only a few from other parts of the country.

Both Urquhart's and De Rozario's works were published by subscription. Both are now very scarce. I have never seen a copy of either except those in the Imperial Library, and have never seen them advertised for sale in second-hand catalogues; where the next work, the *Bengal Obituary*, makes a frequent appearance.

De Rozario in his preface quotes a work earlier than Urquhart's by Hawkesworth entitled *Asiaticus*. This I have never seen; the Imperial Library has no copy of it.

The *Bengal Obituary* was published in 1848 by Messrs. Holmes and Co., a firm of Calcutta undertakers. The inscriptions from the Burial Grounds of Calcutta and the suburbs are very fully given, probably complete up-to-date. For the mofussil the compilers were presumably dependent on correspondents. Lists of inscriptions from some mofussil stations, e.g., Monghyr, are fairly complete; in other cases, as for instance Bhagalpur, very few are given. The full title of the work is as follows: "The Bengal Obituary, or a Record to perpetuate the memory of departed worth, being a compilation of tablets and monumental inscriptions from various parts of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies. To which is* added Biographical Sketches and Memoirs of such as have pre-eminently distinguished themselves in the History of British

* It is a curious fact that on the title page of each of these three works, we find the plural nouns, sketches, memoirs, etc., preceded by the verb in the singular, "it added."

India, since the formation of the European Settlement to the present time." By Holmes and Co., 39, Crossitollah, Calcutta. Calcutta: Printed by J. Thomas, Baptist Mission Press, and sold by Messrs. Thacker and Co., Messrs. R. C. Lepage and Co. and by the Compilers. 1848.

Then follows a gap of nearly half a century before we come to the next work of the kind, the late Dr. Wilson's "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal possessing Historical or Archaeological Interest." Edited by C. R. Wilson, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service. Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1896. Price, Rs. 3. The cover of the work also bears the title "Indian Monumental Inscriptions, Vol. I, Bengal."

In the preface Dr. Wilson states that "the materials for this, the first collection of obituary and commemorative inscriptions published by the Government of Bengal, were originally brought together by the Public Works Department, a special officer being deputed for the work. The inscriptions thus collected were then given to me to edit." Considering that an officer was specially deputed to collect these inscriptions, one may well think that the work of collection might have been done a good deal better and more fully than is actually the case. No less than nineteen of the districts of Bengal, as it was twelve years ago, before the partition, are not represented at all, *viz.* Burdwan, Bankura, Jessore, Khulna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pubna, Tippera, Noakhali, Lushai Hills, Darbanga, Purnea, Angul, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Hazaribagh, Lohurdaga, Singhbhum and Palamau. Many of these districts are on the line of rail, and some within easy reach of Calcutta; the whole Chittagong Division is represented by one inscription, from Chittagong cemetery; and the Chota Nagpur Division also by one only, from Topechanchi in Manbhum.

Such as it stands, the work is of value, and we are glad to have it. The pity of it is, that it might have been so much better. The faults of omission are not Dr. Wilson's, but rest with those who collected the material. All Dr. Wilson's antiquarian work is so well done that we can only regret that he was not supplied with fuller materials. Even apart from those districts which are not represented at all, some of those which are given are very incomplete, *e.g.* under Midnapore, the burial grounds at Contai and Hijli are omitted.

A similar work was published by the Government of Madras in 1905 "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras possessing Historical or Archaeological Interest." By Julian James Cotton, C.S., Madras. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, 1905. In this case the work has been thoroughly well and fully done. Mr. Cotton's work, indeed, might be taken as an example by any future Editors of similar lists in other

provinces.* This work is also entitled "Indian Monumental Inscriptions, Volume III., Madras."

During nearly a quarter of a century's service in Bengal I have served in many districts. I have always done a good deal of touring and have always been much interested in old burial grounds. My object in compiling this paper was to give a list of burial grounds, tombs, etc., which I have noted from time to time in various districts. Unfortunately, I have not usually copied the epitaphs, but merely noted the sites of burial grounds, graves, etc.

I.—MAIMANSINGH DISTRICT.

(a) *Cemetery at the Sadr Station*.—Maimansingh or Nasirabad.

(b) *Old Cemetery at Jamalpur*.—A long forgotten cantonment, now the headquarters of a sub-division, some 30-35 miles north of the Sadr station.

This district is not mentioned at all by Wilson, the *Bengal Obituary* gives one epitaph from Maimansingh and four from Jamalpur.

During the first half of the nineteenth century indigo was extensively cultivated in Maimansingh. Wherever there are many planters, graves are sure to exist at remote factories. All the Maimansingh factories are too far gone, I am afraid, for any remains of tombstones to be found near them. When I served in the district, over twenty years ago, little but the indigo vats remained. The last factory, Beganbari, some five or six miles from the Sadr station, stopped working, I believe, in 1868, over forty years ago. The house was still habitable in 1886-87, and was then the property of the Raja of Muktagacha.

II.—CHAMPARAN DISTRICT.

(a) *Motihari Cemetery*.—Not mentioned in *Bengal Obituary*. Wilson gives one epitaph of Major Holmes, Dr. Gardiner and their wives, murdered at Siganli by mutineers.

(b) *Siganli*.—Formerly a native cavalry station. To the best of my recollection there was a burial ground here.

(c) *Factories*.—In an indigo district, full of factories, there are sure to be graves at some of them; though I cannot recollect having seen any myself when I was there, now more than twenty years ago.

III.—BAKIRGANJ DISTRICT.—The headquarters of this district were first fixed at Baroikaran, near the modern Nalchiti. They were moved

* Slips are bound to creep into even the best edited of such lists, and I can point out one such, at least, in Mr. Cotton's work, No. 478, page 89, Ramsay Sladen, late Physician General of Madras, died 20th August 1830, aged 44. Ramsay Sladen became Physician General on 31st January 1826, retired on 18th December of the same year, and died at Madras on 5th April 1861. Apparently a line has been missed in the epitaph quoted, which may perhaps be that of Dr. Sladen's second wife.

to Bakirganj about 1792, and to Barisal, where they still remain, about 1801. There are no remains now in existence at Baroikaran, and at Bakirganj, twenty years ago, only a *chabutra* remained of the old European settlement.

- (a) *Barisal Cemetery*.—The *Bengal Obituary* gives sixteen epitaphs, the oldest dating from 1813. Wilson gives only one, John Macrae; and, curiously, enters the date of his birth as that of his death in the column devoted to the latter purpose. Though the fact is not noted on the epitaph, John Macrae was a member of the Indian Medical Service, his first commission being dated 16th December 1782. He came out to India as a hospital mate in the Army Medical Department, and, after his transfer to the Indian service, spent the rest of his life at Barisal, giving up promotion to remain there. He also held the appointment of Sub-Assistant Commissary General.
- (b) *Barisal*.—Beveridge, in his work on Bakirganj, published in 1876, (page 307) says that the first European settler in the district was a Scotsman, called William Robinson, "who established himself at Madhupur, in the neighbourhood of Baroikaran and Nalchiti, in 1766, and lived there for about thirty years. He described himself in 1794 as having embarked on board the ship *Falmouth* in 1765 and as having been cast ashore east of Saugor sands in June 1766, from whence he had come up to Madhupur by boat and had been engaged in trade there ever since. His descendants still reside in the district and his tomb is still to be seen in Barisal in Mr. Pereira's compound." If this tomb is still in existence, it would be worth while to have a photograph of it and a copy of the inscription, if there be any.
- (c) *Sibpur*.—About seven miles south of Bakirganj *thana* is an old Portuguese settlement called Sibpur, which was first settled about the middle of the eighteenth century. Twenty years ago there were a large church, several two-storied houses, *pakha* roads and *pakha* bridges in this settlement, all more or less falling into decay. It is probable that there were tombs also, though I do not myself remember seeing any.

IV.—MIDNAPUR DISTRICT.

- (a) *Old Cemetery*, near the hospital. The *Bengal Obituary* gives eight epitaphs, Wilson gives three, and remarks that there are also five nameless tombs. Probably these are the other five whose epitaphs are given in the *Obituary*.

- (b) *Judge's Court, Midnapur*.—Wilson gives the epitaph of John Pearce, Collector, died 20th May 1788.
- (c) *Midnapur modern cemetery*.
- (d) *Tamluk*.—Wilson gives one epitaph, Lieutenant Alexander O'Hara, died 6th October 1793. The *Bengal Obituary* gives also one, Assistant Surgeon Charles Newton, died 10th July 1836.
- (e) *Contai*.—There is an old graveyard round a house on a knoll, which in 1888 was occupied by an engineer of the Irrigation Department. Many epitaphs were then in existence, some eight or ten, I should think. These are not given either by Wilson or by the *Bengal Obituary*.
- (f) *Hijli*, once the headquarters of a district. Contai and Hijli are not mentioned by either Wilson or the *Bengal Obituary*. Some of the epitaphs, still in existence at Hijli, are given in a paper by Mr. H. G. Reaks in *Bengal: Past and Present* for April 1908, Vol. II, No. 2.
- (g) *Khijri or Kedgerce*, at the mouth of the Hughli, on its western bank. The *Bengal Obituary* gives four epitaphs, and the paper, above referred to by Mr. H. G. Reaks, gives a fifth. Wilson gives three of the four shown in the *Obituary*, but, curiously, includes Khijri in the district of the 24-Parganas.

V.—PURNEA DISTRICT is omitted in Wilson's list. The *Bengal Obituary* quotes five epitaphs, the oldest dated 1838.

There are three burial-grounds in Purnea itself, besides graves in other parts of the district.

- (a) *The old cemetery*, some distance east of the hospital, which is at the eastern end of the modern civil station.
- (b) *A small burial-ground*, in the deserted remains of the old civil station, which lies to the east of the modern civil station, between it and Purnea city.
- (c) *The modern cemetery*, towards the west of the civil station.
- (d) *Kishanganj*, a sub-division forty miles east and a little north of Purnea. Here there was a fairly large burial-ground to the west of the rest-house. Even twenty years ago, not a single name-plate remained on any of the tombstones.
- (e) *Kishanganj*. On the military camping ground, which, to the best of my recollection, was half a mile or more to the north of the burial-ground already described, there were several graves. The name-plates, I think, had disappeared.
- (f) *Nilganj*, the oldest indigo factory in the district, stands some five miles south-east of the civil station. There were the remains

of an old chapel here, in ruins. I do not remember whether there were any graves.

- (g) *Factories*.—Purnea is a district in which European planters had cultivated indigo from a very early time. Twenty years ago, fully two-thirds of the factories had been abandoned, but their remains were still in existence. I noted the existence of graves at Banbagh factory, two miles west of the station, at Bishanpur, three miles north of Banbagh, and at Baijnathpur, about twenty-five miles north of the station. It is curious that graves should be found at Banbagh, which is only about three miles from the old cemetery; one would think that, at any time, there would have been no great difficulty in transporting a body for burial this distance.

- (h) *Gunmanti*.—A small village in Raniganj thana on the 23rd mile of the Purnea-Hansa road. On the 23rd April 1891, while out visiting cholera-stricken villages in Raniganj thana, I passed along this road. There was an old Hindu temple at Gunmanti, and, on the west of the road, a pakha tomb, which was rapidly falling to ruins, being destroyed by pipal trees growing in the brickwork. I took a note of the name and date, which was "John Maguire, died 8th February 1792, aged 30." The tomb was within a year of being a century old, when I visited it, over seventeen years ago. It is hardly likely, from the state in which it then was, that it still exists. As the tomb was rapidly going to pieces, I suggested to the Magistrate that the name-plate should be removed, and set up in the old cemetery at Purnea. However, he did not see his way to have this done. Curiously, Wilson gives this epitaph: John Maguire, died 8th February 1792, aged 30 (p. 242, No. 940), as occurring on a grave at English Bazar, Malda. It would be interesting to know if this tombstone actually exists at Malda, or whether there has been some confusion in entering it under that station, in Wilson's work—Who was John Maguire? and how did he come to have two tombstones,* if there are really two? Probably he was a

* A strange instance of two tombstones for one man may be found in Wilson's list, Nos. 747 and 748, page 193. On both is commemorated Assistant Surgeon Arthur Wyatt. One inscription gives the date of his death as 22nd June 1824, the other as 20th July 1824. *Dodwell and Miles' Medical List* says: "Died at Kishengunge, 22nd May 1824." The *Calcutta Gazette* of 3th July 1824 says that he died at Kishoregunge on the 22nd of the month preceding. These notes are a curious instance of the difficulty of ascertaining facts less than a century old. Two tombstones at Rangpur; statements, more or less official, that he died at Kishengunge (Kishargunj in Purnea), and at Kishoregunge (in Mainamsinh); and three different dates of death!

planter; the name does not occur in the Army List of that date as compiled by Dodwell and Miles.

VI.—SARAN DISTRICT.—Is not mentioned in the *Bengal Obituary*. Wilson quotes five inscriptions, two from the old English cemetery, one from the old Dutch cemetery, one from the modern cemetery and that of Revel.

- (a) *Old Dutch Cemetery at Karinga*, at the east end of Chapra city. The oldest grave is that of I. V. H., 26th June 1712. If I remember rightly, there were many English graves also, of the first half of the nineteenth century, in this cemetery.
- (b) *Old English cemetery at Karinga*, not far from the Dutch one.
- (c) *Modern cemetery*, on the east of the town.
- (d) *Revelganj*.—Grave of Henry Revel.
- (e) *Siwan*.—There are several graves here.
- (f) *Factories*.—Though I have no note of having seen any, there are probably graves at some of the indigo factories in the district. Saran has for long been one of the chief indigo districts.

VII.—MONGHYR DISTRICT.

- (a) *Old cemetery*, just outside N. E. gate of Fort, near Railway Station. Wilson gives nine epitaphs, the oldest dating from 1769, and six from the eighteenth century. The *Bengal Obituary* gives 47, but the oldest is dated 1814. I am not sure that these epitaphs are not taken from the modern cemetery, as it seems hardly likely that all the older ones would have been omitted.
- (bc) *The modern cemeteries*, on the road to Pirpahar. There are two at least, Church of England and Baptist; and I rather think that there was a third, Roman Catholic.
- (d) *Pirpahar*.—Under the rock of Pirpahar, by the side of the road from Monghyr, *via* Pirpahar, to Sitakund, is an old graveyard. The most interesting epitaph was that of a girl called, if I remember rightly, Mary Anne Beckett, headed by the words, "Hush, she sleeps."
- (e) *Factories*.—There are graves at Manjhaul factory, some ten miles north of Begu Sarai, and at Sissauni, some ten miles east of Manjhaul. I think there was also a grave at Lakhi Sarai factory, (long since closed), near E.I.R. Station.
- (f) *Chakai*, in the extreme south of the district. There is a very old grave here, whose name-plate has long since disappeared. It is said to be the grave of one of the officers stationed at Fort Hastings, whose ruins are close by.



KUMERHALI CEMETERY.
(Photos by A. de Camille, Esq.)

VIII.—BHAGALPUR DISTRICT.

- (a) *The old cemetery*, some distance to the west of the station. Wilson gives three epitaphs, the best known being that of Colonel Alexander Dow, the historian, who died on 31st July 1779. The *Bengal Obituary* gives six, two of which are also given by Wilson, but curiously omits Dow.
- (b) *The modern cemetery*.
- (c) *The Cleland monument*, near the Bhagalpur Club. Augustus Cleland, Collector of Bhagalpur, ruled over a district almost as large as the modern Commissionership of Bhagalpur, but with far greater powers than a modern Commissioner; and has left a name which is better known nowadays, than almost any of his contemporaries. He died on 12th January, 1784, at the early age of 29, on board the *Atlas* Indiaman off the Sandheads; his body was brought back to Calcutta and buried in South Park Street Cemetery. There is another grave beside the cenotaph at Bhagalpur, an infant, dated 1778.
- (d) *The Buff's cemetery*, on the Bhagalpur racecourse. This is mentioned by Wilson.
- (e) *Factories*. The *Bengal Obituary* gives two epitaphs from graves at Sultanganj Factory, on the west of the district, near the Monghyr borders, on the south bank of the Ganges.

IX.—HUGHLI DISTRICT.—The burial-grounds in this district are both numerous and well known. They are pretty fully given, both by Wilson and in the *Bengal Obituary*.

- (a) *Chinsura cemetery*.—This cemetery must be nearly two centuries old. It was about 120 yards long by 50 broad at the south and 75 at the north end. More than half of this ground was filled by the Dutch; the rest, at the south, by the English garrison, subsequent to the cession of Chinsura in 1825. Soon after the cession the cemetery was extended by taking in another piece of land, north of the former burial ground, about 140 yards long by 80 broad. The oldest graves in this part date back to the fifties of last century. The present ground should last the now scanty Christian population of Hughli and Chinsura for a couple of centuries. The oldest epitaph quoted by Wilson is that of Sir Cornelius de Jonge, dated 10th October 1745. Next came Anna (no surname) 7th December 1753, and Adriana Johanna Wyborch, December 1760.

I believe that the massive tombs, or mausolea, of brick work, which are so common in old burial-grounds of the eighteenth century, were intended to

receive the bodies of their tenants, who, strictly speaking, were never buried at all, in the sense of being buried in the earth, but their coffins were merely placed inside the brickwork structure, which was then closed up. Some of the tombs in Chinsura burial-ground seem to afford proof of the truth of this theory; for instance, that of Adriana Wyborch. The masonry superstructure has fallen long ago, and there remains a stone plinth, twelve feet square by one foot high, on which stand two iron gratings, or gridirons, each about 7 feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and one foot high. It seems to me that obviously these gratings were intended to support coffins, which presumably were left resting on them, when the masonry superstructure was built up, or otherwise closed. The name-plate of this tomb has been fixed upon the plinth, comparatively recently, after the masonry had fallen and been removed. It consists of a slab of grey granite, the inscription is now so worn as to be hardly legible.

Another tomb, which is still in good preservation, affords similar evidence. It is that of Lucas Jurrianz Zuydland, who died on 25th October 1766. It is the first tomb on the right of the narrow path which runs southwards through the middle of the Dutch part of the cemetery. Opening the door of this tomb, one sees a similar iron gridiron or trestle, to those described above; the outer wooden coffin is still standing on the trestle; and I have been told by old residents that, thirty or forty years ago, the skeleton was still lying in the coffin.

(b) Just outside the north-east end of the Chinsura cemetery, on the opposite side of Gorstan Road, is a very large tomb, some thirty feet high, in unconsecrated ground. It is much larger than any of the tombs in the cemetery, and has no inscription. It is said by tradition to be the tomb of a Dutch Governor, who committed suicide; whether there is any truth in this tradition I cannot say.

(c) *Mrs. Yeates' tomb* stands fifty yards east of the fourth furlong post of the 25 mile of the Grand Trunk Road. Though so close to the road, it is so surrounded with trees that it is not easily noticed from the road. The tomb is a fine old mausoleum, some fifty feet high. An arched chamber, some fifteen feet in height, stands on a slate plinth six feet high, and above it rises a dome with a small pinnacle on its summit. Round the dome, in letters nearly a foot high, is inscribed the name of the occupant of the tomb, Susanna Anna Maria Yeates, who died on 12th May 1809. In the large chamber is a slab with an epitaph in Dutch. As neither Wilson nor the *Bengal Obituary* mention this tomb, I give the epitaph in full.

"Ter Gefagtemis | Van | Susanna Anna Maria | Yeates | Geboore
Verkerk | Obüt | Den 12th May Anno 1809 |

Ik lag in het graft sonder geclag
En rust dat tot den jongsten dag
Dan rult gy Heer ! mys graft out dekken
En myter Eeuwige vrengd veratrekken."

This may be translated as follows :—

"To the memory of Susanna Anna Maria Yeates, *née* Verkerk. Died
the 12th May 1809.

"I lie in the grave without complaint,
In rest until the Judgment Day.
Then shall you, Lord ! open my grave
And take me away to eternal joy."

Mrs. Yeates, in her will, dated 21st November 1805, left four thousand rupees as a trust, the interest to be applied in the first place to the repair of her own tomb, and to those of her two husbands, Pieter Brueys and Thomas Yeates, the surplus to be given to the Chinsura Poor Fund. This fund gives small pensions to various poor Christians to the present day. It is administered by the Collector of Hughli. She also bequeathed to the station, as a burial ground, sixty *bighas* of land, between the Taldanga and the Grand Trunk Roads, known as the *Ayesh Bagh*. The administration of this land was made over to the Bishop of Calcutta in 1825, along with that of the Church and cemetery. As the latter was enlarged in 1833, at a cost of Rs. 246 for 26 *kathas* of land, the *Ayesh Bagh* has never been used as a burial ground. The fact that this land belonged to the Church altogether slipped out of sight, and some few years ago it was discovered that the tenant had paid no rent for twelve years. In the end only three years of the unpaid rent due could be recovered, and the tenant also acquired occupancy rights.

(d) *The English, formerly the Dutch, Church, Chinsura*.—There are no graves here, but fourteen hatchments are hung round the Church walls, all of old Dutch residents. The oldest is that of "W. A., 13th August 1662," the most recent that of Pieter Brueys, Mrs. Yeates' first husband, dated 23rd August 1793. The inscriptions are given in full by Wilson.

(e) *The Armenian Church, Chinsura*, contains a number of graves, both in the Church and in the burial ground outside. The oldest is that of Khojah Johannes Margar, dated 27th November 1697. The epitaphs here are not given in the *Bengal Obituary*, but the older ones are pretty fully quoted by Wilson. A modern epitaph of some interest, which Wilson does not give, runs as follows :—

"In loving memory of our beloved Father, David, son of the late Freedore Melik-Beglaroff, last independent prince of Karabagh,

in the province of Tiflis, Caucasus. Born on 1st May 1795, died in Chinsura on 22nd September 1884. 'I am the Resurrection and the Life.'

There is also an inscription in Armenian. Several other members of the family of Melik-Beglaroff are buried here, the latest being "Joseph, son of David Feridonowitch Melik-Beglaroff, late Executive Engineer, P. W. D., and Archaeological Survey. Died 24th April 1907 at Chakdaha."

- (f) *The Roman Catholic Church, Chinsura*, has one monument.
- (g) *Bandel Church* contains a number of interesting old graves and inscriptions inside the Church. There are a few also outside the south end of the Church.
- (h) *Ghireti burial-ground*, where the Grand Trunk Road crosses the Hughli river, from Pulta to Ghireti. It is enclosed in a garden, and is rather difficult to find. There are two graves, the epitaphs in which are given by Wilson, who writes the name Gurhatty.
- (i) *Serampur Danish burial-ground*.
- (j) *Serampur Mission burial-ground*, with the graves of the "Serampur Missionaries," Carey, Marshman and Ward.
- (k) *Baptist Chapel, Serampur*, memorial tablets of the three famous Missionaries.
- (l) *English, formerly Danish, Church, Serampur*, memorial tablets.
- (m) *Roman Catholic Church, Serampur*; two tablets.
- (n) *Chandarnagar, French Cemetery*.
- (o) *Chandarnagar, Church of the Sacred Heart*; several graves and memorial tablets, some of which were removed to the modern Church from the old Church of St. Louis, now in ruins.

Though Chandernagar, of course, is not politically a part of the Hughli District, it is so geographically, and may well be considered along with Hughli. The epitaphs of both Chandernagar and Serampur are pretty fully given, both in the *Bengal Obituary* and in Wilson's work. Both also give the two inscriptions at Ghireti.

X.—TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS DISTRICT.—Epitaphs from the churches and burial-grounds of Dum-dum and Barrackpore are given by both Wilson and the *Bengal Obituary* in considerable numbers. Both also quote an inscription from Pulta. There is an old graveyard at Diamond Harbour, which is not mentioned by either.

A similar list has also been published by the Government of Assam in 1902, "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Assam." Shillong, printed and published by Conyngham Francis, Press Superintendent, Assam, at the Secretariat Printing Office: (General) No. 91-500—11th September

1902. The work seems very fully done, large numbers of inscriptions from tea gardens and other places being given as well as those from the burial-grounds of *sadr* stations.

The Government of the North-West (now the United) Provinces and Oudh has also had a list of the kind prepared; but though over thirteen years have passed since the work was compiled, I believe that it has never actually been published. A press copy may be seen in the Imperial Library. Its title runs as follows: "Archæological Survey of India. List of Christian Tombs or Monuments of Archæological or Historical interest and their inscriptions, in the North-West Provinces and Oudh." Compiled and annotated by Rev. A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, N. W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad, printed and published by the Superintendent, Government Press, N.W.P. and Oudh, 1895.

No less than thirteen districts in the N.-W.P. and Oudh are not represented at all in this list of inscriptions. In the table of contents the word "*blank*" is printed opposite the names of these districts. They are Saharanpur, Muzafarnagar, Bijnor, Budaon, Pilibhit, Ballia, Garhwal, Unao, Rai Bareilly, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Bara Banki. Most of these are small districts, and some of them may have no inscriptions worth quoting; but surely this cannot be the case with important districts like Faizabad and Saharanpur.

I have heard that a list for the Punjab is now under preparation.

A work of similar interest, though not of the same series, is Walden's *List of Burials at Madras*. The title runs as follows: "List of Burials at Madras (in St. Mary's Cemetery), from—* to *—compiled from the Register of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George." By the Rev. C. H. Malden, M.A., Garrison Chaplain, Honorary Canon, St. George's Cathedral. Printed by Authority, Madras. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press.

Vol. I. 1680-1748 published 1903. | Vol. III. 1801-1850 published 1904.

" II. 1749-1800 " 1903. | " IV. 1851-1900 " 1905.

Some of the entries, extracted from the old burial register are decidedly quaint, e.g., Profession, "pyrat;" Remarks, "hanged." It is much to be desired that similar lists should be published for Calcutta and Bombay. All records in Calcutta were of course destroyed at the time of the capture of Calcutta in 1756; but copies of most of them exist in London. I believe that the Rev. H. B. Hyde had a copy made of the old Parish Register of St. Anne's, Calcutta, from its commencement, about 1715 up to 1758; and that a manuscript copy of this was made by Mr. S. C. Hill for the Calcutta Record Office, when he was in charge of that office seven or eight years ago.

D. G. CRAWFORD, M.B.,

Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.

* The dates vary in the different volumes.

Celebrated Vocalists who visited India.

"Not half so sweet the nightingale
Unto the rosebud sings
As came thy voice of other days
With which my ear still rings."

—Derosio.



WE present our readers in this number with a pleasing portrait of Catherine Hayes (1823-1861) known in her day as the "Swan of Erin." When only ten years of age she was overheard singing in a woodbine arbour in the Earl of Limerick's garden. The listeners, among whom was the Right Rev. Edmund Knox, Bishop of Limerick, were delighted by her voice and the extraordinary evidence she gave of great natural musical talent. She was taken in hand at once and, after receiving some elementary musical instruction at Limerick, was placed by the Bishop and some other friends under the tuition of Antonio Sapio. Her first appearance on the stage was on the 3rd May, 1839, at Sapio's annual concert in the Rotunda, Dublin. Four years later, the celebrated pianist Liszt heard her at a concert and was so struck with her singing that he wrote to the Bishop of Limerick's daughter-in-law—"I do not know of any voice more expressive than that of Miss Hayes. I doubt if, amongst the singers of the day, there is one equal in extent and volume to what her's will be." Miss Hayes continued to be one of the leading singers at the Dublin concerts. Lablache and Costa, who also heard her, expressed a high opinion of her musical abilities. In Paris she studied under the famous Manuel Garcia. Her singing and acting (to which a graceful prepossessing person added a further charm) created such a *furore* of enthusiasm on the occasion of her first appearance in the character of Linda di Chamouni at the La Scala at Milan that she was recalled by the audience twelve times. After touring through Vienna and the Italian cities she returned to England in 1850. Again leaving England in September, 1851, she travelled through New York, California and Australia to India. She arrived in Calcutta by the steamer *Norma* on the 3rd January, 1855, and put up for over a month at Spence's Hotel, London's Buildings, then situated where the offices of the Imperial



CATHERINE HAYES.



Secretariat Department now stand. She gave a series of concerts at the Town Hall which was specially carpetted for the purpose. The notices of these concerts occupied column upon column of the local newspapers. Her efforts were not confined to any particular school of music, although, of course, the classical bulked largely. She excelled in singing Bellini's "Casta Diva," and in Handel's sacred aria, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Her "Rule Britannia" used to be received with demonstrations of delight. To please her Scottish and Irish admirers she selected "Annie Laurie," "Kathleen Mavourneen" and other distinctly national songs. As an encore she usually gave a pathetic English ballad specially composed for her by Vincent Wallace—"Why do I weep for thee?" Of course, after this lapse of time it is not easy to determine for whom, and why, the sweet *prima donna* wept! Anyhow in October, 1857, she married at St. George's, Hanover Square, Mr. William Avery Bushnell, an American gentleman, who had undertaken the superintendence of her professional business in the New World and had also accompanied her to India. She died on the 11th August, 1861, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. Catherine Hayes possessed a world-wide experience of countries and people which gave an inexpressible charm to her conversation, while her manners always remained gentle and fascinating. She was tall, with a fine figure. Her voice was a clear and beautiful *soprano* of the sweetest quality in all its ranges; indeed she was once looked upon as a possible rival of Jenny Lind, the Swedish nightingale. She was always grateful to her early patron, Bishop Knox of Limerick, and once after appearing at the Royal Italian Opera in London, while the good Bishop was sitting in his box, she threw herself down in tears at his feet, ascribing entirely to his kindness all her success and distinction.

Another world-renowned vocalist who in days long past visited India was Madame Anna Bishop. The daughter of a drawing-master named Rivière, she was born in London in 1814. As a child she showed great talent at the pianoforte and studied under Moscheles. On 12th June, 1824, she was elected a student at the Royal Academy of Music, where she distinguished herself by her singing.

In 1831 she became the second wife of Sir Henry Rowley Bishop, the well-known composer, and in the same year appeared at the Philharmonic concerts as a singer. Her reputation quickly increased and for the next few years she took a prominent place at Vauxhall, the so-called "Oratorios" and the country festivals. From classical music she directed her attention particularly to the Italian school and in the spring of 1839 went on a provincial tour with Bochsa, the harpist. On returning to London Madame Bishop sang at a concert given by Bochsa and achieved great success although Grisi, Peralani and Viardot were among the performers. A few days later,

she left her husband and accompanied Bochsá to the Continent. In 1847 they went to America and eight years later to Australia, where Bochsá died. The death of Sir Henry Bishop also occurred about this time, and Lady Bishop (to give her the title she appears never to have used) returned to England by way of South America and New York, where she married a Mr. Schulz. In February, 1866, the ship in which she was sailing to China was wrecked on a coral-reef and Mrs. Bishop lost all her music, jewels and wardrobe. After forty days' privations the shipwrecked crew reached the Ladrone Islands, whence the indefatigable singer went to Manilla and after singing there and in China came on to India in 1867.

On the evening of Tuesday, the 28th February of that year, Madame Bishop and Mr. Charles Lascelles appeared at Calcutta at a concert on behalf of the Orissa Famine Fund. So well did she do her part that she repeatedly received the most enthusiastic applause. On this interesting occasion, of which the present writers possess an original programme, the Jorasanko Amateur Native Orchestra performed during the interval, and Madame Bishop sang most appropriately the old English ballad of the "Beggar Girl" ("Give me some food"). Her husband, Sir H. R. Bishop's, "Bid me discourse" she next sang as a duet with Miss Emma Clinger, a local amateur, well known in her day. At a former performance at the residence of Babu Jagadananda Mukerji, before what is styled "the gubernatorial party," she was presented with a magnificent silk dress-piece. It is interesting to know that she was in India at the same time as another British lady celebrity, Mrs. Mary Carpenter, the philanthropist. Madame Bishop was once more in Australia in May, 1868, and, after visiting London, went to New York, where she died of apoplexy in March, 1884. She possessed a high *soprano* voice and was a brilliant but somewhat unsympathetic singer. She was a member of many foreign musical societies and won great popularity in the United States.

Later on came the Kennedys—a family of Scottish vocalists—who were in India in November and December, 1879. David Kennedy gave a series of concerts here at the Dalhousie Institute, his programme consisting entirely of Scottish ballads interspersed with an occasional recitation. He was assisted by his daughters, Misses Helen and Lizzie, and his son, David Kennedy, junior, who wrote a book of travels, entitled *Singing round the World*. On his way home Mr. Kennedy spent several months in Italy, where his younger children were studying. In 1881 his son and two daughters perished along with some seventy others in the burning of the Opera-House at Nice. The father survived them five years.

Carlotta Patti was the elder sister of Madame Adelina Patti (Baroness Rolf Cederström) and made her first appearance in 1863 as a concert singer

at the New York Academy of Music. Going on to England she is said to have created almost a *furor* at the Crystal Palace. She spent several years in continental tours and then returned to America, where she sang with Mario. During one of her tours a wealthy amateur sent a coach-and-four with several men to meet the diva, and when she complimented him on the good taste of his equipage, he replied, "If it please you, Madame, pray keep it, coach, men and horses, in remembrance of the occasion." The offer was, however, declined. With her husband, Chevalier Ernest de Munck, as her director, she came out to India at the end of 1880. She gave half-a-dozen successful concerts at the Calcutta Town Hall, her accompanist being Herr (afterwards Chevalier) Mack. She is said to have had a voice of abnormal compass although somewhat "deficient in sympathy." In person she was stout and suffered with lameness, the result of an accident. She died of cancer at Paris in 1889.

Since her time, among others, Mesdames Amy Sherwin, Hester Otway and Albani have visited India, not to speak of Madame Alice Gomez, who was born here and of whom all Anglo-Indians are so justly proud.

Now to go back. Long before the vocalists we have mentioned there lived in Calcutta a Mrs. Joanna Goodall Atkinson who possessed a most beautiful voice which used to be heard to great advantage in operas performed at the Old Chowringhee Theatre. At that time most Calcutta concerts were arranged by Mr. William Linton, senior, Organist of the Old (St. John's) Cathedral. Long obituary notices of him appeared in the Calcutta papers at the time of his death (1850). Mrs. Goodall Atkinson gave a series of *soirées* here. As appears from the programme of one given in August, 1837, Haydn's "Creation" was performed in the first part and in the second Mrs. Atkinson sang Praed's "I remember how my childhood fled by." Not long after this she died on the 22nd December, 1837, aged 41. The *Englishman and Military Chronicle* noticed the sad event as having deprived society of one who largely contributed to its entertainment and delight, and having bereaved a numerous family of its anxious, industrious and virtuous supporter. She was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, where, however, there is no inscription to her.

It now remains to be added in regard to certain remarks or odds-and-ends of criticism appearing in the present article which may not meet with the approval of musical experts, that this has been written by persons who make no pretensions to musical knowledge and would not even venture to regard themselves as amateurs!

E. W. M. and K. N. D.

The Garden of Kings.



MAJOR CHARLES STEWART, in his "*History of Bengal*" (published in 1813), a work intended for "those who are looking forward to Bengal as their place of sojourn for several years" which "would faithfully detail the events that have been transacted in the country they are about to visit," mentions, as among his authorities, "A History of Bengal from the earliest period of authentic History till the conquest of that country." This "*History of Bengal*" which the learned Major refers to is the *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, a History in Persian which though, as its author professes, a collection, is distinguished by rare originality and was until recently in manuscript. The book has an intrinsic worth of its own as it is rightly considered to be the fullest account in Persian of the history of Bengal from the earliest times; and Major Stewart frankly admitted that to this book he was indebted for the idea of writing his own book as well as for the general outline of his History of Bengal.

The title of the work is *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, a Persian word which means "the Garden of kings." "Rauza" in Persian means "a garden" and the plural of "Rauza," *i.e.*, "Riyaz" means gardens. "Salatin" means "kings" and thus the whole word means "garden of kings." The title contains in the numerical value of the letters, the date of its completion, *i.e.*, 1202 A. H., corresponding to 1788, the year in which the author completed his work. The author calls Bengal "the Paradise of Provinces," and well may it be so called "owing to the fertility of its soil, the richness of its produce, and the vastness of its natural resources." During the Mussalman rule, the Province of Bengal yielded the largest revenue to the Delhi Emperors, and in consequence its Viceroyalty was always coveted by Princes Royal of Delhi at even so a remote period as the times of Emperors Shamsuddin Altmash and Ghiasuddin Balban—whose sons in succession ruled over Bengal, not to speak of the later Mughal Princes Royal of Delhi. Under British rule also, Bengal Proper, including Assam, Behar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur, forms the largest Administrative Division of India, contains one-third of the total population of British India and yields a gross revenue of 17 or 18 millions sterling, or one-third of the actual revenues of the Indian Empire.

The author of this valuable Persian manuscript was Golam Hossein Salim Zaidpuri, who, as he describes himself in his own book, "was in the service

of Mr. George Udny," a gentleman of high rank and position, of excellent character, of kind heart, of mild disposition, of praiseworthy deportment and one whose generosity is equal to that of Hatim (a prince of Yemen in Arabia—a by-word for hospitality) and love of Justice equal to Nowshirwan (famous for proverbial Justice), and of popular manners" and being commanded by this paragon of excellence, who was always desirous of reading books on history and travel, he commenced his work in 1202 Hizri (1786 A.D.) This Golam Hossein belonged to Zaidpur in Oudh from whence he migrated to Maldah in Bengal and was the Dak Munshi (or Postmaster) of Mr. Udny. From the high flown description given of Mr. Udny, one might take Golam Hossein as nothing but a flatterer of the first water; for Mr. Udny is further described as "the paragon of all excellence, unequalled in his time, old head but young shoulders, one who weighs his word pregnant of meaning before he speaks, one whose two lips like two palms at the time of conversation are scattering pearls, and one who always has his purses open to help in the needy." But Mr. Udny, this generous patron of literature and the help "of the needy" who happened to be the Resident of the East India Company's factory at Maldah, appears to have been a man who richly deserve those epithets. In the tablet which figures on his grave are engraved the following words: "This marble is dedicated by the trustees of the Old Church to the memory of George Udny, Esq., late of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Civil Service, and many a year a member of this congregation, whose exertions in the cause of religion generally, and in the circulation of the holy scriptures particularly have well entitled him to this token of grateful remembrance. He died in Calcutta, 24th October 1830 A.D. in the 70th year of his age." Judging from the above, as well as from the fact that he a foreigner could encourage literature and history and specially a historian, those who are engaged in the study of history are naturally led to think that he well deserved these rich epithets.

The humble author frankly admits that he pretends to no originality, an admission which is seldom to be met with in these days, for "he has collected sentence after sentence from every source," but unlike modern Historians he does not expressly name the authors or books which he has consulted. Although there is internal evidence to collect the names of some of his authorities, but from that alone all the names of the authorities consulted cannot be deciphered and some of the books mentioned in the *Riyazu-s-Salatin* are not even extant now. Among his authorities may be mentioned

1. Tabakata-Nasiri by Minhaj-u-siraj.
2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Barni and Alif (History of Bengal from 1198-1338 A.D.)
3. Tabaquat-i-Akbari (History of Bengal from 1338-1538).

4. Akbarnamah by the celebrated Historian Abul Fazl (History of Akbar. This has been translated into English by Mr. Beveridge.)
5. Alamgirnarah.
6. Iqbalnamah.
7. Thomas' chronicles.

It may be added in this connexion that the author also made use of the Antiquities of the Gaur District and as such the intrinsic worth of the book is really very great.

In the Introduction the book opens with fervent prayer—to God and to Allah the Prophet, and then comes a description of the author—a meagre one—but, this is compensated for by a full description of the qualities which characterised his patron, Mr. Udny.* The rest of the Introduction consists of four sections and agreeably to the name of the Book—"Garden of Kings"—"the Garden" of Introduction is divided into four sections.

Section 1 relates to the description of the population of the country of Bengal and of its boundaries and environs. Section 2 deals with certain particular features of Bengal, the third dealing with certain towns, and the fourth gives a brief sketch of the Kings of Hindustan.

The first Garden consists of a description of the rule of the Mohamedan rulers of Bengal who acted as Viceroys of the Great Kings of Delhi. The second Garden is a chronicle of the Mohamedan Kings who mounting the throne of Bengal had the Khutab (a Mohamedan prayer book recited on Fridays, Id-days and on other occasions and a recital of which after one's name and the minting of coins was considered as emblems of sovereignty), *i.e.*, were to a certain extent independent Kings. The third Garden deals with the Nazims appointed by the Mogul Kings. The fourth one, consisting of two parts, gives in the first part a description of the arrival of the "Christians" and specially of the French and the Portuguese, and the second part describes the domination of the "English Christians" over Bengal and the "Dakhin" (or the "Karnatic").

In the conclusion, the author gives an account of the "English Christians," and he appears to be very liberal in his views in comparison with the picture delineated by the author of the *Seir Mutagherin*—a contemporary of our author. *Seir Mutagherin* is a well-known historical work of great value, its author being Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, an Indian nobleman of high rank. The meaning of this book is "a Review of Modern Times" or "The Manners of the Moderns." It was originally in Persian, but has been translated into English by M. Raymond, a French Creole, who had assumed the Mahomedan name of Hajee Mustapha. Whether this was due to our author's serving an

* Udny is best known as the early patron of Dr. Carey.—*Ed., B. & P. & P.*

Englishman cannot be said, but he concludes thus:—"The English Christians are admirably gifted with the ornaments of wisdom, and tact combined with courtesy marks their conduct. Matchless in their firmness, in the perfection of alertness, in the organisation of battles, they are unrivalled in the administration of justice for the welfare of their subjects and for the protection of the weak. Even at the risk of their heads, they adhere to their promises, true to their words and they do not admit liars to their society. Liberal, faithful, forbearing and honourable, they have not learnt deceit and in matters of religion they do not interfere at all. In fact, all wranglings between religion lead to the same vista and the *dream is one and the same although the interpretations only vary.*" Compare this picture with the one painted by the other author. "These strangers constantly express an aversion to the society of Indians and a disdain against conversing with them. Not one of the English gentlemen shows any inclination or any relish for the company of the gentlemen of this country, or from listening to the conversation or to the stories of the natives; although nothing but conversation is likely to put it in the power of some virtuous, well-disposed man to learn what aches these poor natives, and what might give them relief; and nothing but intercourse would enable him to transmit such useful hints to Government as might conduce to the welfare of the distressed inhabitants of this land. These (*Īe*, the institutions of the Indians) they have already committed to their books and they have made of them so many rules to distinguish right from wrong; but the reason why such a custom has been instituted and what might be its cause and ground, these are matters which they never discover themselves, nor even ask of others, or, if they comprehend anything of them, *they willingly counterfeit ignorance, without any one being able to guess what they mean by counterfeiting that ignorance.*" (I might mention passages where stronger language is used.)

I will now append from the *Riyazu-s-Salat* an account of Calcutta.

Calcutta was in past times a village only. The idol of the goddess *Kali* was there and the village was endowed in favour of the goddess. The place was called "*Kali-Karta*" (*Karta* meaning Lord) because its owner or lord was the goddess. Gradually the place has assumed the name of Calcutta. We are going to give an account how the English Company established itself in Calcutta. While Nawab Jaffar Khan was ruling in Bengal, the Kuthi or factory of the East India Company which was off Lakhighat and Mogulpur suddenly gave way, when, after sunset, the English chiefs were enjoying their meals. The goods and chattels were all destroyed and only the chiefs themselves were saved. The English chief, Mr. Charnock, purchased the garden of Baranashi—their *gomasta*, and cutting down the trees, laid the foundation of

a factory consisting of two-storied and three-storied houses. The work with the exception of the roof was well-nigh completed, but the nobility of the Salyad and the Mughal tribes represented to the Fouzdar of Hooghly that if the strangers would get upon the terraces of those three-storied buildings, it would give them an insight of the harems, and interfere with the sanctity and privacy of the ladies of the harem. The Nawab, when he was informed of this, prohibited absolutely the placing of even a single brick and the Fouzdar commanding the masons and workmen not to work, the work remained incomplete. Mr. Charnock was desirous of fighting, but as his force was not sufficient, and as he had only one ship there, he raised his anchor and revenged himself by utilising a lense burner to set on fire the populous part of the town, and then left the place. But his way was barred by an officer of the garrison of Makhwa,* who, under the orders of the Fouzdar, placed across the river an iron chain—each link of which was ten seers in weight. The ship could not proceed, but Mr. Charnock cut off the chain with an English sword and started for the south. The Emperor Aurangzeb was now helped by the chief of the English factory in the Karnatic by the chief's supplying the Imperial army with foodstuffs and the Emperor being pleased, promised to give them a boon, and on the English asking for a *Sanad* (Letters Patent) permitted the erection of factories including one at Bengal by a *Firman* which also remitted all customs on ships of the "Company." Mr. Charnock then came back to Bengal, satisfied the Nawab with suitable presents, and built a factory at Calcutta by virtue of the power conferred on him by the Royal Patent.

The author then gives a description of the soil of Calcutta which he reports to be damp, so much so, that the lower rooms are unfit for dwelling. The roads are broad and paved with pounded brick, and he praises the fort, which he says is built by the English who are wonderful inventors, for viewed externally from any of the four sides, the rampart looks low, but viewed internally it looks lofty. He then turns to Calcutta, the wonderful city, for *it is a model of China and England*. Its buildings, tower as they are lofty, please the heart and soul. The *hat-wearing English* dwell in it, and they are truthful and well-behaved. In fact it is impossible to describe their praises. The streets are clean and paved; in every alley *moon-like faces* robed in pretty and clean dresses move about—one is like the moon, the second is like Jupiter and the third is like Venus. No one has seen or ever heard of such a city.

It may edify my English friends to know that to many the derivation of the name Calcutta is from *Kal-Katta* (or reaped yesterday). So goes the

* On the site of the present Botanical Garden.

saying that the first Englishman who came to Calcutta asked of a *syce*, who happened to have a load of grass on his head, the name of the place. The man naturally thinking that the white man was asking about the freshness of the grass, answered *Kal-Katta*—whence the word Calcutta. I heard of a very curious derivation of the name of Howrah from an East Indian Railway coolie whom I had the curiosity to ask. In response to my query why the place was so named, he answered that once on a time when the first white man came to that part of the country, he met an old woman, who had been presented with a few *Baras* or sweetmeats and had them taken away from her by some famished rogue. The *sahib* asked the old woman the name of the place; and the *Budhi*, very naturally supposing that the *sahib* was enquiring about the loss of the sweetmeats, could only mutter through her sobs "Ha! Bārā!" (or, alas! my sweetmeats). The *sahib* took that for the name of the place. My informant vouched for the truth of the saying by drawing my attention to the Bengalee name of Howrah which is *Habra*.

As to the healthiness of Calcutta a Mohamedan poet sung: "Calcutta is built on a part of Hell. Ring-worm, Eczema and Dysentery rule in Calcutta." Our Bengali poet, the late Iswar Chandra Gupta, when asked how he was passing his days in Calcutta, answered that "in the company of mosquitoes at night and in that of flies at day, he was passing his time." That Calcutta was unhealthy is evinced by the author of "*Seir Mutagherin*," who, writing by the year 1780, speaks of the place as where "both air and water are bad," and the translator of the book also writes that "there was a time when Calcutta was unhealthy."

TANGAIL,

JOGINDRANATH SAMADDAR, B.A.,
F. R. Hist. S. (Lond.).



Echoes from Old Dacca.*



AFTER the lapse of over two hundred years Dacca has once more been restored to its ancient dignity of a capital town. The selection of Dacca to be the capital of the new Province was an exceptionally happy one, for Jehangirnagar, to give the place its classic Moslem name, is extremely rich in historical associations, and can boast of a glorious antiquity. It was one of the centres of art and commerce during the old Moghul days, and even before the incursions of European adventurers had begun was famed in Europe for its exquisite muslin. An European traveller who visited India at that time wrote that "all the wealth of Bengal, the richest Province of the Delhi Emperor, is concentrated in this spot."

The etymology of Dacca—or, as the native pronunciation has it Dhaka—is wrapped in obscurity and has been variously ascribed to a tree called Dhak (*Butea frondosa*), and a temple of the goddess Durga named Dakeswari. But these suggestions would seem to be purely traditional and therefore uncertain. The one which is most probable and has most historical basis is that which ascribes the origin of Dacca to Islam Khan, the Moghul Governor of Bengal, who, worried by the constant encroachments of Afghans and Mughls from the eastern outlying frontiers of the Province, decided to move his capital from Rajmahal further towards the eastern boundary of the Nizamut.

The story as recorded in Rahman Ali's *Tarikh-i-Dhaka* † has it that "Shaikh Alauddin Islam Khan, the then Moghul Governor of the Province, came out in 1608 in a state-barge accompanied by a fleet of boats, in search of a site for his future capital. When the boat came opposite the place where the city now stands, the Governor found it to be a spot of great strategical importance, and accordingly chose it for his future capital. The boats were brought near the bank of the river and moored, and Islam Khan landed and inspected the site. The place where he landed is still called after him Islampur, and is an important quarter of the city. On his way back he met a party of Hindus performing their Puja with the accompaniment of music and Dhaks (drums). An idea struck him. Calling the drummers together, he made them stand at a central place, and ordered

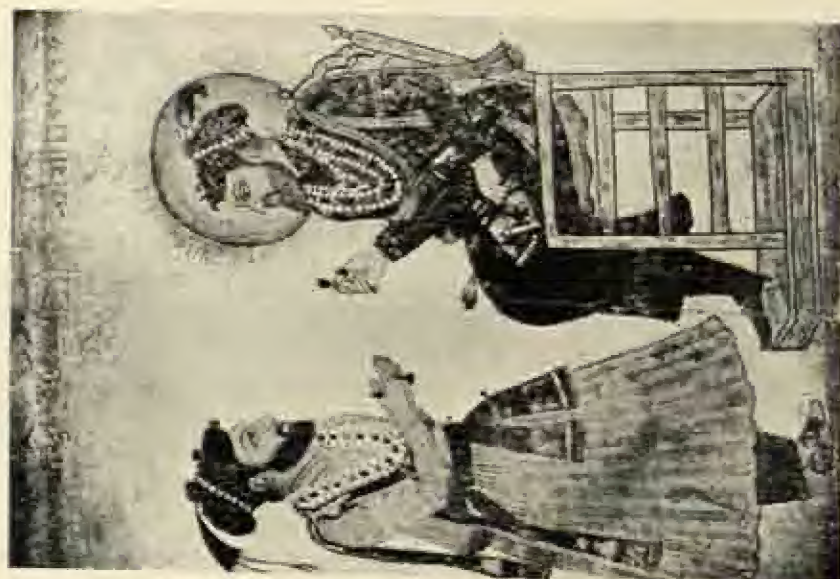
* Under this title the present writer contributed a series of special articles to the *Englishman* during 1906 which embodied a succinct history of Dacca from its foundation to the present day. This contribution has been adapted, with necessary curtailment, from those articles, and thanks are due to the Editor of the *Englishman* for permitting the reproduction.

† Persian MSS.



MIR MEERAN.

(From an old *Manichaean*—Picture—taken in the possession of
Nizam Syed Mahomed.)



THE EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN.

(From an old *Manichaean*—Picture—taken in the possession of
Nizam Syed Mahomed.)

them to beat the drums as hard as they could. At the same time he commanded three of his attendants to go, one to the east, another to the west, and the third to the north, each with a flagstaff, and plant it at the place where the sound of the drums would cease to be audible. This being done, he called the place Dhaka, from *Dhak*, a drum, and ordered boundary pillars to be erected at the places where the flagstaffs had been planted. These he fixed as the boundaries of the city to the north, the west, and the east, the river Buriganga forming the southern boundary. Here he fixed his capital.* This account is very credible because there is no mention of the city of Dacca prior to this in any historical records, and the story finds further confirmation from the fact that when in 1612 Islam Khan became the recipient of Imperial favours from Jehangir as a well-deserved reward for his valuable services he changed the name of his capital from Dhaka to *Jehangirnagar* in honour of his patron. Thus it was that Dacca came to acquire its classic Moslem name which Mussalman chroniclers and poets† have delighted to perpetuate, and which is still remembered and used as the more literary designation of the city.

"He had grown up with me from youth and was one year my junior," wrote the Emperor Jehangir about Islam Khan. "He was a brave man, of most excellent disposition, and in every respect distinguished above his tribe and family. Up to this day he has never tasted any stimulants, and his fidelity to me was such that I honoured him with the title of Farzand (son)."^a The above expression of opinion sufficiently indicates the high esteem in which the Founder of Dacca was held by his master, the Emperor of Delhi. Islam Khan came of a very respectable stock. His father was Shaikh Badruddin and his grandfather the celebrated saint, Shaikh Selim Chishti of Fatehpur, who was held in the utmost veneration by the Emperor Akbar. The story runs that Akbar had despaired of getting a male heir to the throne, and it was as a result of the Shaikh's prayers and intercession that Akbar was blessed with a son and heir. It was in recognition of this inestimable kindness that the young prince was named Selim after the great Shaikh.

It has already been mentioned that one of the main reasons which induced Islam Khan to resolve on a change of the provincial capital was the unruly and turbulent attitude of the Afghans and Mughls. The Moghuls had, step by step, wrested the Empire from the Afghans, and they were now clinging with the energy of despair to their last foothold on the outskirts of the Empire. Ever a race of warriors, they had no lack of suitable leaders. The statesmanship of Todar Mall and the admirable generalship of Raja

* Cf. translation of the passage by Seyid Ahsan Hanan, K.R.

† Cf. the Poetical Works of the late Syud Mahmood Asad of Dacca.

Man Singh—the big gun of Moghul militarism—which had hitherto proved an irresistible combination were alike unavailing against the determined and valiant resistance of Kutlu Khan, who had entrenched himself in Orissa with a large number of his hardy followers. The sudden death of Kutlu Khan, however, came as a great relief to the Moghul forces. But the end of the campaign was not yet, and in Osman Khan, the son of the great Afghan Chief, they found a no less staunch and able foeman. Osman was a born leader, and had inherited all the military skill of his father. Besides, the forts of Gauripara, Goniakpara and Doomroy on the river Buasi were still in Afghan hands. So that the position of the Afghans in the Province was still formidable enough to tax the vigilance and strategy of the Moghuls to the utmost. After having been worsted by Man Singh at Rajmahal, Osman Khan had taken up his headquarters in the eastern section of the Province. He had an army of 7,000 horse and 6,000 foot and was living in almost imperial splendour. Islam Khan began by trying to win over the unruly Afghan Chief, and with this end in view he sent an agent with instructions to negotiate for settlement. Osman, however, was still intractable, and defied the Moghul Governor to do his worst. Islam Khan finding that his overtures for a peaceful termination of the strike had been construed as a confession of weakness, at last despatched a large army under the command of Shujat Khan, a well-known general, against the Afghans. Osman with an army of about 10,000 determined to give battle, and on the 9th of Mohurram 1024 A.H. (1612 A.D.) met the Moghul force on the bank of a small stream near Dacca.

A desperate fight ensued between the two armies. Islam Khan had taken up a position two miles distant from the field of action and was closely following the fierce contest. Seeing that his own troops were getting the worst of it, he sent reinforcements to Shujat Khan, without, however, succeeding in turning the tide against the Afghans. Luck, however, was on the side of the Moghuls. At nightfall, when the fight had all but ended in his favour, a ball struck Osman in the forehead and tore him from his elephant. His devoted brother, Khawja Vali, promptly carried him away from the field, and entrusting him to the care of a few trusty followers sent him to Dacca in a *doli*. Osman died *en route* to Dacca, and the attendants buried him by the wayside. The loss of their leader created the greatest depression among the Afghans. The usual and fatal consternation took possession of the leaderless troops and they threw away the victory which was in their grasp. The Moghuls who had already tasted a bitter defeat suddenly found themselves the victors. The Afghans were completely routed.

Having removed the last traces of Afghan resistance in the province, Islam Khan next turned his attention to an even greater peril which

threatened to lead to incalculable devastation. Profiting from the unsettled nature of Moghul rule in the province, consequent upon the protracted and desperate struggle with the Afghans, as a result of which Eastern Bengal had been practically left to its fate, the Mughls, a race of born freebooters given to piracy as a profession, sailed out of their haunts in Arracan, and began plundering and oppressing the helpless inhabitants to their heart's content.

Emboldened by the absence of any resistance worth the name, the Mughls started to carry on their depredations on an extensive scale. The whole province was laid waste and hundreds of inhabitants were carried off as slaves. Their cup of misery, however, was not yet full. The prospect of plunder appealed to yet other freebooters who saw in the unprotected province a source of limitless prosperity. The early Portuguese settlers in Bengal were a pack of irreclaimable dare-devils and desperadoes. They lived on piracy and plunder. Their skill in navigation and their instincts of seamanship found free play in the Gangetic Delta, and they revelled in the luxury of Eastern Bengal rivers. Francois Bernier, the famous French chronicler, writing in the seventeenth century, gave a detailed description of the life led by these Portuguese "interlopers" in Bengal. The picture he draws is the reverse of complimentary. "They were such," he writes, "as had abandoned their monasteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderers" (*sic*). According to Bernier "their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy," and he thus describes their pernicious operations: "With some small and light galleys they did nothing but coast about the sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and after penetrating even so far as forty or fifty leagues up country, surprised and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts, and weddings (*sic*) of the poor Gentiles, and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. This great number of slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough to come and sell to that very country the old people which they know not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who had escaped the danger by flight and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers that had been taken yesterday."

'*Do badshahay dar aklimey na gunjund*'—two kings cannot live together in the same kingdom—says the Persian proverb. As may be imagined the Mughls could ill brook these rival adventurers so near home. The king of Arracan, with characteristic statesmanship, conceived the fine plan of destroying, or, at any rate, expelling from the "dominions" as many Portuguese as he could lay hands upon. The work was to have been done at one fell swoop, and, as is the case so often with a

coup d'état, it fell flat. The Portuguese escaping, put themselves out of reach of Arracanese treachery. They had unanimously selected Sebastian Gonzales as their leader. This person was the personification of all the worst characteristics of his followers, and he was unscrupulous and dare-devil to a degree which none amongst them dreamed of emulating. Having treacherously slaughtered, so the story runs, one thousand Mahomedans he had set himself up in the Sundip Island as a kind of Lord Protector whose authority and unlimited powers none dared question. Sundip Island became the headquarters from where all his piratical operations were directed, and the fame of his nefarious exploits drew a large number of kindred spirits to the place, irrespective of creed or colour. He now counted among his followers 1,000 Portuguese, 2,000 Indian soldiery, 200 cavalry and 80 sails thoroughly well manned and equipped.

The common danger of a growing determination on the part of the Moghul Governor, Islam Khan, to extirpate these turbulent elements from his province, first of all caused the Portuguese and the Mughls, hitherto rivals in iniquity, to think of one another as possible allies. Ultimately an unholy alliance was patched up between Sebastian Gonzales and the Raja of Arracan against their common enemy the Moghuls. Their plan of operations was to be offensive, each of the allies making up the deficiencies of the other. The maritime skill of the Portuguese was unquestioned, while the Mughls could hold their own on land. It was settled that Dacca, the seat of Moghul viceroyalty, should be vigorously attacked and, if possible, captured. That would have placed the whole province in their hands and at their mercy. Accordingly, it was decided that while the Arracanese should proceed by land, the Portuguese were to sail up the river Megna, the allies meeting below Dacca and combining for the attack on the capital. The Moghul Governor, however, rose to the occasion. Having come to know of their designs, he despatched a strong body of cavalry to catch up the Arracanese before they could join forces with their allies. This was done and in the fight which ensued the Arracanese were completely routed, the Moghuls obtaining a decisive victory. Sebastian was not anxious to pit himself against Islam Khan, who had already proved himself a shrewd strategist, singlehanded, and he discreetly retired to his stronghold at Sundip, where he could feel himself secure even from the long arm of the Moghul Viceroy.

Islam Khan died in Dacca in the year 1022 A.H. (A.D. 1613) after a short term of rule of five years in which nevertheless he had succeeded in crowding several signal achievements.*

* The details of the origin and career of Islam Khan here set forth have been excerpted from my article on *The Founder of Dacca* in the *Statesman* of July 17, 1908.

On the death of Islam Khan his brother Kasim Khan succeeded to the Governorship, but was recalled in 1618 and Ibrahim Khan appointed in his place. It was during the *régime* of Ibrahim Khan that the English first visited Bengal with a view to establishing a factory in this Province. "Some years previous to this time, agents had been sent overland from Surat to Agra where they had established a factory; and on their representation two persons were sent (A.D. 1620) to Patna to purchase clothes and to establish a house of business in that city; but the great expense of land carriage, first to Agra, and then to Surat, so enhanced the price of the articles, that in the following year the trade was abandoned."^{*}

Prince Shah Jehan's rebellion took place about this time, and after defeating and slaying Ibrahim Khan, that Prince entered Dacca where the fort surrendered and "all the elephants, horses, and 4,000,000 rupees in specie belonging to the Government were delivered to him." After a short stay at Dacca, Shah Jehan marched on towards Patna and was shortly afterwards defeated by the Imperial Army near Allahabad.

Mahabat Khan, Mukarrum Khan, and Fedai Khan became Viceroys in succession, till the accession of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The new Emperor put his own nominee Kasim Khan on the Musnud of Bengal who inaugurated his Governorship by the wholesale and treacherous slaughter of the Portuguese at Hughli. Kasim Khan died in 1632 at Dacca and was succeeded by Azim Khan whose administration is rendered memorable as the one in which the foundations of English trade were laid in this Province. 'A Phirmund (*sic*) had been obtained on the 2nd February 1633-34, for liberty of trade to the English in the Province of Bengal, without any other restriction than that the English ships were to resort only to the port Piply."[†]

The Emperor Shah Jehan had granted the *firman* formally conferring the liberty of trade on the English, but restricting their vessels from entering any ports other than that of Piply near Balasore. This precaution was no doubt promoted by the past experience of the Moghul Government which had felt the risks and danger of leaving the European traders too much to themselves and of allowing the Portuguese to settle at Hughli and have unchecked communications across the Ganges.

Six years later, when in 1639 Sultan Mahomed Shuja, the second son of the Emperor, became Viceroy of Bengal he moved the capital of the Nizamut back to Rajmahal after a lapse of over thirty years. Prince Shuja extended great commercial facilities to the European merchants who were

^{*} Cf. Messrs. Hughes' and Parker's letter, Vol. I. of India Records A. D. 1620, cited by Stewart.

[†] *Annals of the Hon. East India Company* by John Bruce, p. 320.

permitted to export large quantities of saltpetre, the value of which at this time had considerably risen on account of the civil war then raging in England. His reign was further marked by the establishment of factories at Balasore and Hughli by the English in 1604, who were also granted Letters Patent for freedom of trade in the Province of Bangala. The Viceroyalty of Prince Mahomed Shuja was signalized by the introduction of many reforms into the various departments of state. The *Bara Kutra*, a building of considerable architectural beauty, was also erected during his time and has endured to the present day.

The illness and death of Shah Jehan led to the internecine warfare in which the unfortunate Shuja after several defeats by the Imperial and rival armies, was pursued to Dacca, and shortly afterwards met with his death through the monstrous treachery of the Raja of Arracan. Meer Jumla, who had greatly distinguished himself by his pursuit and defeat of Shuja and throughout had actively supported the cause of Aurangzeb, now received the Viceroyalty of Bengal as a reward for his services from the successful rival. His first act was to remove the seat of Government from Rajmahal back to Dacca in 1660. From this time onward Dacca continued to be the capital of the Province until Murshid Kuli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, removed the court to Murshidabad in 1704, and Dacca became the seat of a Naib Nazim or Deputy Governor, which it continued to be till so late as 1843, when the last Naib Nazim leaving no heir, the office ceased to exist.

Meer Jumla was succeeded by Amir-ul-Omra Shaista Khan, nephew of the Empress Nur Jehan; and his Governorship is memorable as one of the most prosperous and notable in the annals of Bengal. One of the first acts of his administration was to complete the subjugation of the Arracanese, who had in their employment the Portuguese settled at Chittagong. After the Arracanese had been compelled to beat a retreat, the Moghul army laid siege to Chittagong. On its fall they changed the name of the city to *Islamabad* (City of the Faithful).

The reign of Shaista Khan marks another step in the progress of English trade in Bengal. At this time the English had no regular house of business at Dacca—a deficiency which was telling on their trade every day. The woven stuff from Dacca was in great demand, and the English traders could only now and then visit the place with their merchandize and "with the sale proceeds purchase was made of Dacca muslin and piecegoods for export per Company's ships at Hooghly and Balasore." Not only commercial exigencies but also political reasons—due representation of the English traders at Court to advance their own interests and keep in check the incessant rivalries of the Dutch and Portuguese—made it imperative that the English should have a factory at Dacca. The Court of Directors wrote to the Council at Hughli under date 24th January 1667-68:—"We observe what you

have written concerning Dacca that it is a place that will vend much Europe Goods and that the best *Cassnes, Mullmuls*, etc., may be procured. It is our earnest desire as before intimated that as large a quantity of broadcloth as possible may be vended by you. Therefore if you shall really find that the setting a factory in that place will occasion the taking of some considerable quantity of our manufactures, and that (as you write) the advance of their sales will bear the charge of the factory, we then give you liberty to send two or three fit persons thither to reside, and to furnish them with cloth, etc., proper for that place.*

In 1668 Shaista Khan granted permission to the English to establish a factory at Dacca. Stewart in his *History of Bengal* writes: "During the Government of Shaista Khan, the commerce of the English, notwithstanding the alleged oppression of the Governor, continued to flourish. Besides their factories at Balasore and Hooghly, they had established agencies at Patna, Cossimbazar and Dacca; and their exportation of saltpetre alone in some years amounted to 1,000 tons, and their importation of bullion, in a single year, to £110,000; further, although no English vessels were allowed to sail up the Ganges before his time, viz. A.D. 1664, yet it appears, in the year 1669, the East India Company had, by his permission, formed a regular establishment of pilots, for conducting their ships up and down the river. He also, in the year 1672, granted them an order for freedom of trade throughout the province, without the payment of any duties."

Shaista Khan's administration was remarkable for its manifold activities and achievements, and it proved peculiarly eventful in regard to the condition and prospects of the European traders—more especially of the English. As we have noticed an English factory had been established at Dacca, and the prosperity of the traders was unprecedented. But this state of things was not to last long: a period of stirring incidents and great vicissitudes followed, and the governorship of Shaista Khan saw the English started on that career of assertion and activity which was ultimately to wrest the Empire from Moghul hands. Up to this time the meek traders had been content to court Imperial and Viceregal patronage and toleration, but soon the force of circumstances caused territorial occupation and fortifications to be regarded not only as possible, but even necessary. From this time onward the history of Dacca is bound up with the history of the rise of the East India Company as a political force in the country.

After the first term of Shaista Khan's viceroyalty, when he resigned in 1677, Fedai Khan and Sultan Mahomed Azem, the third son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, became governors in rapid succession. Such quick changes of

* *Diary of Sir William Rogers*, Vol. III., p. cxcv.

administration, as might be imagined, entailed no little hardship on the European traders. So "the factors of the English Company, having found it exceedingly troublesome and expensive to procure a fresh order for freedom of trade from every succeeding governor, had, upon the removal of Shaista Khan, sent an agent with him to the Emperor's camp, to solicit an Imperial *firman*, to settle this business for ever; and the agent after much expense and perseverance, succeeded in procuring the Emperor's order, with which he returned to Hooghly, on the 8th of July 1680. The English factors wishing to make a great display of their success, caused the *firman* to be received with much ceremony, and to be saluted with 300 guns from the factory and the ships anchored opposite the town."^{*}

The procuring of the above *firman* coupled with the great increase of the Bengal investments "induced the Company to render Bengal independent of Madras; and, in consequence, they appointed Mr. Hedges, one of their Directors, to be chief agent, or governor, of all their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and all other factories subordinate thereto (1681). His residence was fixed at Hooghly; and, in order to give dignity to the office, a guard of a corporal and 20 European soldiers was sent from Fort St. George for his protection. This was the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal, and the foundation of the English power in that country." But as the Imperial *firman* proved an ambiguous document, having been "purposely drawn out in a vague and obscure style," it is hardly surprising that it should have given rise to disputes and "involved their affairs in great difficulty."

Matters indeed had come to a deplorable pass, and trade was seriously hampered. Mr. Hedges, the new governor, decided to go to Dacca in person to represent matters and lay before the Nawab all the grievances of the Company and secure redress. But his mission was a failure: "In 1682 our Chief Agent in Bengal journeyed to the Viceregal Court at Dacca and humbly remonstrated against 'the general stop of our trade'—still in vain."[†]

In consequence of the above, Mr. Hedges was compelled to retire after a short term of less than two years.

The troubles of the English were aggravated by the arrest of Mr. Peacock, the head of their factory at Singee, near Patna, who, incurring the unjust suspicions of the Nawab, was thrown into prison "whence it was with much difficulty and intercession that he was released." The encroachments of the interlopers had been another source of constant worry and trouble to the English about this time, in consequence of which Mr. Gyfford, the Governor at Hooghly in 1685, "made an application, in the name of the

^{*} Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 195.

[†] Sir William Hunter's *History of British India*.



THE EMPEROR FARRUKH SYYAH.

From an old Mughal (picture album) in the possession of Nizam Syud Akhmed.



THE EMPEROR FARRUKH SYYAH'S CONSORT.



MEER ASHEAF ALI.

From an old Painting on Ivory.

Company, to the Nawab Shaista Khan, for permission to erect a fortification in the mouth, or on the banks of the Ganges—to prevent the ships of those persons, whom they denominated interlopers, from entering the river; and for the better protection of their own property.”*

But it was hardly to be expected that so shrewd and experienced an administrator as Shaista Khan would readily place such power in the hands of foreigners. He not only declined to make the concession, but also demanded, notwithstanding the Emperor's *firman*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties upon all their imports from the English, instead of the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 which had been received from them formerly.

“In 1685 the Hugly Council feeling their position so high up the river to be unsafe, fruitlessly begged leave to quit it for a landing-place further down. For the first time in its history, the Company found itself under a Moghul oppressor whom the Emperor's *firman* failed to control and whom its petitions and presents were powerless to appease.” Matters had come to a head, and the inevitable rupture occurred between the Nawab and the English “which so injured the trade of the latter, that their ships were obliged to leave Bengal without obtaining cargoes.” The only alternatives now for the English were either to abandon their trade with Bengal, or by having recourse to arms, “effect by force what they could not obtain by entreaty.”

The days when aggressive self-assertion became necessary had come and the English had no course left but to adopt these methods. In 1684 the Court of Directors “had got so far as to declare that ‘though our business is only trade and security, not conquest,’ yet we dare not trade boldly or leave great stocks, where we have not the security of a fort.”†

“The Roe doctrine of ‘quiet trade’ had obviously ceased to apply to Bengal: as it had never really applied to Madras or Bombay, nor indeed anywhere outside the provinces in which the Imperial authority could secure Imperial protection.” In 1685 the Court of Directors “ordered the black Town of Madras to be walled in and fortified at the expense of the inhabitants, ‘whether it displease or please them or anybody else.’ They also desired a defensible position in Bengal where ‘our great ships may lie within command of the guns of our fort.’”

“The future policy of the East India Company had been thus determined and ‘the solemn renunciation of the Roe doctrine of unarmed traffic was resolved on in January under the governorship of Sir Joseph Ash.’ In pursuance of the above policy warlike preparations began, but ‘as a matter of fact the Company possessed neither the information nor the officers for the

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 196.

† Hunter.

effective prosecution of a war in India.' They easily obtained the royal sanction for an armament from James II, who was a large shareholder in India stock, and an expedition was fitted out in England, which consisted of six companies of infantry and ten ships of twelve to seventy guns (some of them mere tenders) under Captain Nicholson with the title of Admiral until he reached the Ganges, when the Agent in Bengal was to act both as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. The troops sailed with only lieutenants, as the Colonel, the Lieutenant-Colonel, Majors and Captains were to be supplied from the factory gentlemen. On the west coast of India the squadron was to cut off the native shipping and declare war on the Moghul Emperor. On the east coast, after obtaining, if possible, 400 additional soldiers at Madras, it was to bring away the Company's servants from Bengal, lay hold of all Moghul ships at sea, capture and fortify Chittagong at the N.E. extremity of the Bay, establish there a mint, then advance up the Ganges to the Viceroy's capital at Dacca, and extort from him a treaty by force of arms. It was also to take vengeance on the King of Siam, by seizing his vessels for wrongs done to the Company; and it was to give tardy effect to the Marriage Treaty of 1661 by driving out the Portuguese from the dependencies of Bombay. Of this vast programme, conceived in ludicrous ignorance of the geographical distances and with astounding disregard of the opposing forces, not a single item was carried out. Misfortunes and miscalculations dogged the expedition. At length in the autumn of 1686 two ships and their light-armed tenders entered the Hughli River with 308 soldiers, to make war on an Empire which had at that moment an army of at least 100,000 men in the field. The Viceroy of Bengal alone could lead out 40,000 troops and the garrison of the single town of Hughli numbered 3,300.*

The Madras Government had, in the meantime, sent round 400 soldiers; "and had directed Mr. Charnock to raise a second company of Portuguese infantry to be officered by the Company's servants." "The arrival of such a force in the Ganges immediately roused the suspicions and fears of Shaista Khan. He offered to compromise the differences with the English, and to submit the whole of their dispute to arbitrators appointed on both sides; but in order to be prepared against any acts of hostility, he ordered a considerable body of troops to encamp in the vicinity of Hughli."†

The negotiations, however, were prematurely cut short by a trivial affray between the troops of the two parties which unfortunately developed into a regular fight with a fairly heavy casualty and led to the bombardment of the town by Admiral Nicholson. As a result of the cannonade 500 houses

* Hunter's *History of British India*, p. 252.

† Stewart. *Op. Cit.* p. 198.

were burnt down including the Company's factory worth 300,000 with the goods stored therein. The Foujdar or Military Governor made a temporary truce, but Shaista Khan being apprised of the circumstances "directed the English factories at Patna, Malda, Dacca and Cossimbazar to be confiscated; and ordered a very considerable body, both of infantry and cavalry, to proceed immediately to Hughli, and to expel the English from the country." In the midst of hostilities overtures of peace were made several times only to end abruptly. At last Mr. Charnock, the agent, "being neither in a condition to oppose the Nawab by arms nor to appease him with money, sent two members of his council to Dacca, to try if he might be softened by submission." While the English deputies were still at Dacca negotiating peace (1688), Captain Heath arrived with his reinforcement, and despite the protestations of Mr. Charnock decided to renew the war. He "landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th of November, attacked and took a redoubt of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the Governor; and the Company's servants, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing. This outrage unfortunately was committed on the very day that the Governor of Balasore received a copy of the treaty which the Nawab had made with the two deputies at Dacca."

The aggression of Captain Heath coupled with the fortifications of Bombay and Madras by the English, and their alliance with the Mahratta free-booter Sambhaji so incensed the Emperor Aurangzeb against them that he "issued orders to his commanders to extirpate the English from his dominions; and to seize or destroy all their property, wherever it might be found. It was in obedience to these orders, that the factory at Masulipatam was seized by the Governor of that district, and that the warehouses of Vizagapatam were plundered, and all the English gentlemen put to death." Shaista Khan also carried out the Emperor's commands to the extent of "sequestering the whole of the English property in Bengal, and to place the Company's agents at Dacca in chains." The Amir-ul-Omra finally resigned in 1689, and died a few years later at Agra. "It is related," says Stewart, "that, during his government, grain was so cheap that rice was sold at the rate of 640 lbs weight for the rupee: to commemorate which event, as he was leaving Dacca, he ordered the western gate, through which he departed, to be built up, and an inscription to be placed thereon, interdicting any future Governor from opening it, till he had reduced the price of grain to the same rate: in consequence of which injunction, the gate remained closed till the Government of the Nawab Sirferaz Khan." His Viceroyalty was the longest, and, on the whole, the most memorable in the annals of Dacca. He erected

several mosques and other public buildings, their particular style of architecture being known as the "Shaista Khani," whose traces are still very evident in the city. The famous French traveller Tavernier visited Dacca more than once during his Governorship and has left interesting accounts of his observations and experiences. Shaista Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, whose "first act of authority, after assuming the government, was one most congenial to his feelings, *viz.*, the liberation of the Company's agents, who were confined at Dacca."

Sir John Child, the Director-General of the Company's settlements, had sent two English Commissioners from Bombay to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Moghul ministers, while the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan. On the treaty being formed, the Emperor sent the following *firman* to Ibrahim Khan at Dacca under date April 23rd, 1690: "You must understand, that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings; and their not being in their former greatness, have, by their *vakeels*, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted: Therefore upon receipt hereof, my Phirmaund (*sic*) you must not create them any further trouble, but let them trade freely in your Government as formerly: And this order I expect you to see strictly observed." Ibrahim Khan accordingly wrote letters to Mr. Charnock at Madras inviting him to return and re-establish all the Company's factories; with an assurance of a perfect oblivion of everything which had passed, and that the English should be placed on a footing with the most favoured foreign nation. On the 24th August, Mr. Charnock, with his Council and factors, and attended by an escort of thirty soldiers, returned to Chuttanutty, where Meer Ali Akbar, the Governor of Hughli, in obedience to the Nawab's orders, received them with much civility.

In 1691, Ibrahim Khan forwarded to Mr. Charnock a *hush-ul-hookm* from the Emperor Aurangzeb "authorising the English to trade to Bengal without paying any other duty than an annual present of 3,000 rupees." Five years later on the breaking out of the rebellion of Soobha Singh and Rahim Khan, the English factory at Chuttanutty, along with those of the Dutch and French at Chinsurah and Chandernagore respectively, was fortified by the implied sanction of the Nawab. These were the first three European forts "which the Moghul Government suffered foreigners to build in any part of their Empire."

As has been noticed, the rebellion of Soobha Singh and Rahim Khan indirectly led to the erection of the first English fortifications along with those of the Dutch and French in India. This same event was destined to have other far-reaching results on their subsequent history. The necessary

precedent had been established, and from this time onward, their right of military defence remained unquestioned—a concession which proved invaluable in the sequel.

The rebellion had assumed appalling proportions, and was daily becoming more and more threatening, but the Governor, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, was strangely apathetic towards it, and declined to take any definite steps to nip it in the bud. To the remonstrances of his son and counsellors he replied that "a civil war was a dreadful evil, in which the lives of God's creatures were wantonly expended: that the rebels, if let alone, would shortly disperse of themselves; and the only consequence would be the loss of a small portion of his Majesty's revenue." Rahim Khan, who after the tragic death of Soobha Singh was chosen as the head of the rebel army, and had assumed the royal title and style of Rahim Shah, continued his progress through the country, compelling the population to join him, and plundering whatever he could lay his hands on. The rebels marched to Mukhsosabad and after defeating the royal army of 500 strong, took and plundered that town. A band of rebels, about the same time, advanced to Chuttanuddy and set the villages on fire. A third party of the rebels laid siege to the fort of Tanna (a few miles west of Calcutta on the opposite side of the river), but as the English, at the request of the Foudar of Hughli, had sent a frigate to support the fort, the rebels were compelled to retreat. "In the meantime, the Europeans worked day and night in fortifying their factories at Chinsura, Chandernagore and Chuttanuddy: at the latter place, the English constructed regular bastions, capable of bearing cannon; but to avoid giving offence, the embrasures were filled up, on the outside, with a wall of single brick." In the month of March, 1697, the rebels captured Rajmahal and Malda, and plundered the Dutch and English factories at the latter place, thereby obtaining considerable property. Clearly, these were not the times for any pseudo-ethical qualms of conscience on the part of the Governor. It only remained for the rebels to enter Dacca and depose Ibrahim Khan as a fitting end to his policy of astounding inactivity. Moreover, this was not exactly the sort of policy which would have recommended itself to the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was then encamped in the Deccan. "The first intelligence which the Emperor received of these events was through the newspaper." As may be imagined, his indignation and astonishment at the conduct of Ibrahim Khan was great, and to mark his disapproval of the Governor's policy he forthwith appointed his grandson, Prince Azim-ul-Shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah, who was then in the Royal camp, to the United Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Orders, however, were sent to Ibrahim Khan to remain in Dacca until the arrival of his successor, but in the meantime "to place his son, Zubberdust Khan, at the head of the

Bengal forces, and send him immediately against the rebels." The Emperor also issued commands to the Governors of Oude, Allahabad and Behar, "to co-operate by every means in their power, with the Governor of Bengal, in quieting the insurrection and extirpating the rebels."

"On the receipt of the Imperial orders, Zuberdust Khan, who had long beheld with regret the apathy of his father, quickly equipped an army consisting of both cavalry and infantry, with a good train of artillery, and attended by a number of war-boats. As soon as everything was in readiness he marched from Dacca, and proceeded up the right bank of the Ganges."^{*}

In the meantime the resources of Rahim Shah had greatly increased. "Governor Eyre, in his letter of December, 1696, says, that the country in possession of the rebels was estimated at 60 lakhs of rupees per annum; and that their force consisted of 12,000 Cavalry and 30,000 Infantry."[†]

"When informed of the approach of the Imperial troops from Dacca, he (Rahim Shah) encamped his army on the banks of the river, in the vicinity of Bogwangola, resolving to risk his fate in a pitched battle." But during the time that Zuberdust Khan was advancing, by short marches, with his artillery and infantry, he detached the greater part of his cavalry to beat up the quarters of the rebels, who were in possession of Rajmahal and Malda. This service was ably performed; the rebels were defeated at Rajmahal; an Afghan Chief named Ghyret Khan was killed, and the greater part of their plunder retaken. That which belonged to the Dutch and English was reclaimed by the agents of those nations; but the Moghul Commander refused to restore it without the orders of the Governor.

"Zuberdust Khan having arrived within a few miles of the rebel camp landed his infantry and guns from the fleet; and after reconnoitring the position of the enemy, ordered his war-boats to harass them from the river while he attacked them by land. The first day was spent in a cannonade, during which the guns of the Imperial army, being served by the Portuguese in the Royal service, dismounted most of those of the enemy and silenced the redoubts which he had thrown up along his front. The next morning, both armies being drawn out in battle array, the attack was commenced by the Imperial infantry; but in a short time the engagement became general and continued for several hours. At length the rebels were overcome, and compelled to retreat, leaving their camp to be plundered by the Royalists."^{*}

In the meantime, no sooner had Prince Azim-ul-Shan received the investiture of his office, than he marched with a select corps of 12,000

^{*} Stewart. *Op. Cit.* p. 310.

[†] *Rail India Record*, Vol. XIX., p. 263.

cavalry towards Allahabad. "Upon the Prince's arrival at Allahabad, he sent orders to the Governor of Oudh immediately to join him, with all his forces: he also issued his commands to all the zemindars in that neighbourhood, and to those of Benares and Bihar, to join his camp as soon as he should enter their respective territories, on his route to Bengal."*

When the Prince arrived in Patna, the reports of Zuberdust Khan's successful campaign reached him, and "fearing that so active an officer would gather all the laurels before his arrival at the scene of action and leave him nothing by which he might gain credit with the Emperor, he sent positive commands to the General not to risk another engagement until he should join him with his victorious Army." Zuberdust Khan accordingly cantoned his army in the vicinity of Burdwan, and patiently awaited the arrival of His Royal Highness. On his approach to the city, Zuberdust Khan advanced several miles to receive and welcome the grandson and representative of the Emperor, "but so cool and distant was the reception he met with from His Highness, that he resolved immediately to quit the army, and proceed with his father, the deposed Governor, to Court."

"Having delivered over the command of the troops, he made known his request to His Royal Highness, who, jealous of the fame that Zuberdust Khan had so justly acquired, was graciously pleased to comply with his wishes, although by so doing, he greatly reduced the strength of his own army; as nearly 8,000 of the best troops were the dependants, or followers, of the General and his father, and went away with him." Thus it was that the "famously just and good Nawab Ibrahim" and his gallant son left Dacca, carrying with them the good wishes of all.

The new Viceroy made Burdwan his temporary headquarters, as being the centre of disturbance, and all his energy for the next couple of years was devoted to the quelling of the insurrection which, however, was not suppressed till the death of Rahim Shah in 1698, which occurred in the following manner: in the course of negotiations for his surrender on the understanding that he would be forgiven for his past misdeeds, Rahim Shah ordered his troops to mount, and to make a sudden and vigorous attack on the Royal camp. This movement was executed with such rapidity, "that Azim-ul-Shan had barely time to mount his elephant before he was surrounded by a party of the Afghans, headed by their chief, Rahim Shah; and would certainly have been taken prisoner, had not a brave Arab officer, named Hamid Khan, called out, that he was the Prince, and challenged the Afghan to single combat; at the same time discharging an arrow, which penetrated the rebel's side: a second arrow from his hand wounded his antagonist's horse in the head, who thereupon reared up, and threw

* Stewart *Op. Cit.* p. 216.

his rider on the ground : the Arab instantly dismounted, and, having cut off Rahim Shah's head, held it up on the point of his lance. The Afghans seeing the catastrophe of their chief, were struck with panic and fled on all sides. After which they offered to submit to the Prince, provided he would take them into his service ; which being agreed to, a general amnesty was passed, and peace restored to the harassed Province."

At this time the English secured a concession from Prince Azim-ul-Shan which requires to be noted, as it gave them a new status in the country, and was the first step towards territorial acquisition. "By a suitable present the English obtained a grant of the three villages of Chuttanatty, Govindpore, and Kailcotta. The importance of this grant is liable to be overlooked. It raised the English to the condition of a zemindar."^{*}

"The Prince, after a residence of nearly three years in Burdwan, having regulated the affairs of the western part of Bengal to his satisfaction, ordered the state-boats which had been built during the Government of Sultan Shuja, to be collected in the vicinity of Hooghly ; and embarking at that place, proceeded with great pomp to Dacca and took possession of the Royal palace."

Dacca now became the scene of lively incidents in which the leading part was taken by a new figure, who occasionally overshadowed the Royal Governor himself. As henceforth Murshid Kuli Khan looms large in the political history of Dacca, as well as of the Province, some account of him is necessary.

"This person was the son of a poor Brahman, and, during his youth, was purchased by a Persian merchant named Hajy Suffia, who took him to Ispahan, and, having circumcised him, changed his name to Mahomed Hady and educated him as one of his own children. Upon the death of the merchant, his heirs manumitted the youth, and permitted him to proceed to the Deccan, where, soon after his arrival, he obtained an inferior employment in the service of Hajy Abdullah, Dewan of Bernar : in this situation he evinced such a knowledge of accounts and expertness in business, that within a few years he was recommended to the Emperor Aurangzeb, as a fit person to fill the office of Dewan of Hyderabad, then vacant : he was in consequence appointed to that office and dignified with the title of Kar Tulab Khan. A continuation of the same line of conduct which had recommended him to the Emperor, induced that monarch to nominate Kar Tulab Khan, in the year 1701, to the important office of Dewan of Bengal with the title of Murshid Kuli Khan." †

^{*} *Early Records of British India* by J. Tulboys Wheeler, p. 163.

† Stewart. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 221—2.



NAWAB SIR K. ABBASNOLLAH, K.C.I.E.



"Murshid Kuli Khan soon after his appointment proceeded to Dacca, and entered with alacrity upon the business of his office. He found that the country was rich and productive, but that the public revenue had been absorbed in improper channels. He therefore appointed his own collectors to the different districts; and in a short period ascertained that the revenue of Bengal amounted to one crore (10 millions) of rupees." This official disbanded the Royal household cavalry, which were of little use in a low country like Dacca, and resumed the Jagirs assigned for their support. This and other measures of retrenchment were most distasteful to Prince Azim-ul-Shan, who strongly objected to the control thus exercised over the State expenditure.

Murshid Kuli Khan soon completely overhauled the revenue administration of the province, and raised it to a level of great efficiency and prosperity, the revenue of the State being considerably increased. "This conduct acquired for Murshid Kuli Khan great celebrity at Court: but the haughty spirit of the Prince Azim-ul-Shan could ill brook the constant interference, in all pecuniary transactions, of the Dewan, and his frequent opposition to His Royal Highness's commands. Besides these causes the Prince was exceedingly jealous of the high favour in which Murshid Kuli stood with the Emperor; and the courtiers and favourites of the Prince, whose extravagance or assumed powers were constantly controlled by the Dewan, fanned the flame and added fuel to his already exasperated temper: Azim-ul-Shan was therefore extremely anxious to get rid of his rival, if it could be effected without risking the displeasure of the Emperor."

The inevitable sequel which followed is thus narrated by Stewart: "An officer named Abdul Vahid, commanding a long-established corps of horse, called Nukedy, who were entitled to their pay monthly from the treasury, and, therefore, looked with contempt on the other troops paid by assignments on the zemindars—and who were, besides, noted for their insolence and contempt of all authority—proposed to the Prince to assassinate the Dewan, if he would ensure to him, or to his heirs, a large sum of money. The offer having been accepted, Abdul Vahid ordered his men to waylay the Dewan the next time he came to pay his respects to the Prince. An opportunity soon after offered: the Dewan, who was never deficient in etiquette and respect to the Viceroy, left his house one morning to pay his obeisance at the Palace; but before he had gotten half way, his retinue was stopped in the street by a large body of the Nukedy regiment, who in a clamorous manner demanded their pay. The Dewan, who always went abroad well armed and was attended by a considerable number of armed followers, immediately jumped out of his palanquin; and, drawing his sword, commanded his attendants to clear the road and drive those fellows away. The Nukedies, seeing his resolution and firmness, shrunk back, and allowed him to proceed unmolested to the Palace; where,

as soon as he entered, he loudly accused the Prince of being the author of this conspiracy. He then seated himself, in a rude and indecorous manner, opposite to him; and putting his hand to his dagger, said, 'If you want my life, here let us try the contest: if otherwise, take care that nothing of this kind ever again occurs.' The Prince, alarmed by his threats and dreading the severe justice of the Emperor, was very much agitated; and after protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner, sent for Abdul Vahid and severely reprimanded him for the flagitious conduct of his men, threatening him with the severest marks of his displeasure if they were ever again guilty of such disorderly behaviour: these excuses did not, however, satisfy the Dewan; he proceeded immediately to the Public Hall of Audience, and, having sent for Abdul Vahid, examined into the arrears due to the corps; and after giving him an assignment for the amount, on one of the zemindars, discharged him and his regiment from the Imperial service."

On reaching home, Murshid Kuli drew up a complete statement of the whole incident, and after having it duly endorsed by the signatures of the public officers, forwarded it with his own representation to the Emperor. After this rupture with the Governor, in which he had acted with such rare boldness and independence, Murshid Kuli Khan did not consider it advisable to continue living in Dacca, and decided to fix his residence at Mukhsosabad, as being nearly in the centre of the province, and equally convenient for collecting the revenues from all parts. "Having decided on this measure he left Dacca without taking leave of the Viceroy; and carrying with him all the public officers attached to the Dewani, proceeded to Mukhsosabad."

"When the well-authenticated statement of the disturbance at Dacca and the attempt on the life of the Dewan reached the Emperor who was then in the Deccan, he sent an order to Prince Azim-ul-Shan, severely reprimanding him; and threatening him, that if the smallest injury was offered, either to the person or to the property of Murshid Kuli Khan, he, although his grandchild, should be answerable for it. He further commanded the Prince immediately to quit Bengal and to fix his residence in the province of Behar. Azim-ul-Shan knew too well the arbitrary disposition of his grandfather to attempt any justification of his conduct, or to procrastinate his departure; he, therefore, appointed his second son, Furrakh Seyer, under the superintendence of Ser Balund Khan, to be his deputy in Dacca; and embarking with the remainder of his family, and all the public officers, on board the Government boats, proceeded to Rajmahal, and took possession of Sultan Shuja's palace. The air of that place, however, not agreeing with his family, he some time after removed to Patna, the castle and fortification of which he repaired, and by permission of the Emperor, changed the name of the city to Azimabad"—after himself. The nobility of the place still delight

to designate their city by this dignified name, and the Mahomedan historians also prefer it to the unclassic "Patna." The young Deputy-Governor, Prince Furrugh Seyer, assumed charge of the administration at Dacca and "made himself universally esteemed by his wise and liberal measures." The removal of the Dewani to Mukhsosabad as the results of the unfortunate "fracas" between the Nawab and the unbending Murshid Kuli caused Dacca to be shorn of not a little of its dignity and importance. In fact, it was the beginning of the decay of Dacca, and in a few years the work was completed by that same agency.

In 1704 Murshid Kuli Khan personally waited upon the Emperor Aurangzeb, who, as a reward for his successful administration of the Dewani, reappointed him to the post of Dewan of Bengal and Orissa in his own right and as Deputy-Nizam for Prince Azim-ul-Shan. It was not, however, till 1713 when Prince Furrugh Seyer had become the Emperor of Hindustan, that these offices were united, and Murshid Kuli Khan became the Nizam and Dewan of Bengal.

As soon as he had returned to Bengal from the Deccan, Murshid Kuli Khan changed the name of the city of Mukhsosabad to Murshidabad in perpetuation of his own name. The erection of a mint, a palace, and other public offices of Government soon made Murshidabad the seat of Viceregal Government and the capital of the Province.

Thus formally ended the capitalship of Dacca; its history so full of stirring vicissitudes, and, on the whole, so glorious. The eastern districts were now placed in charge of a Naib Nazim or Deputy of the Governor. The post of a Naib was "considered the highest and most lucrative appointment under the Nizamut." The jurisdiction of the Naib extended from the Garo Hills on the north to the Sunderbans on the south and from the Tipperah Hills on the east to Jessore on the west, "thus comprising a far greater extent of country than the present Dacca District." At the height of its splendour, the limits of Dacca, including the suburbs, extended from the Buriganga in the south, to the Tungi River in the north, a distance of nearly fifteen miles; and from Jafarabad in the west to Postgola in the east, a distance of nearly ten miles. Its population then was estimated at about 900,000.*

Mirza Lutfullah, who was appointed Naib in 1713, annexed the Tipperah territory, which had hitherto been only nominally subject to the Moghul Government, to the Province. Latterly, the Naibs began to reside at Murshidabad, and, in their turn, appointed Deputies and entrusted them with the government of Dacca. Some of these deputies administered well, but "others made it their chief object to amass wealth at the expense of the

* Rahman Ali's *Tarikh-i-Dacca*. (Persian MSS.)

provinces committed to their charge." Among these latter may be mentioned Rajballabh, Peshkar, of the Nowwara, and subsequently appointed Deputy Governor, who is said, during his short term of office, to have amassed the enormous sum of two crores of rupees. He also acquired a great quantity of land, which afterwards constituted the valuable zemindari of Rajnagar. Near a village of the same name, on the south side of the Pudda, are still to be seen the ruins of the splendid residence erected by this Raja Rajballabh, whose descendants were mentioned to have been living, though greatly reduced in circumstances, as late as 1868.* A great portion of the money amassed by this man was conveyed out of the district by his son Kishen Dass, who was supposed to have taken it into Fort William. It was in search of this treasure, it is said, that Serajud-doulah was induced to commence hostilities against the English, which ended in their obtaining possession of the country in 1757. With this date, the history of Dacca, under the native dynasties, virtually ceases.

Up to the time of the East India Company's accession to the Dewani, in 1765, the "administration of the Dacca province was carried on by two departments—Huzuri and Nizamut; the former was under the Provincial Dewan who resided at Murshidabad and carried on the business at Dacca by deputy. The jurisdiction of this officer extended to the charge of the crown finances and the settlement of all disputes relating to revenue. The department of the Nizamut related chiefly to civil and criminal suits, and the collection of a portion of the revenue, which was assigned to defray the expense of this establishment."

In 1765 Lieutenant Swinton, on behalf of the East India Company, came to Dacca and assumed charge of the Dewani from the then Naib Nazim, Nawab Jasarat Khan. From 1768, Nawab Jasarat Khan carried on the administration of the Province in conjunction with a member of Council representing the East India Company. On the death of the Nawab, the English assumed sole charge of the Government, and his five successors nominally remained Naib Nazims, receiving a pension of Rs. 6,000 per mensem from the East India Company.

The year 1769 saw the appointment of a Supervisor of Revenue to whom was entrusted the sole control of the departments of *Nizamut* and *Huzuri*. Three years later, in 1772, that officer's title was altered to that of "Collector;" and that same year after the East India Company had formally taken over the Dewanship in succession to Mahomed Reza Khan, a court of *Dewani Adalat* was established, the Collector becoming its Superintendent. A Provincial Council was instituted in 1774. The collection of revenue was entrusted to Naibs who also presided over the court of *Dewani Adalat*, from

* Cf. History and Statistics of Dacca Division, 1868.

whose findings an appeal was permitted to the Council. The year 1781 was a memorable one, as it saw the abolition of the Council, and the establishment of a Court of Judicature of which Mr. Duncanson became the first judge. The same year Mr. Day was appointed Magistrate and Collector of the district. The British period of the history of Dacca had thus commenced.

The French Factory, which was situated at the place where the zenana quarters of the present Nawab of Dacca stand, was taken possession of by the English in 1778, and the Dutch Factory, which stood at the south-west corner of the Mitford Hospital compound by the river, three years later in 1781.

Thus those old-world associations of keen rivalry and commercial competition were destroyed, and there was left neither a foreign nor native disturbing element to interrupt the smooth administration of the country.

Three-quarters of a century were to elapse before a wave of trouble and excitement swept over Dacca, and the most memorable period in the history of Modern Dacca was, beyond doubt, that of the great Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which extended to the native troops then quartered in the town.*

After the last traces of the mutiny had been wiped off, the proclamation of the transfer of the Government of India to the Queen was read in English and Bengali in the open space in front of the Dacca College in 1858. The telegraph line between Calcutta and Dacca was also completed in that year.

Dr. Reginald Heber, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, visited Dacca in 1824, and has left an extremely interesting account of his impressions and experiences in his well-known "*Narrative of a Journey, etc.*" He wrote:—"Dacca, Mr. Master says, is, as I supposed, merely the wreck of its ancient grandeur. Its trade is reduced to the sixtieth part of what it was, and all its splendid buildings, the castle of its founder Shahjehanguire (*sic*), the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient Nawabs, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French and Portuguese nations, are all sunk into ruin and overgrown with jungle. But the Hindu and Mahomedan population, Mr. Master still reckons at 300,000, certainly no immoderate calculation, since, as he says, he has ascertained that there are above 90,000 houses and huts." Regarding the climate of Dacca at the time, Dr. Heber wrote:—"The climate of Dacca, Mr. Master reckons one of the mildest in India, the heat being tempered by the vast rivers flowing near it, and the rapidity of their streams discharging

*For a detailed account the reader is referred to my article entitled *Dacca during the Mutiny* in the *Indian Daily News* of the 14th May 1907.

the putrid matter of the annual inundation more rapidly than is ever the case in the Hooghly." Writing under date July 5th, Bishop Heber says:—"I had also a visit from Mr. Lee, a sort of Secretary to His Highness the Nawab Shemsheeddowlah, to congratulate me on my arrival, and to appoint a day for his calling on me.

"This potentate is now, of course, shorn of all political power, and is not even allowed the State palanquin, which his brother (whose heir he is) had, and which his neighbour the Nawab of Murshidabad still retains. He has, however, an allowance of 10,000 rupees per month, is permitted to keep a court, with guards, and is styled 'Highness.' The palanquin, indeed was a distinction to which his brother had no very authentic claim, and which this man could hardly expect, having been very leniently dealt with in being allowed the succession at all. He had in his youth been a bad subject, had quarrelled with Government and his own family, and been concerned in the bloody conspiracy of Vizier Ali.

"For his share in this, he was many years imprisoned in Calcutta, during which time he acquired a better knowledge of the English Language and Literature than most of his countrymen possess. He speaks and writes English very tolerably, and even fancies himself a critic in Shakespeare.

"July 6th.—The Nawab called this morning according to his promise, accompanied by his eldest son. He is a good looking elderly man, of so fair a complexion as to prove the care with which the descendants of the Mussalman conquerors have kept up their northern blood. His hands, more particularly, are nearly as white as those of an European. He sat for a good while smoking his Hookah, and conversing fluently enough in English, quoting some English books of history, and showing himself very tolerably acquainted with the events of the Spanish war, and the part borne in it by Sir Edward Paget.

"I went from the palace to the house of Meer Ashraf Ali, the Chief Mussalman gentleman in this District. He is said by Mr. Master to have been both extravagant and unfortunate, and therefore to be now a good deal encumbered. But his landed property still amounts to above 300,000 *bighas*, and his family is one of the best (as a private family) in India. He was himself absent at one of his other houses. But his two eldest sons had been very civil, and had expressed a hope that I would return their visit. Besides which, I was not sorry to see the inside of this sort of building. Meer Ashraf Ali's house is built round a courtyard and looks very much like a dismantled convent, occupied by a Corps of Uhlans. There are abundance of fine horses, crowds of shabby looking servants in showy but neglected liveries, and on the whole a singular mixture of finery and carelessness."

The Meer was the premier nobleman of Eastern Bengal in his time. In *Ta'ikh-i-Nasrut Jungi* (Persian MSS.)* by Nawab Nasrut Jung, the Naib Nazim, it is stated that his monthly income was Rs. 20,000 and that "there must be few men in the city who have not become the recipient of his favors or have turned away disappointed from him." During the first Burmese War he rendered valuable services to Government, by providing supplies to the British troops, and by proceeding in person to the frontiers of Tippera, accompanied by some thousands of his ryots to aid the British authorities. The Government offered to pay him his expenses or to grant him some title or mark of distinction, but he declined both. The Government thereupon conferred on his two sons, Syud Ali Mehdy and Syud Mehdy Ali, *khillats* and the title of "Khan Bahadur."† It may be mentioned that in those days this title was not what it has since become. Subsequently, at their request,

* Since ably edited by my valued friend Professor Harinath Das, of the Imperial Library, and published in the *Messenger* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The passage in the original will bear quotation.

"بعد فوت نواب نصرت جنگ جنت مکان کا غازی الدین محمد خان مغفور کہ عرصہ بہت حال شد از عمایہ و رؤسای این دیار یک یک فوت نمو دند - خانہائی کہ مصری دولت خانہ نواب صاحب میگرد نیست و نابود گردید چنانچہ میر اشرف علی مرحوم کہ آمدنی درمہ بہت ہزار روپیہ داشتند زمینداری شان بلند کہان بود - صدہا اہلکار پرورش می یافتند و از مردمان شہر کمتر باشند کہ ممنون احدانش نگردیدند و از دارند و صاحب کسی محروم نمی رشت - کارخانہ عالی و خارج قزاقان بود و تیراندازان جوان علی مہدی خان بہادر و علی حسن خان بہادر را گواشتہ فوت نمودند - باوجود بودن تیراندازان قابل و زمینداری بزرگ ملک کچ رفتار چنان دلگیریا بر انداشت کہ علی حسن خان بہادر غریق دریاہی رحمت بردانی شدہ و مکانات عالیشان چنان نیست و نابود گردید کہ نشان ہم باقی نماند و تمام زمینداری بسرکار کمپنی بسبب باقیات خزانہ خاص شد - سید علی مہدی خان بہادر اگرچہ قلعاں در قید حیات اند لیکن زندہ بگور توان گشت عدم و وجود خان برابر -"

† In this connection we are indebted to *Kris and Kappal* for unearthing an interesting piece of information. In the course of an editorial in its issue of July 7th, 1906, *Kris* wrote:—

"The writer in the *Englishman* appears to have misread the following facts in connection with the loss of the Bulda Khul Pargana, one of the most valuable properties of Meer Ashraf Ali, which we extract from a letter in the *Sambhar Durpan* of the 5th July 1834. The *Durpan* was an Anglo-Bengali paper, started by the famous Serampore Missionaries, and one of the earliest journals published in Bengal.

"The Editor of the *Durpan* further says, that 'no purchasers having appeared at the former sales (there was an order issued to purchase in the Bulda Khul Pargana) for a single rupee on the part of the Government; but this is all fudge. That any order was given to purchase so enormous an estate for

they were granted the privilege of using silver sticks, and in this connection Bishop Heber records a characteristic conversation which he had with the two young gentlemen. He says (Vol. I, p. 151):—"At last out came a wish for silver sticks. Their father, they said, was not in the habit of asking favors from Government, but it was a shame that the *Baboo*s of Calcutta should obtain badges of nobility, while true *Seyuds*, descendants of the Prophet, whose ancestors had never known what trade was, but had won with their swords from the idolaters the lands for which they now paid taxes to the Company, should be overlooked." On this the good Bishop "reminded them that an old family was always respected whether it had silver sticks or no, and that an upstart was only laughed at for decorations which deceived nobody." "Yes," replied the younger, "but our ancestors used to have silver sticks, and we have got them in the house at this day."

"We then parted, after their bringing 'paw'n' and rose water in a very antique and elegantly carved bottle, which might really have belonged to those days when their ancestors smote the idolaters. The young men called afterwards to see me to my boat, and brought me some toys for my children and a travelling cap often worn by Mussalmans in this District."

It may be mentioned here that the eldest surviving lineal descendant (a great-grandson of Meer Ashruf Ali of Dacca) is the Hon'ble Nawab Syud Mahomed, Khan Bahadur, * the present Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal.

No account of Modern Dacca can be complete without some mention of the present Nawab Family which, under the ægis of the British Government, has in some measure replaced the Old Nawabs and become the premier landholders of the Province. The following account of the family is taken from Mr. Buckland's *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*:—"The 'Dacca Nawabs' have long held the leading position in Eastern Bengal. In wealth,

one rupee is out of the question. Government is anxious that the estate of Belda Khal should be improved. When the British Government were engaged in the Rangoon war, Meer Ashruf Ali Khan, the father of Mehdy Ali Khan, made great exertions to supply the troops with provisions and procured food for them all the way from his own estate to Chittagong, save while they were passing through the estates of other Zemindars. As a reward for which Government bestowed on him a *khilat* of seven parganas, a pearl necklace, a *jogah* (cheque) and surpash, a sword and shield, and silver sticks, and the drum, and invested him with the title of *Akbar Bahadur*. When the Treasurer of the Collector had purchased money from the Treasury, although two other securities of his existed yet Government demanded and received from Ashruf Ali Khan the sum of a lakh and a half of rupees, and this sum he paid without any discussion or objection. The sum of Rs. 1,15,000 for which this estate was sold is extremely inadequate; which will appear evident from the fact that a half-anna share of it has been sold for Rs. 50,000. At the lowest it ought to fetch eight lakhs."

* For a detailed sketch of the Nawab's life and career see the *Pioneer* of February 8, 1907. Also contribution in the series entitled *Muslim Men of Letters* by the author of *Mohomedans of Note* which appeared in the *Englishman's Journal* of July 15, 1906.



NAWAB SIR K. ABDUL GHANI, K.C.S.I.
(Photo, by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann.)



NAWAB SYED MAHMOOD.
(Photo, by Messrs. S. Nairuddin.)

in liberality, in founding works of public utility, and in loyalty to the British Government, the family has stood and stands pre-eminent. Khawja Abdul Hakim, its founder, some generations ago, came to India from the Bonda family in Kashmir and held a lucrative appointment at the Moghul Court of Delhi. On the overthrow of the Moghuls, he had to seek his fortune elsewhere, and somehow found his way to Sylhet; there he embarked on business, built houses on the present site of the Collector's office, took up his residence, sent for his father and brothers from Kashmir, and died. The family has since remained in Bengal and dissolved all connection with Kashmir. Its next head removed to Dacca and settled in Begum's Bazar. One of his successors, Khawja Hafizullah abandoned trade, acquired landed property in the districts of Dacca, Barisal, Tippera and Mymensingh and thus established the family as wealthy zemindars. Another head of the house (Nawab Bahadur Sir Khawja Abdul Ghani, K.C.S.I.) made the arrangements which have united all the members in a joint estate, inseparable and indivisible.* The family has been steadily gaining in position and influence up to the present time and both the late Nawab Bahadur Sir Khawja Ahsanollah, K.C.I.E., and his son and successor, the present chief, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Sir Khawja Salimollah, K.C.S.I., have rendered conspicuous public services.

Such has been Dacca in the past; its regal traditions, its military and commercial associations, the fame of its wealth and art,* the memory of its nobility, all have survived its decay. That it has a brilliant and prosperous future before it is conceded by all. Even as we write the new provincial Capital is in the making. A new era is dawning over the classic city; it will once again be a centre of art, commerce and government; its glories will be revived and its associations renewed; its future will be worthy of its past.

SYUD HOSSAIN.



*For a historical sketch of the celebrated Dacca zemindars, Cf. my article on *A Famous Indian Industry* which appeared in the *Indian World* for November, 1907.

Bengal Mofussil Records.

NO. I. MIDNAPORE (MILITARY). PART I.



IN a special report on the Bengal Records, drawn up by Mr. A. P. Muddiman, C.S., in 1904, my friend writes:—
“The only districts which possess records prior to 1770 are those of Midnapore and Chittagong. At Midnapore there are six bound volumes of letters received for the years 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768 and one volume of copies of letters sent from 1765 to 1770. These volumes are not only of considerable historical interest from their contents, but also possibly worth preserving from the fact that the original letters are often signed by the President and Council to which they relate. There are also a good many autograph demi-official letters bound up in the volumes. They cover the period of the Governorships of Henry Vansittart, J. Spencer, Lord Clive, Harry Verelst and John Cartier, from all of whom letters have been preserved. Perhaps, however, the most important letters are those from and to the residents of Midnapore and the Collectors-General which afford a unique view of revenue administration in Bengal. In addition there is a very voluminous demi-official correspondence between the Resident at Midnapore and the Military Officers who first subdued and settled the hill jungle tracts to the westward of Midnapore.” The last-mentioned series of demi-official letters will occupy our present attention.

As to the condition of these documents, Mr. Muddiman writes:—“The original letters if kept any longer in their present form will crumble to dust almost at once. They are of various sizes and shapes and are bound up with no particular care. Many are torn and every time the volume is opened they are bound to be damaged. Torn pieces of the letters are simply placed in the volumes haphazard and are exceedingly liable to be lost.” Mr. Muddiman recommended that each separate paper should be “taken out of the bound volume, flattened out, mended when necessary and then kept in a stiff paper cover on which is written up its date and a note of its contents.” By the kind permission of the Bengal Government, I have been permitted, as far as my means would allow, to deal with the documents entrusted to me for purposes of study in the manner suggested by Mr. Muddiman.

To render the papers here printed intelligible to the average reader it is perhaps necessary to remind him very briefly of the circumstances in which the district of Midnapore came into English hands.

When the English formed their settlement with the newly created Nawab, Mir Jaffar, it was apparently their belief that the resources of the Treasury at Murshidabad were inexhaustible. The grievousness of this illusion was only gradually revealed. By the tenth article of the treaty, the Nawab had undertaken "whenever I demand the English assistance, I will bear the charge of the maintenance of their troops." By subsequent arrangement, the Nawab bound himself to pay one lakh *per mensem* for this armed assistance—a sum which was, not only inadequate to the end in view, but remained generally two or three months in arrears. Twenty lakhs were also, at the time of Vansittart's arrival, still due in compensation to the English for the losses sustained at the time of Suraj-ud-daula's capture of Calcutta. To meet these sums, the revenues of the Burdwan and Nadia (or Krishnagar) districts had been assigned to the Company from April 1758 to April 1760. On the expiration of this assignment, an arrangement which had been most fruitful in disputes, Mir Jaffar reclaimed the lands, and gave as security for his debts a number of jewels. In the treaty made with Mir Kasim it was stipulated (27th September 1760)

For all charges of the Company and of the said army and provisions for the field, etc., the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong shall be assigned, and *Sunnuds* for that purpose shall be written and granted. The Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

From minutes of the Select Committee of the 8th January 1761, we learn "as to Midnapore, it is not a month since Captain White took possession, and he had no orders to collect money. Mr. Johnston is appointed for that purpose, but set out so lately, that his arrival is not yet heard of." * In 1763, when the English re-established Mir Jaffar by the first clause of the treaty of July 6, "the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong made by Meer Cossim, either by *Jagheeree*, *Sunnuds*, or such deeds as may secure the property of them, in the strongest manner," was confirmed "to the Company for ever."

It is now my duty to give a first instalment from the old Collectorate records of Midnapore. In so doing I must reserve for a future occasion the papers which throw light on the earliest history of that centre of Anglo-Indian civilisation. I shall give here the documents concerning the first English attempt to bring law and order into a district which for long before our coming to it had been a prey to the cruel raids of the Mahrattas. My readers will, I hope, form a favourable impression of Lieutenant Fergusson. There is, I venture to think, a wealth of human interest in these old letters

* See "Leaves from Editor's Notebook."

which will justify my boldness in devoting to them so large a space in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Many of the letters written by Lieutenant Fergusson were obviously written in great haste and in circumstances of great inconvenience. His spelling has some peculiarities: he, for instance, invariably writes "setled" for "settled," "settlement" for "settlement" and "batle" for "battle." In the spelling of place-names he makes no attempt to be consistent—Patchaet, Pacquet, Pacheet, etc., etc., are all good enough to express that once important place. It will be as well to give here some of the place-names which occur in this correspondence side by side with their more modern spelling:—

<i>Fergusson.</i>	<i>Price.</i>
Ameynagar.	Amainagar.
Berhampore.	Baharnmpur.
Burra Boioon.	Barahabbum.
Chaina, or Chutha.	Chhatna.
Colianpore.	Kalianpur.
Jambunie, or Jambunia.	Jambunni.
Janpore.	Janpur.
Jargon.	Jhargram.
Jalbunie.	Jhatibunni.
Fulkasina.	Phulkusma.
Gatseela.	Ghatsila.
Sanka Colea.	Sankakula (or Lalar.)

For the benefit of the reader in England, to whom not a few of the old-fashioned Anglo-Indian cant terms employed in these letters may prove perplexing, I will venture to offer these slight explanations, which, I trust, are, as far as they go, sufficiently accurate.

Billar.—"A man who works with a beel, an instrument like a spade." (Vansittart.)

Chewar.—"A horse-man or *Sowar*."

Cowrie.—"A shell which passes for money in the province of Bengal: eighty cowries are called a pun, and from fifty to sixty puns are the value of a rupee. A cowrie, therefore, may be rated at 160th part of a penny."

Cutcherry.—(Here spelt Cageria.) *Kachari*. Vansittart defines the word, in the sense it has been, as "a court of justice. Also the office into which the rents are delivered." See *Hobson Jobson*.

Coss.—"Originally "a call," i.e., the length a man's voice can be heard. In Bengal a *coss* is a little more than two miles."

Dammer.—"Resins used as substitutes for pitch."

Harcara.—"Usually at this period *Arcarra*. A scout or messenger."

Kistebundee.—"An agreement for the stated payments of a sum of money to be discharged at different times."

Pani.—(Pan) Betel-leaf. The ceremonial termination of an Indian state visit is the gift of betel leaf, smeared with arecanut, lime, etc., and also otto of roses. When sent by messenger it is a mark of recognition.

Peon.—"This is a word India owes to Portugal, and it is first cousin to the pawn of chess. In these letters a "peon" or "pun" is a foot-soldier."

Pike.—[Pyke : Paik]. A foot-soldier. But in Cuttack the word implies a militia man holding land of the zemindar by tenure of military service. One of the most stirring incidents in the history of Orissa is the revolt of the *Paiks* in 1817. See O'Malley : *Bengal District Gazetteers*. Puri. P. 50 *et seq.*

Parwana.—From the Persian *parwana*, a letter of authority.

Phouidar.—[Here *Phoogedar*, usually spelt at this time *Fougedar*.] Vansittart says "The chief magistrate of a large district called a *Chuckla*." The reader must remember that at this time, although the English had taken over the *Dewan* or revenue administration of Bengal, the administration of justice was still, in theory and in many ways in fact, dependent on the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad. If the voice of the authority at Midnapore was that of the Resident, the hands were those of the several *Phousdars*.

Talook.—In Bengal this term, which has other meanings elsewhere, practically means a small seminary.

Subah.—A province. *Subhadaree*=the Governorship of a province.

Tana [Thana].—Now-a-days a police station, but here means a military outpost. Its chief is a *Tanadar*.

Tahsees.—This is a new word for the Editors of *Hobson Jobson* to extend their researches to. I take it that it is a corruption of the Arabic *tahsil*, meaning a "collection."

Zemindar.—*Zemla*=land. "A person who holds a certain tract of land immediately of the Government on condition of paying rent for it." (Vansittart.)

Before proceeding to give these documents, I express the most hearty thanks of the Calcutta Historical Society to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal for the permission that has been accorded me to consult and to publish these most valuable documents.

1.

TO ENSIGN JOHN FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE :
30th January 1767.

SIR,

To the westward of Midnapore there is a very large tract of country comprehended within the limits of the Province, but of which the Zemindars, taking advantage of their situation, support themselves in a kind of independence. The continuance of this independence is judged to be highly unsuitable in the present situation of our Government, and is also thought to obstruct a commercial intercourse, which used heretofore to subsist between the Bengal Provinces and the districts to the westward of the Hills. The party, which you are appointed to the command of, is destined, therefore, to proceed against those Zemindars, with a view to reduce them to a proper subjection to our Government on payment of a just revenue, to enforce their obedience to the authority of the Resident of Midnapore, and to encourage if possible the merchants of the Western districts to open again their wonted communications with these provinces.

Your several indents have been duly complied with ; and as the party has been prepared under your own direction, I make no doubt but is completed with every necessary article.

From the best information that I could collect here, I have form'd a statement of the situation of the several Districts against which the operations are intended : and I have also, with the same assistance, laid down a route, which is thought the best calculated for providing against them. Copies of those papers I herewith deliver you for your guidance, so far as you shall find them confirm'd by your intelligence, or experience on the spot, but

whenever these shall render it eligible to deviate from them, you are entirely at your discretion to do so.

Such of the Zemindars as readily and willingly demean themselves to our Government, and give security for the payment of an equitable revenue and their future good conduct, it is intended shall be continued in their possessions; and many of them, I am told, will show a very early disposition to comply with these terms. I propose, therefore, to accompany the party myself the length of the Tannah of Bulrampore, where I will receive submission of those whom may be thus well disposed, and settle with them the rents that they are in future to pay. All the instruction that I can give you in the business of adjustment you will have an opportunity by this means of receiving; and, after I leave the party, I will detach with you a person who is well versed in the revenue branch, by whose advice and your own judgment you will be guided in all further adjustments that it may be necessary to make. In general I beg leave to remark to you that as it is more the intention of our Government effectually to secure the Zemindars' submission than to make a temporary advantage of it, I think that end will be best accomplished by getting the payment of an equitable rent, and claiming from them one of their nearest relations to reside by way of hostage at Midnapore; at least for the first twelvemonth.

Such of the Zemindars, as thro' folly or obstinacy, shall persist in refusing their submission, and attempt opposition to your party you will, of course, proceed against in a hostile manner, and employing all advantages that your intelligence or other circumstances may afford you; endeavour to expell them from their dominions. This once effected, the next step, if practicable, will be to appoint other persons to their Zemindaries; and if ever such case should occur, your must immediately advise the Resident of Midnapore with whom the choice to such persons is lodged. But if you apprehend the situation of the districts to be such that another person could not maintain himself in them, without a force of our's constantly to support him, it will then remain with you, as well to inflict a punishment for the obstinacy and rebellion of the present incumbents, as to render them incapable of creating further disturbance in time to come: the former by giving the personal property and possessions of such Zemindars and their head people up to plunder; the latter by destroying as much as possible their refuges and strongholds. Unless, however, where your duty requires this tenor of conduct, you will please be particularly watchful that no plunder or ravage is committed by your men; but that on the contrary the strictest lenity and moderation be observed and every encouragement given to the country people that you imagine can tend to ingratiate their affections towards our Government.

The opposition that you may meet with I imagine will be very trifling. Indeed, the only risk in my opinion is from treachery or surprise, surrounded as you will almost constantly be with thick woods. This renders it necessary that you should be always upon your guard, proceed with the greatest caution, and be particularly attentive in your choice of your encampment. The Zemindars of Darinda* and Korangur† will attend you with a parcel of their Black Troops, and these you may employ in scouring the skirts of the road to prevent your suffering by any ambush or alarm.

A bazar furnished with every necessary is order'd to attend you, and exclusive thereof, I have loaded 50 bullocks with provisions from the Company's stores. These are meant as a resource should your bazar at any time prove deficient or incapable of supplying you.

* Price spells this name Uharinda.

† Price notes: "More properly spelt Karnagar, was the seat of the Zemindar within the limit of whose estate the Midnapore Factory lay."

They are, therefore, only to be used in case of such emergency, when the basar men must be made accountable for what is expended.

The whole service you have to perform may occupy, I should suppose, about the space of two months; but it may be highly eligible to fix on a central spot to encamp your party for some time longer in order to awe the Zemindars into a strict observance of their engagements. On this and every other subject, you are to keep up a close correspondence with me or the Resident at Midnapore for the time being whose orders you are in every respect to follow. And if anything should occur which you think worthy the attention of the Governor of Calcutta, it will be proper on such occasions that you address him also.

I have only further to recommend you to keep a journal of your proceedings, and possible to form a chart of the marches you make.

I heartily wish you success, and am,

Sir, etc., etc.,

JOHN GRAHAM.

2.

TO ENSIGN JOHN FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:

1st February 1767.

SIR,

As I find my appointment to Burdwan, and the business which I have to settle here before my departure, will not admit of my absence from the Factory for a space of time sufficient to render the service expected from my accompanying your party, I am obliged to set aside that intention, and you will therefore proceed without further delay.

To assist you in adjusting with those Zemindars, who may be disposed to submit to our Government without giving trouble, I have order'd two persons, Cartickram and Chundam Goss to attend you. The latter is an intelligent man in the revenue business in general: the former is particularly acquainted with the families and possessions of the jungle Zemindars, and will, therefore, be able, I should imagine, to render essential service.

As soon as you arrive at the Taana of Bulrampore, you should issue orders summoning the whole to come in, and pay their submission, and then halt six, eight, or ten days, according as you see a prospect of those orders being productive of success. After that time,

would not wish you, without very good reasons occur, to protract your stay at Bulrampore, but to proceed without further delay to the reduction of each Zemindar separately who refuses compliance.

I shall expect to hear from you frequently, and shall always be ready to give you every assistance in my power as to the business of adjustment.

I am, etc.,

(Sd) JOHN GRAHAM.

3.

TO ENSIGN JOHN FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:

3rd February 1767.

SIR,

As the Governor* to whom I sent a copy of my orders to you on the 30th ultimo thinks that the admitting of plunder, even in the justifiable case therein mentioned may be

* The Governor here mentioned is the Hon. Harry Verelst. Lord Clive had left Bengal on January 26th, 1767.

productive of disorders among your people and detriment to the service in view, I am now to desire that you will supersede that clause of my instructions, and instead of plundering the personal property and possessions of the rebellious Zemindars, that you will order everything on such occasions to be seized and sent into Midnapore. If you, on your return, shall report the sepoys to be deserving of a reward, all those effects shall be distributed amongst them; and, in order to encourage them to do their duty with cheerfulness, you may acquaint them with this my resolution.

I am, Sir, etc., etc.,
J. GRAHAM.

4.

[TO JOHN GRAHAM.]

DERHWAH
3rd February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure.....acquaint you that we arrived.....day at eleven o'clock all well.....last night. I sent your letter.....and my own to ye Jargong Zemindar and the two brothers near the Tanna of Bulrampore. I have had no direct answer as yet from the Jargong fellow. However, the Naib and Buxie hear he intends to appear to-morrow and make his submission, on which account I, by their advice, have resolved to wait here until 12 o'clock to-morrow as they advise, but, if he don't appear, then I shall proceed against him according to the tenor of my instructions.

The Colienpore Zemindar has made his appearance here, and I am told by them that here's no settlement necessary with him as he attends at Midnapore.

This evening the Naib also informs me that the harcaro and peons sent to Sundunara, Zemindar of Phalkupama report thatwants only to give 300 rupees, but that.....ram Cawn's people say that they pay.....aircary 500, and insist on the same sum.....him, and we should be glad of your orders on that head, as the harcaro and peons will remain here until your instructions are sent us.

This evening also I had a solem [salaam?] from Goupener Moratta and two of his sons, one of which has been with me this two days, and his other 3rd son comes to-morrow I returned them all pane. I received all things mentioned before our setting out last night and I cut a very deputy-like figure in the evenings. Bread I also had last night. With most grateful heart and sincere regard I am of you and family.

A most earnest well-wisher,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

A Return of the Irregulars.

Gupinram Buxie's foot	...	...	...	...	350	Hrs.
Cartickram's Dorinda Zemindar	...	...	...	...	50	"
Goupinet's Son—Nunam	...	...	...	...	100	"
Jugerut Gogindi	...	—	...	...	50	"

The remainder of Buxie's people arrive to-morrow.

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Behadro Dep—
of the Province
Commander.....
of Jungle De.....



OLD FORT WILLIAM—1787.



CALCUTTA FROM RIVER HOOGHLY—1788.
(From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured Visions.)

5.

TO ENSIGN JOHN FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:
4th February 1767.

SIR,

I was favoured this evening with your two letters of the 3rd. As I am willing to conjecture that the appearance of the Jargong Zemindars was only prevented by the intervention of the Gentoo holiday, I approve entirely of the halt you intend to make to give him time to come in. But if, after that instance of forbearance, he should be found to have trifled with you, I think he will be little deserving of further lenity.

It is true that the Callianpore Zemindar acknowledges his dependence on Midnapore, and pays a trifling tribute at the cutcherry annually, but as that sum, of about Rs. 30, can be by no means adequate to the produce of the pergunna, the present opportunity should not be let slip of settling with a proper equivalent. As he marches along with you, you can do this at Bulrampore; and I have also desired Chundann Ghose to attend thereto.

The demand on the Fülküsma Zemindar is for the amount of a robbery at Anundpore which is proved to have been committed by his people. It is independent of your present service, but so good an opportunity should not be lost of effecting the recovery for Sitaram Cawn, who has already made the damage good to the sufferers, and has had many considerable sums to pay for losses of this kind in the course of this last year.

I am, etc., etc.,
JOHN GRAHAM.

6.

TO JOHN GRAHAM.

JARONG FORT:
5th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

After having resolved to remain some part of the day, as I wrote, at Darhwah, as I had reason to expect the Zemindar of Jargong would attend me there, taking the precaution however to order the *Bildars* to mend the road, our peons arrived about 3 o'clock, and as our replies from the Zemindar seemed calculated only to gain time, I [was] heartily vexed that I had halted at all: marched off immediately, and reached three *coss* where we lay on our arms for 6 hours, as the roads would not admit of proceeding farther in the night. This halt was at a village called Bangora in the Jargong Province, and as we came on them unexpectedly, we seized some bullocks, a large quantity of grain and mustard. Notwithstanding our picks, we were alarmed several times by about 300 of them, whose aim seemed to be carrying off the grain, etc., but none of the sepoy's suffered in the least, and only two of Goupinet's people.....with...in the breast, and another in the arm. What effects we seized in this place were left in charge of a jemedas (?) of the Musendaer's, with a guard of pikes over it. As soon as I could with any safety for my guns proceed, I marched off, and altho' the distance was but three *coss*, yet we did not arrive here until past nine, hearing on the road that the Zemindar had gone off in the night, and left only a guard of about 200 men, and also that he was removing his effects as fast as he could. I order'd a jemedar and 20 sepoy's to advance, attended by 100 Irregulars and to invest the Fort, and endeavour to prevent the people as well as the effects from escaping, but by no means to attack if they

remained quiet within, until the whole came up. On the appearance of that small party of sepoys at the principal gate, the...remainder of the enemy made the best of their way into the jungle by another gate. I have reason to believe that they are all very near us, if I can trust my intelligence. What effects there may be here and the description of the Fort I leave till to-morrow, as I esteem it necessary to wait your orders here, seeing a small part of sepoys left behind would not suffice, and seeing this fellow's force is still entire, also to take an envoice of the effects that remain in it.

Hence also I have sent perwanas in form to Malgutch Chikmoney Rancee of Jabuna to attend me here, he being only a *cos* distant.

The order of seizing the rebellious Zemindars' effects and sending them to Midnapore gives me uneasiness, and I require particular advice in it, as I have got not any spare bullocks or coolies, nor can I well spare any detachment to guard it always when any may be reduced. I should be glad to know how far my power extends in selling grain and other necessities to the Byzar [Bazar] and accounting for the money.

I have, from the tenor of my general instructions, privately countenanced Chunderam Goss to negotiate with the Runaway—on his giving good security for a just revenue and obedience to our Government. With best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children and compliments to [the] gentlemen. I am with the best regard,

Dear Sir,

Your earnest well-wisher
and humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

Eleven o'clock, forenoon.

7.

TO ENSIGN JOHN FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:

1st February 1767.

SIR,

A few hours ago I was favoured with your letter of yesterday, and I beg leave to congratulate you on your success against the Fort of the Jargong Zemindar. The whole tenor of your progress thither meets with my entire approbation, altho' I confess I should have wished that your success had been the result of a more decisive stroke; for the Zemindar, having been able to effect his escape without suffering any defeat will, I am afraid, serve to embarrass our operations. It will be impossible from so small a party as your's to leave a garrison in every fort that you may be obliged to reduce and to leave them without one would just be undoing what it may have cost you trouble to do; for there is no kind of doubt that the runaways would immediately return to possession. My sentiments, then, on the present case, in addition to the general plan of your instructions, take as follows:—

The obstinacy or folly of this man has obliged you to proceed hostilely against him, and to make him the first example of the superiority of our arms: let us also, if possible, make him the first example of our lenity and moderation, with a view of enjoining others to cheerful submission and allegiance to our Government. For this purpose I would recommend you to write him a letter yourself, setting before him the folly and absurdity of his conduct, and the ill consequences which they have been productive of to himself and to his affairs; but to convince him however that your original intentions were only to enforce his submission and obedience to his proper Government, you still invite him to return in full security of protection, provided he is disposed to execute reasonable terms for the rents of his country and his future good conduct; that to consider of, and embrace this overture,

you will allow him a limited time (suppose 24 hours), after which space, if he still stands out, that measures will unquestionably be taken for his total expulsion from his zemindary and no subsequent advances on his part will be received or assented to.

Unless the man is a great fool indeed, I think he will not let this last resource escape him; but, if he should, you must then proceed to establish another person in his zemindary. The most proper candidates I can suggest are the four that are with you;—Siteram Cawn by his proxy (Govindram), Cartickram, Gopinant, and Rogunant Guindar; and I leave it to you to fix the choice on the one who you judge will be best capable of supporting himself in possession, and offer the best terms for the Company.

One of these methods I think must unquestionably take place, and I will therefore at present avoid saying anything on the last disagreeable necessity of demolishing his Fort and laying waste his villages.

As to the effects which you have seized, if the Zemindar returns, I should wish them restored to him, and you may engage him to make in lieu some consideration to the capture; but if the zemindary is given to another, that person can have no such claim, and you will in such case dispose of what you please to your bazar, and if possible, find means to transport the rest to Bahadarpore, from whence I will bring it in here. In future cases, where this from the distance cannot be done, you must make a regular sale in your own camp in the manner you propose.

After finishing affairs at this Jargong, I would recommend to you to proceed immediately to Bulrampur to take advantage of this example for bringing the rest of the Zemindars in, and that, if possible, without acting further offensively.

I am, etc., etc.,
JOHN GRAHAM.

8.

TO J. GRAHAM.

JARGONG FORT :
7th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

After having wrote you a long letter of yesterday, I was favoured with your's, from the tenor of which you'll see that tho' you are good enough not to disapprove of my halting at Derwah, that it has been of material detriment to myself and party, if not to the intended views of the Company, as by that delay the Zemindar had time for carrying off all his live stock, and if he has not carried off his treasure, he has hid it so that it has evaded that of yesterday's search.

On the receipt of your's hinting that if he did not appear, seeing I halted on his account, that no favour should be shown him, I order'd a party to be made to be in readiness to march immediately with which I intended to take possession of Radnagar, his largest placeas here. I would, however, consult my Council, who approved of the measure but were for delaying and for sending negociators beforehand, but on my absolutely rejecting delay on account of my present disappointment, and ordering the party to march with Cartickram for their guide and some of his people, they, to my no small surprise, told me that the Sundar of the village of Radnagar was ready to wait on me, and make his obedience for self and people to me as acting for the Deputy of the Phousdar of Midnapore and immediate

Zemindar of the Pergana, and to pay any reasonable taxes to the Company that may be required, and also to acknowledge any Zemindar that we may appoint by advice of Chundum Gose and Nidriram Bro both of whom I think very intelligent.

I admitted of their plea in general, and delayed further particulars, ordering him however to attend me with 40 of his people like a true and faithful subject. Solam [Salaam] received and have given.

I think it advisable to improve on this point and to make all the villages follow the example of Radnagar.

I avoid giving any account of prize or seizure effects, as I imagine it will be very trifling enclose Kyd's letter which will best your kind concern about Mrs I am determined to have patience until I have published information, but before I either assume or despond on the head, tho' I think Kyd's letter over balances Maxwell's. Your opening of my letter or any of mine would require no apology for from you it would be a piece of freedom that would give me pleasure, knowing that it would be to satisfy your kindly curiosity in something regarding my advantage. If this displeases you, scratch it out, for I was dreaming when I wrote, considering so late a caveat.

With best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children and compliments to gentlemen, with real regard, I am

Dear Sir,
Your earnest well-wisher
and humble servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

P.S.—Having delayed to send off your letter in hopes of some more intelligence, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have had a visit this evening from the vakeils of the two brothers in the Tanna to make their submission in the name of their master, who are to attend at Pertapore and settle any revenue that I can desire and they have in their power to pay. The Naib also—with his brother and vakeil are arrived. I have only received his visit and given pane to-night. He is to attend us with fifty people, and assist in reducing any of his brethren who refuse to obey the order sent them.

This scheme of their going with us, altho' I give into it as being strongly recommended by my Mounuties when we keep Court is not entirely to my military notions. We have had spies and harcaros out after this Zemindar since we arrived, but have as yet got no intelligence tho' in a fair way of coaxing his subjects from him who seem ambitious to serve their visitors.

The only news we can procure of him that he is in the thick of the jungle about 6 or 7 *cos* off. I have this moment received your's, the contents of which I'll pay the strictest regard to, and judge it proper to send off your harcaro whom I detain'd with the contents above.

JOHN FERGUSSON.

7th February, Saturday, 10 o'clock.

9.

TO LIEUT. FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:
9th February 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favours of the 7th and 8th instant, but the contents of the first being superseded by the second, I shall take the liberty to pass them over in silence, and begin

with assuring you that I am glad to find the method, which I recommended, has had the desired effect on the Jargong Zemindar and that he at length offers a compromise. The sum which you mention I am perfectly satisfied with, but I do not approve of his seemingly offering it in the light of a purchase for his independence afresh. You must immediately convince his vakeel that this cannot be the case, that the sum to be paid to the Company must become an established annual revenue, that it must be paid monthly at the Cutcherry of Midnapore, and that a tashbee paper must be executed accordingly. This regular settlement, I say, you must conclude with his vakeel when you arrive at Bulram-pore. In the meantime, I approve entirely of your having accepted security, and restored his Fort to him, as it will serve to strengthen and confirm the confidence of our moderation and good intentions, which appear to be now opening amongst them.

Your sepoy's having behaved with much good order in the midst of plunder (the greatest temptation that can be thrown in a soldier's way) certainly renders them deserving of a just reward; more especially as had the Zemindar's effects been destroyed it must have incapacitated him to afford such good terms for the Company. You will, therefore, pledge him to settle a consideration, and let it be what you think reasonable without the risk of making them too rich. The residue you will adjust in a public account and transmit to me. The same method you will also observe in future, without taking the trouble of making further reference. Only you will please to remark that unless when your party acts offensively, the sepoy's can have no claim to be considered. In my letter to Chundnun Gose, I have sent you the Cutcherry opinion as to the settlement of the Jargong rents to which I refer.

Your intention with respect to the Jambuna man is very proper. At the Tanna of Bulram-pore, you will endeavour to settle with as many as you possibly can:—as well as those mentioned in my papers, as these which you may discover from your intelligence on the spot.

I am, etc., etc.,
JOHN GRAHAM.

10

TO JOHN GRAHAM.

CAMP IN BULRAMPORE TANNA:
11th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter yesterday afternoon, and altho' I arrived here yesterday, as yet there was so little worthy of your ear that I delayed writing till this evening—which will be despatched in the morning.

These people all plead poverty and make such delay that there is some difficulty to keep patience with them, yet I am the most stately man in the world, and do keep mine hitherto more than I thought myself capable of. We have in attendance at present the Jambunie who has at last got over the hundred rupees he stuck so long at. We have not absolutely settled, but I believe that he cannot afford to give a *courte* above 700 alah Sicca rupees. That more may be got at present is certain, but as your intention is for a settled....as revenue, and in circumstances as far as I know, he can afford no more. There are also the two Tanna Zemindars and the Jathonie, who looks something like a gentleman. All his *rayats*, instead of running away like the others came in a body, petitioning to see their master

as they called me, which I indulged them in by going out of the limits of the encampment where they were. I was saluted with a general *soleh* [*salaw*] and *nam** from the others, to all of whom in this Tanna, we have despatched *perwana*. There is no time for answer if any should arrive before sealing of this letter. I shall mention the Zemindar of Sanka Coolia has been talked to on the subject. He says he'd do what he can, and if that don't please us, he'll give up his *purgana* to any other who will take it on our terms. I really think from what I saw of the country that he cannot be in the same flourishing situation which his forefathers were in, if I may judge from the Tawor Mull† Tuxeram jumma. His brother desires more time to think, being on the spot.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most earnest well-wisher and
most humble servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

11.

TO JOHN GRAHAM.

TANNA OF BULRAMPORE:
14th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you the 11th, which I make no doubt of your having received. I am now to communicate to you the transactions of yesterday, and to-day. In the first place, then, on the head of intelligence, altho' our *harcaros* are not arrived from the 5 Zemindars of this Tanna, who have not appeared yet, we hear that the Sopbur and Amyenagur Zemindars mean to make their appearance: the other three we could not expect to hear of as yet on account of the distance. We learn also that Damoder Sing, who it seems has taken possession of some villages near Ameynagur, has run away, on hearing of our having arrived at Bulrampora. From the other quarter we are told the Zemindar of Gatselen has posted troops in all the avenues and inlets to his *purgana*, and is determined not to admit a Phryngo [Firing]‡ in his country on any account: this has induced me to delay sending his *perwana*, until I arrive at the Tanna of Janpore, that any contempt he may presume to offer to the Hon'ble Company in the person of their messenger may be immediately followed by chastisement, for I won't allow myself to suppose that he can defend himself against us. If of this intention you should disapprove, there will be sufficient time to apprise me of it, as we have to settle with the five Rajas abovementioned before we move to that quarter.

As to the settling branch, I am afraid that this year, if it is intended effectually to render this country an useful part of the Province, the expense may at least equal the revenue it will yield. For, to do them justice, their country at present wears a poor appearance, and from mutual robberies committed on one another and from the oppression of the former Collector, Todel Mull, many are really in no condition to pay a considerable revenue, and those that are have wherewithal to prevent the intelligence coming to our ears so as to enable me to make a proper adjustment. I am, therefore, daily convinced from experience that your opinion, as expressed in my general instructions, though attended with some expense, will be the only method of reducing this country to the yielding of an adequate and orderly revenue.

* *Nagih* = a ceremonial beating of drums.

† Todel Mull—the Emperor Akbar's finance minister.

‡ *Firingi* = a European.

that is being stationed with some force in a central place, whereby among the whole, every individual would enjoy his own, and whereby further acquaintance with the people and country a just notion could be formed in what estimation it may be held. This also would give a sure beginning to the other intended purpose of re-opening the trade with such security as must of course make it flourish. Nor do I find on inquiry that the country is barren of a fund for commerce, for I understand they have abundance of iron, wax, oil, dammer, buffaloes, besides the capital article of timber; now could we but convince the people that by trading in these articles, and by tilling their lands they will benefit themselves more, and lead a happier life than by addicting themselves to theft and robbery as they now do, then would our point be gained in its utmost latitude.

How are we to do this then but by forcibly preventing their continuance in their present courses, and setting them the example in what we wish them to learn? Excuse this presumption, for by it I have not the least conception of having pointed out anything new. I only have the vanity to think that I have dived in some measure into your sentiments on this head.

This morning about eleven began a pretty heavy rain, which lasted till about eleven. However it has not hurt the stores—only a few of the half'd cartridges of those on guard are rendered useless.

With best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to all the gentlemen. With real esteem and regard

I am, Dear Sir,
Your earnest well-wisher and
most humble servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

To be despatched early to-morrow

12.

TO J. GRAHAM.

BULRAMPORE TANNA :
14th February 1767.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to transmit to you an account of the Annual Revenues settled for the following Parganas :—

Paid formerly.

				Allah Sicca Rupees.			
A. S. Rs.	126	6	0	{ The Rangur Pargana	...	616	0 0
" "	84	15	10	{ The Sankacoolia Pargana	...	879	11 6
" "	238	11	15	{ The Jambornie Pargana	...	616	0 0
				{ The Jatbania Pargana	...	703	0 0
						2,814	11 6
				{ Bulrampore Tanna			
				{ Jaunpore do.			
				{ The Jargong Pargana	...	400	11 0
				Sum Total Allah Sicca	...	3,215	6 6

The particulars are drawn out and transmitted in Bengals by Chund Doss.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

TO LIEUT. FERGUSSON.

13.

MIDNAPORE :

16th February 1767.

SIR,

I am now to acknowledge receipt of two letters from you, dated the 11th and two the 14th, and to express to you my entire approbation of the adjustments, which you have made with the Zemindars who have come in. If a continuance of the same success should attend your operations and negotiations, the whole of the expedition must terminate greatly both to your credit and mine. I approve also of the manner in which you propose proceeding against the Gatseela Zemindar, and if in the course of your progress can lay hands upon Dumoder Sing, you will do a piece of service which must acquire you additional credit, after the many fruitless attempts which have been made to seize him. You will remark, however, that I express "in the course of your progress," because I would not wish you to deviate from the object of your instructions for a business of *détail* only.

Your sentiments regarding the conduct proper to be observed towards our new subjects are exceedingly just and rational: they concur entirely with my own, and, depend upon it, I shall endeavour to inculcate their propriety to Mr. Vansittart,* who I dare say will support you in every proposal which carries the smallest prospect of reducing these new districts to order and resulting benefits both to them and the Company.

I am, etc., etc.,

JOHN GRAHAM.

14.

TO J. GRAHAM.

BULRAMPORE TANNA :

16th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you on the 11th, 14th, and on the 18th by a *punt* who brings you some wild beasts.

As the five Zemindars to the westward of the Tanna seem to have rather taken sufficient time to consult whether they would come in or not, I yesterday despatched a *harcaro* to know what my *punts* were doing. He brought me the intelligence that two companies of *sepoys* from Bisnapore have suddenly appeared with a view to catch Dumoder Singh, that the latter escaped into the thick jungle with his people, and the Ameynagur Zemindar, in whose country the Raja was, has retired into the most jungly part of his Parguna, that our *punt* was all alone in possession of the bysar, that he however had procured speech of some of his (the Zemindar's) people, who understanding that their intentions were not hostile, had engaged either to bring him in presence of the Zemindar or deliver his message, and that his *yakiel*, as well as the Supbur one will arrive to-morrow. Of the other three we have not the smallest intelligence, and it is my opinion that, in order effectually to settle the revenue of these zemindars (which are by the best account I can here procure both rich and extensive, comparatively to what we have seen), even if they should agree to attend here and settle, that we ought to advance into a central place in the midst of their's in order to make them immediately acquiesce in reasonable terms. If you agree to this, I'll expect your orders here, whence I shall proceed immediately after, but if you think any other method more advisable you need only mention it. I have had

* George Vansittart, a younger brother of H. Vansittart the Governor.



MAYOR'S COURT AND WRITERS' BUILDINGS—1786.



OLD COURT HOUSE STREET—1788. (LOOKING SOUTH.)
From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured Views.

here a visit from the Zemindars of Raipore, Fulkisma, and a brother of the latter, who are in possession of a principal part of or near this Tanna, but call themselves Bengala-wallas. As such I have not of myself interfered with them, they not being mentioned in my instructions, further than declaring your orders regarding the robbery to the Fulkisma Zemindar, but by what intelligence I can procure the tesill they pay is trifling, whereas, they could afford a pretty considerable one, besides from the situation of their purgunas they ought to pay their revenue in the Tanna, otherwise it will not be regular but zig-zag. Now if you will think it advisable to grant me instructions to that purpose, I am told that these three could yield annually to the Company no less than 3,000 Allah sicca rupees. This I think it would be incumbent on me to write, tho' there may be no propriety in it as I am not certain these circumstances are already known.

We still hear from the other quarter of the preparation of the Gatsela Zemindar such as the breaking of the road, barricading all narrow passes by felling of trees, etc. Notwithstanding of all which, I imagine he'll, like the rest, submit without striking a blow if not the worse for him.

I hope you'll be so good as to order the Cutwall to send us three or four washermen. We, that is the sepoy and camp adherents being much distressed for want. We also want a reinforcement of to quire Bengala papers for the Cugeris Chiri for my monsaliers hold court twice a day.

With best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children and compliments to a the gentlemen. With real esteem and regard

I am, Dear Sir,
Your earnest well-wisher,
and most obedient servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

To be despatched at daybreak.

P.S.—This day arrived a vakiel from Jargoug confirming the death of the old Zemindar. He brought a letter from the old man's son (who, he says, is about 12) which was also signed by the brother, offering to ratify all his father's engagements with us and any others in his power, and desiring leave to visit me at Jaampore when we arrived there—which I granted.

I cannot omit mentioning here the liberal supply of bread, which arrives daily, and also that this day I dined on one of the best bacon hams ever I tasted.

We have had two hours' heavy rain this morning with high wind, all last night it thunder'd—no damage done to the stores however. I have got with me two of your *hussars* still over and above my own four, your two are worth 50 of my fellows, whom if I had not paid advance I should certainly have made *bildars*, as they know nothing at all. However, they assist to fill up a vacancy in our stately processions.

15

TO LIEUT. FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:
18th February 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favour of the 16th instant. As the purgannahs of the five Zemindars dependent on the Tannah Bolrampore who are still to settle with lye at such a distance as to render it doubtful whether they will come into you at your present station, I approve entirely of your proposal for marching to a situation nearer them, in order to bring them to a speedy settlement. They may otherwise relax from the good disposition they at present profess to be in, and occasion us fresh trouble to bring them to a proper way of thinking.

The Zemindars of Roypore and Fookisma have taken advantage of their situation to avoid making their submission, and paying an equitable rent to the Burdwan Province on which they are dependent. As that Province belongs also to the Company, we should certainly employ the opportunity which now offers of bringing them to a settlement. Your so doing, therefore, I by all means recommend to you upon the same plan you have been directed to observe towards others; and we shall leave it to be determined hereafter whether the collections may continue to be made under the Tannah Bulrampore.

If the troops from Bissenpore continue their wild and fruitless pursuit after Domodar Sing, they will, I am afraid, serve to disturb the operations and more peaceful intentions of your party. Of this you will be a better judge when you advance nearer the Ameynagur, etc., districts, and, if then you really find that they prejudice the service you are upon, I will submit it to the Governor's determination whether they may not be recalled.

When you have finished with the five Zemindars abovementioned, you will, of course, pursue your road to the Tannah of Jaunpore, and from thence proceed as expeditiously as possible against the zemindar of Gatseela. His preparations for war only serve to demonstrate his folly, although as I believe, it is a good rule in generalship not to despise the enemy we have to oppose, they may render a greater degree of caution and circumspection necessary on your part.

The death of the Jargong Zemindar is something extraordinary. However, I approve entirely that his son be confirmed in his country, as it will strengthen still further their confidence in the good intentions of our Government. If a first payment of money from all those who have been settled with could be sent in, it would carry an appearance favourable to our plan.

I am, etc.,
JOHN GRAHAM.

16.

To J. GRAHAM.

BULRAMPORE TANNAH.

19th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I have received both your favors, dated the 16th and 18th last, and it gives me real satisfaction that you approve of our hitherto adjustments, also that my sentiments regarding the conduct to be observed towards these people concur with yours.

Since writing my last, have arrived vakiels from two Zemindars, *viz.*, of Sophar and Mhan Bojoom. The former told us that our messengers had gone to the Ameynagore Zemindar, and that his vakiel would certainly come, but as yet he is not arrived: of the other two we have heard nothing nor of our *peons*, etc., sent to that quarter. In consequence of your approbation expressed in your last, I propose marching hence to-morrow, in order effectually to settle these five zemindaries if possible in the negotiation way, and, if that won't do, by force as the last resource.

I shall immediately make the requisite inquiry towards the real undoubted knowledge what revenue the Raipore and Fulkisma walla really pay, and completely follow your instructions in adjusting with them. It may not be misplaced to remark here that the former has without hesitation agreed to pay the sum demanded for the robbery at Anundpore, and if I am not mistaken paid a large dividend already.

That the Ameynagur Zemindar's betaking himself to the jungles was owing to the Bissenpore troops coming into his country is certain, if we may believe our intelligence and

the only account we had of the Chatna walla was that he had run away on the same account. What further occurs or that I hear, I'll do myself the pleasure of transmitting you from among them.

You may depend upon my discretion in all my proceedings, whether against the Gatseela Zemindar or any other: I shall in every respect act with more caution than if my operation were purely military, sensible that if I met with the least check not to mention repulse, it would undo all our prior success. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself with planning, ordering, and setting afoot manoeuvres and operations, whether to distress the enemy or actually to vanquish them, exposing myself only where a bold push may require my example in order effectually to execute it. By later intelligence we are informed that Damodar Sing has joined this Gatseela walla as also some other petty princes in his neighbourhood. If so it will only increase our laurels for I have confidence in my troops, nor can I see how a parcel of naked ill-fed and undisciplined savages can stand against disciplined troops, tho' far inferior in number, but as my aversion to making brave fellows, for so I hope mine are, suffer by exposing themselves in disadvantageous circumstances as that of ground, etc., I have been resolving in my mind how to lessen this evil as much as the service will admit of, and from my intelligence, I am made acquainted with a circumstance, which may be of importance, *viz.*, a breach which has for some time existed betwixt the Gatseela Zn. and his nephew and heir, whom he has driven from his territories, and who at present resides with another Zemindar: and this breach is of more importance from the circumstance of the present Zemindar's suspicious and distrustful temper, which evidences itself by his shutting himself up in a strong house within the Fort lest his people should murder him, and putting many of them to death on bare suspicion. From the circumstances, if true, I should be apt to imagine that by setting up the heir in opposition to the tenant that his people would be detached from him and he become an easy prey.

Your sentiments on this subject in some of the letters you, of course, may write in the interim, will give this opinion weight or otherwise with me, according to the tenor of them.

I have advanced Govindram Buxie Rs. 100; but he demands as for such more, he having received in all but Rs. 200 from Sitaram Cawn and he is himself about Rs. 70 out of pocket. Whether to advance him more and the sum will depend on yours to this purpose.

A poor fellow with a gun-shot wound, I took the freedom of advising to go to Midnapore for assistance. This I did from political, as well as charitable motives, to convince those people, as well of our humanity, as of the various advantages which accrue from an intercourse with us.

As to the revenue, we are happy that we have it in our power to comply with your request to send the 9 of a proportion at present, for in eight or ten days we shall not only be able to send an account of what Sitaram's people have collected in January, but also the *Pagun month's revenue from the five Zemindars, who have already come in. The Kysterbund rent we will also send.

My people have this day represented to me that as I leave this and they along with me that a careful person was necessary in the style of tannadar. I accordingly have constituted a tannadar and a nobisinea of Bulrampore this day out of Chundu Doss' retinue to collect the rents and in my absence, I hope this step is not improper. This latter part I wrote with my Council beside me, though I am sorry to say that in the transactions of so polite a Court a few barbarous expressions should be interspersed with such as "pagun," "nobisinea," etc. You'll overlook I hope this little vein of gaiety, as it gives me much spirits to have hitherto

* Falgun.

acted so satisfactorily to the person I am so desirous to please, and that, too, in the course of my public duty, that I can't contain myself entirely. However, as my success has been totally owing to the fulness and propriety of your instructions and advices, I shall particularly make it my business to adhere to them, as the only circumstance in which I can challenge to myself any merit on the occasion. This moment is arrived the Ameynagur vakiel. His master is willing to submit, but says that he cannot do much on account of his country been plundered, some of the villages burnt on the one hand by Damunadar Singh and by the Company's troops on the other. He also brings intelligence that the Bura Boioom Zemindar will also submit, but that there is a company of sepoy's in the Chatna semindary on account of some Pacquet Raja (I think they call him) who have committed such violences and, at least have occasioned such a terror that Zemindar and all are run into the jungles. I believe I may say it, without assuming that (if 1 or 2 companys are sufficient to seize Damunadar Singh) while I am on my present service, there is no occasion to send any other force into this part of Midnapore Province on his account. For if there are troops of pleasure sent among these people, tho' the discipline is never so strict, I can foresee that this business of collecting the revenues will be tedious, for they only want a plausible excuse to turn it to the best account on the one hand, and, on the other, they are really so terrified in these cases that it entirely interrupts their family business for the time.

To-morrow morning, by daybreak, we set out for Gooceapara as does the bearer of this for Midnapore.

Offering my best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to the gentlemen, I always am, with real esteem and regard

Dear Sir,
Your earnest well-wisher,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

17

TO J. GRAHAM.

CAMP NEAR SUPHUR:
22nd February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure.....you the night before setting off from Bulrampore, since which we have had 3 days march one ofshort to Ghooreapara, one from thence to Hildabunie...in the purgana of Suphur and this of day's march to the ...is called Suphur a very large regular village.....4 short *rest* from the former.

I informed you in my last of the Suphur, Ameynagur, Mhan Boioon Zemindars having sent people to make submission in their names at Bulrampore; these people I dismissed with *puns* to their respective masters, ordering them meet me at ...it being a central place, three *rest* from Ameynagur, 4 from Mhan Boioon, 10 from Burra Boioon and 10 from Chatna. The Raipore purgana is by much the best cultivated that I have yet seen in the jungles, though in that part of it through which we marched there was a vast number of trees. On our arrival at Ghooreapara the Zemindar payed us a very good attendance, but next day, on our arriving at Hildabunie, where he went with us, he took a French [leave] of ceremonies.

At Ghooreapara arrived our *puns* from Chatna with a letter from the Zemindar complaining heavily of 5 companies of sepoy's are encamped in his neighbourhood saying he cannot possibly *milcurrow* or *bundbuskurrow* while they are there, as his people have all left their houses and gone into the jungle; but by the intelligence of the *peous*, this letter is

a mere pretext, as there is very good discipline kept in that sepoy camp and none of them can go near this Zemindar's country, they remaining on the Paoet Raja's side. At first he threatened our *peons*, and talked high, but, I suppose, on hearing that we set out from Burrampore or for certain, intended going into that quarter, he altered his tone, and wrote the above. Our *peons* likewise were confined some time in the sepoy camp, being taken for *harcaros*, but some found means to convince the Commanding Officer, whose name they did not learn that they were on the Company's service, and were set at liberty.

I immediately redissmised *peons* to this fellow, and telling him that if he attended me at Suphur, and settled the revenues of his country with me on account of the Company, that I would probably get that army removed at some distance from him; at any rate that if he did not immediately come in, that I on the one side and the other army on the other would attack him, and thoroughly render him incapable of giving any trouble to the new Zemindar into whose hands I would give the *pargana*.

Having no news at all to be depended on from my people sent to Burra Boloon, I this morning despatched people with another *perwana* putting him in mind how long he had had the former, warning him immediately to attend here otherwise threatening him with military execution.

To prevent my business being interrupted by any of our own troops who may be stationed anywhere without...knowledge, I have given certificates in English to the *peons*. In the heart of the province of Raipore is a Brahmin, who possesses ten villages. He is called in the country the Similia Raja.....his respects yesterday and of his own accord, proposed.....with ten people, which I agreed to. By advice I have.....talking to the Fulkians and Raipore wallas about.....revenues, until our return. I hope you will appreciate.....delay I shall, of necessity, be obliged to halt two.....here, in which time, if possible, I'll do the business to be done peaceably. This Raja's uncle and brother's two diwans paid their compliments to-day. The Zemindar seems unwilling to come himself. However, I ask them to bring him to-morrow. His house is about an English mile from our camp.

With best respects and wishes for Mrs. Graham and children, and compliments to the gentlemen,

I am, with real regard, Dear Sir,
Your earnest well-wisher and humble servant,
JOHN FERGUSSON.

P.S.—The Zemindar of *peons* requests to know how he is to be paid for himself and people. I have also two of your *harcaros* who we sent to Fulkiana. Shall I draw for these people or only pay them to be reimbursed at Midnapore?

18.

TO LIEUT. FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:
25th February 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I was this morning favor'd with your letters of the 22nd from Supur, but from the non-attendance of the Zemindar of that place and of the adjacent *parganna* of Ameynagar, the backwardness of the Zemindar of Mban Bholoon, the evasion and equivocation of the Zemindar of Chatna, and the total silence of the Zemindar of Burra Boloon, I begin to apprehend that you have got amongst a set of people not so tractable or civilised as those situated near the Tanna. You must be the best judge whether there appears to

be any justice in this conjecture, but, if you think there is, you should, in my opinion, lose no time in bringing or reducing them to terms. The fears of those people have seldom failed to be operated upon with success, but leaving them time to recollect themselves has been generally known to produce in them a degree of imperiousness, self-sufficiency, and obstinacy. I beg you would not suppose or conceive from this that I mean or alledge that there has been any unnecessary delays committed—very far from it, your conduct hitherto both has, and deserves my entire approbation. I only mean if you find yourself now among people of a different and less docile disposition, that it may be necessary, perhaps, to alter your manner of conduct towards them. To one and all of them, however, I would always advise you to give a previous warning, something of the nature which I directed to be sent to the Jargong Zemindar.

We are not acquainted nor can pretend to judge their object or intention of the party from Patchael, or how far essential the service they are upon may be. There would appear a manifest impropriety in my making any request for their removal. But to prevent the risk of your contradicting one another's operations, I think it might not be amiss were you to advise the officer in general terms with the object of your instructions, and desire of him to interfere with or impede them as little as possible.

I remain, etc., etc.,

JOHN GRAHAM.

19.

To J. GRAHAM.

MHAN BOIDON.
6th March 1767.

SIR,

I have at length the pleasure to acquaint you that the five Zemindars and..... in and settled in the same manner as the preceding ones, and if you consider the circumstance of my finding every individual of them with all their people and effects in the jungles, I am hopeful it will reconcile my conduct to you, whether you regard the time and manner of the settlement itself, for had I pursued it would not probably have answered the end, but if it had to have pursued each separately would have been a work of time, and to have divided my force would have rendered my success doubtful as none of those Zemindars by our best intelligence have less than 2,000 people in their pergunas whose trade is war.

Notwithstanding I did not act hostilely, yet I may say my success was owing to my taking a proper advantage of their fears, and sometimes indeed by flattering their ambitions. However, by these means we have settled. I must communicate it as my opinion that some among them are not cordial, and that unless a force remains in their neighbourhood to awe them that collecting the revenue from them will be a hard task. This Zemindar of Mhan Boidon in particular has resisted me on the strongest promises being made that I would not detain him, and on agreeing not to.....on business with him, no sooner was gone into the jungle again than he sent his diwan to thank me for my civil treatment of him, and offering me a considerable present, but at the same time absolutely denying to pay any revenue as he never had, and as he had neither jumma nor country. His present I refused and order'd him to be acquainted that I was expressly come for revenue to be payed yearly, that if he'd not settle for that, I.....no private present would save him from being turned out.

.....of inducing him to comply made him retire further [into the jungle?] and not one of his people attended. On this I resolved to make [an attempt?] to seize him in the night, having resolved to take one.....by one road myself, and send Hascombe with another ... another the meantime the writing to the officer at Chutna in your terms..... it out to be an order to him for attacking the Chutna wala.....intended to give a good account of this Zemindar before I left.....the arrival of the Burra Boisson Diwan of whom this politician had.....with great industry spread the report of his gathering a force, and intended to hold out. These two circumstances I may say made such an impression on this Zemindar that he the same day sent all his principal people to settle; but everything he does is with such distrust as he and his people remaining in the jungle that I expect he'll some day or other suffer for it.

The silence and non-appearance of the Burra Boisson Zemindar, I think I have reason to believe, was entirely owing to his inability from the distracted state of his country of paying a revenue equal to the extent and value of his pergunna. These distractions apart, the *Barcare*, who brought his diwan, reported that it was neither from fear nor ill-affection that the Zemindar came not, but on account of real sickness.

I have some reason to believe that my letter to the officer and the manner in which I sent it hastened the arrival of the Chutna Zemindar's uncle (for he himself is a youth), who after his arrival settled without much difficulty. When all was settled I gave him a letter to the officer of the detachment acquainting him of their having settled with me, etc., and that as they assured me the people would not come out of the jungles while he remained, nor consequently the revenue be collected, that if it was consistent with the service he was on, it would be for the benefit of our common master's service, for him to remove his force out of the Chutna Perguna, fully explaining that I pretended to nothing further than telling him that while he was there the Company's revenue could not be collected.

I propose, if nothing extraordinary happens, to set out in the morning for Suphur. In my way back again, having the Raipore and Fulkisma affair still to settle, it being deferred at the earnest request of Chundun Doss on our progress hither. After which, I propose, according to the tenor of my instructions with all possible expedition to proceed towardsthe Zemindars of the other thana.

The Zemindar of Bulrampore writes me that Gudsaram Sip Roy of Sanka Colea is dead. He has several children.....

In this letter I have endeavoured to give you an account of everything that has occurred since I did myself the pleasure of writing last, and I beg you, you'll excuse my some day's silence, as I could have wrote nothing satisfactory in that interval. I do myself the pleasure of underwriting a sketch of the settlements of the five zemindaries for your immediate [inspect]ion, as I will take an after opportunity of giving you.....account of Tanna of Bulrampore tashess at once.

		Allah Sica Rupees
Suphur Perguna, Annual Revenue	...	54 0 0
Ameynagar Perguna, Annual Revenue	...	311 0 0
Burra Boisson Perguna, Annual Revenue	...	441 0 0
Mhan Boisson Perguna, Annual Revenue	...	316 0 0
Chutna Perguna, Annual Revenue	...	879 11 0
[Usual termination]	Total	2,496 10

TO J. GRABAM.

CAMP NEAR DAMARA :

9th March 1767.

SIR,

The answer to the letter I wrote to the officer at Chatna makes it necessary that I should send you a copy of what I wrote, as well as the original of the answer, as I cannot take on myself to take one step more in that affair without your particular orders ; at the same time that I must re-inform you (as the enclosed says otherwise) that the Chatna Zemindar's uncle settled in the most regular manner with me for a yearly *tushers* from the purgana to be paid into the Midnapore Cugerie [Catcher] for the behoof of the Hon'ble Company, and, as he did this at Mhan Boioon, I, accordingly to the tenor of my instructions, had no occasion to go into his country. The reason of my writing was because the Divan frankly told me that, while the sepoy remained in that country, he could not collect a rupee. The following is a copy of my letter :—

TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING A DETACHMENT OF SEPOYS NEAR CHATNA.

SIR,

I esteem it incumbent on me, as concerning the interest of our common masters, to acquaint you that the Zemindar of Chatna has settled with me to pay the Hon'ble Company a yearly adequate revenue, and of course, is to be considered under our protection.

I hope, therefore, it will suit with your instructions and inclination to consideration in that light, and not only avoid distressing him, but also, if possible remove from his country as he protests the Company's revenue cannot be collected while you are so near to him, as his people will remain in the jungles. He will be answerable for any effects you may have which you can't conveniently take away. If you should esteem it consistent with the service you are on to move on the receipt of this, I hope you will avoid construing this letter to be either unnecessary or improper, as my motive is the good of the service in general, and properly executing the particular service I was ordered on from Midnapore. You will also, I dare say, consider both in any steps you may judge convenient to be taken in consequence of this address.

I am,

Your most obedient and, etc.,

JOHN FERGUSSON,

*Ensign commanding a party of sepoy
from Midnapore.*

One sentence in this letter requires explanation and I marked it for that purpose. The effects meant here belonged to Pachet Raja. If the Divan of Chatna said that they could not carry them off. The answer to this letter I enclose and leave the whole to your judgment and determination, and I hope that if the writing of the above letter was wrong, you'll advise me how to atone for my transgression.

With regard, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most
humble servant,

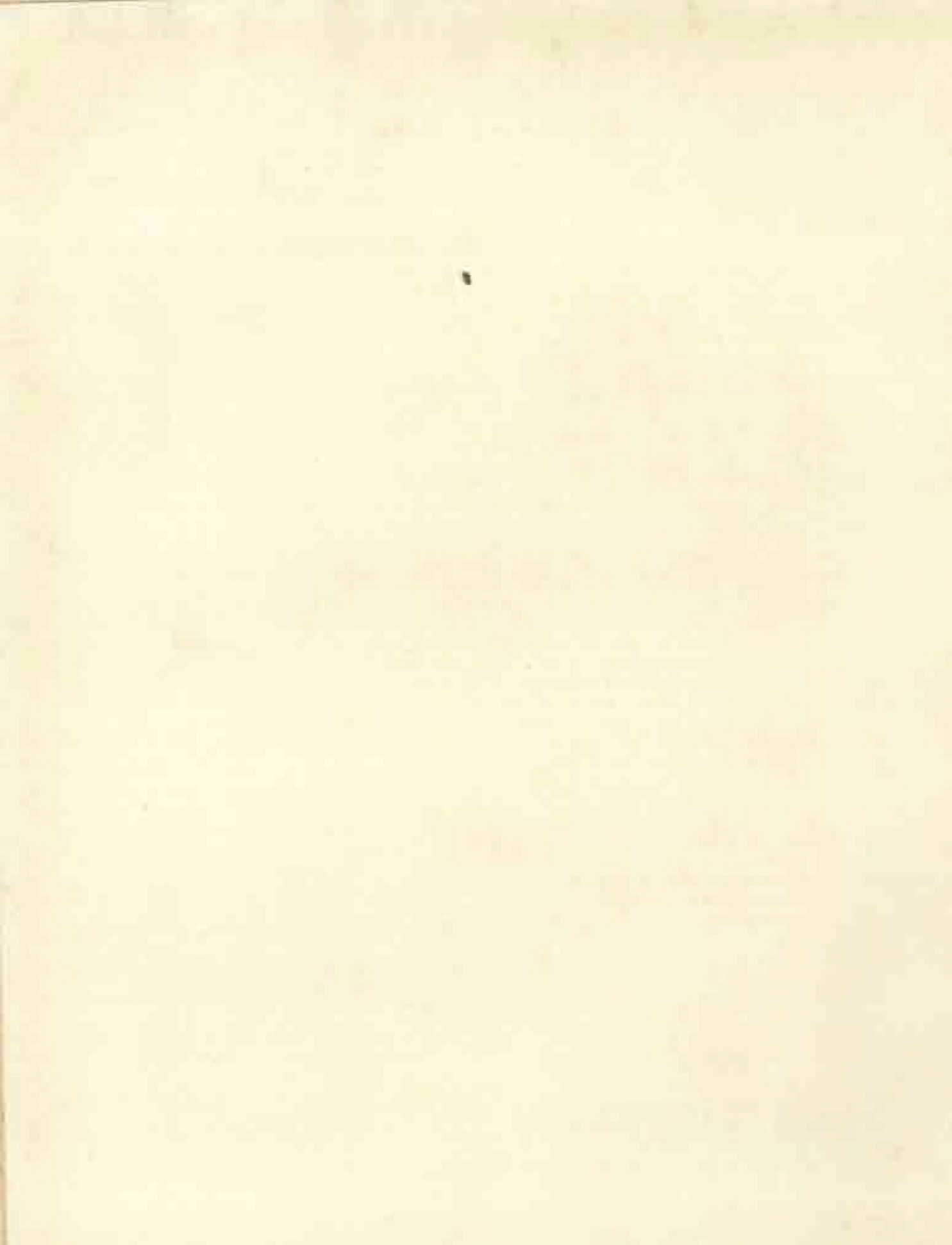
J. FERGUSSON.



SUPREME COURT—1787. (CHANDPAL GHAT.)



CHOWRINGHEE ROAD—1787.
From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured View.



21.

TO J. GRAHAM.

[BULRAMPORE].

12th March 1767.

DEAR SIR,

We this day arrived once more in the Tanna of Bulrampore, all in health excepting cold caught by repeated violent storms, which we had in the hilly country, we came from. In this letter I enclose copies of three Bengal chits, one more letter from Captain Upton, the reading of which will be sufficient to convince you that I could not without widely deviating from my instructions comply with the contents of it without your orders. As the letter itself and the Bengal chit will explain the subject to you, I need insist no farther. The second Bengal chit is a copy of what was produced by the Raipore people, when we desired them to settle. I saw the original: it had the initials of Mr. Goodwin's name.

For the Raipore Pergunah, by which I mean Raipore, Fulkisma, and other two small places belonging to two persons call'd Samoleahel brothers, there is a *tuskeet* settled of 1,600 rupees payed thro' the hands of the Bougrawalla into the Burdewan cash, but is at present ill collected, and, I believe a small dividend reaches the Company's Treasury. As I mentioned before, all that tract lies quite near the Tanna, and, of course, the *tuskeet* which could easily be increased to 3,000 aliah siccas would also be collected without difficulty, supposing a force to remain here. I have in consequence of your former order, got all these people with me, except the Fulkisma Zemindar, who is not arrived, in order to increase the yearly revenue for the Company, but in seeing that, while it is payed through the hands of this Bougra Zemindar, the Company will not reap the advantage of it, I will not put it into execution until I hear from you, which I expect will be on the receipt of this, as it will reach me here, having two more days of business to do before I can leave the Tanna, whence I propose going directly against the Gatsela Zemindar (if you approve) through the Jambunie Parguna, it being the nearest, and, by the best intelligence, the best road; having sent off his *ferwanas* in such a manner that I will have his answer at Jambunie, by which he is desired to meet me at the Tanna of Janpore, which if he refuse, I shall march immediately against him, it being only ten *coss*, whereas from the Tanna it is twenty.

The third Bengal chit is a copy of a letter sent from Bisanapore to the Ameynagur Zemindar signed by Captain Hadley and initials. I directed a letter to be wrote to the Ameynagur Zemindar to answer the above in this manner. I have not got an elephant nor any other of Dumidar Sing's effects. If you send people into my country to destroy and plunder it, I, who have settled with the Phoadar of Midnapore to pay a yearly revenue to the Company, will complain to him, and make no doubt of receiving redress.

Captain Upton's two *karcars*, who brought the last letter, remain here two days until your answer arrives, I having another sealed chit here for the Zemindar of Chatnapore from him.

With best wishes, etc., I remain, etc.,

J. FERGUSSON.

22.

TO J. GRAHAM.

TANNA BULRAMPORE.

13th March 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of writing you yesterday and the day before from hence, besides the letters I wrote from Mhan Borloog and Bambura, but as to-morrow we

send hence a *harcara*, and some *punas*, with the treasure. I would by no means lose this opportunity of writing you. I yesterday morning sent off the Gatseela Zemindar's perwanas by two *harcaras* and two *punas*, meaning at that time to have set out from hence to-morrow, by which means I should have reached Jambunie by the time the messengers returned, but bearing nothing from you in answer to mine of the 11th instant, and having all the 5 Zemindars of the Raipore side all on the.....I am obliged to put off my march one day more.

My two Gatseela *harcaras*, etc., on this day return'd, being stop't a *cois* and a half from Jambunie in the Gatseela Purgana by a guard of about 150 bowmen. My instructions to them were, if they were stop't, to tell the people their business, and assure them that if they were not allowed to go on, they would return to your naib who sent them, and [who] was on the road with a force, and in consequence of which he would hear no terms from them, but proceed to drive them out of the purgana, and give it to better disposed people. When they were stop't, they acted according to instructions, and were answered that if they went the Janpore Tanna road they would not be obstructed, but by that road would allow none to go into their country: to which they answered that as they expected more respect to be paid to the Phousdar's servants than to be stop't, but that when they returned it would be with a force that would overcome all such obstacles, penetrate into the heart of his country without asking questions. So that it is probable this fellow continues obstinate. However, according to your general hint, when I arrive at Jambunie, I'll send one more message before I fall on. If on our arrival at Jambunie, I find that the road from his country is tolerable, but if it should prove jungly and narrow so as that I cannot have the proper use of my guns, I propose taking no notice at all of these, but according to my general instructions, proceeding to the Tanna, and reducing him. In course, this intention is owing to the pretty certain information I have of his having a considerable force, and I would by all means if possible put my success beyond a doubt when I do attack him.

Thus far had I wrote last night before 8 o'clock, when the man whom I despatched the 11th arrived, and told that a *harcara* from you was 3 *cois* off on the way. I waited till eleven: no *harcara*, and now have got up at three this morning to despatch the treasure. By closing this letter he has not yet arrived. I make no doubt if he is yours that on his return of your order [him] to be punished as he deserves. This goes by another.

[Usual termination,

JOHN FERGUSON.

23.

TO J GRAHAM.

BULEAMPURE TANNA.

13th March 1767.

SIR,

I write this to go along with 1,000 audit rupees of which 550 is in cash, and 450 in bonds, being part of the Company's treasure collected from those Zemindars who have already settled with the Company to pay *tushees* for their Purganahs. A Bengala account which I am told is the regular manner of transaction in these matters attends the treasure.

With regard, I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Most humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

24.

TO LIEUTENANT FERGOUSON.

MIDNAPORE :

12th March 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favours of the 6th instant, the first containing an account of the settlement which you have effected with five Zemindars of Supur, etc., the second transmitting me a copy of your letter to the Officer Commanding the Patchael party, and his answer. As the revenues which the Zemindars have engaged to pay exceed the sums at which their countries are rated in the King's books, at the same time that they serve as an ample and incontestable acknowledgment of their dependence on this Province, we have certainly no cause than to be otherwise than satisfied with the adjustment, especially when their present circumstances and situation with your reasons for accepting of their terms are consider'd. In time, however, by attending to keep them at once awed and protected I should hope that this stipulation may be considerably increased upon.

Captain Upton, in his answer to your letter, appears to have placed too much confidence in the informations of the people with whom he has intercourse, and to have drawn from thence too hasty conclusions. His dignity also appears to have taken great offence, where I think it is pretty evident that there could possibly be none meant. It is a pity that circumstances of this nature should occur in the execution of one common service, especially under a well-regulated Government, of which all the members and dependents must be sensible that no operations can be carried on without the sanction of its authority. Conscious that you are yourself regularly and sufficiently authorised to execute the service you are at present upon (altho' Captain Upton seems to doubt it); you might certainly proceed agreeably to your instructions without paying any regards to Captain Upton's caveats: but as I think this would be acting too much upon his own plan, I cannot approve it. I would advise you, therefore, to write again to Captain Upton, or the officer who may command at Patchael, explaining to him that you think there was no cause to take offence at your former letter; at least there was certainly none intended; that you are also detached under regular orders from the Governor of Calcutta, thro' the channel of the Chief of Midnapore, to reduce the Zemindars possessing the jungles to the westward of Midnapore and which hitherto supported a kind of independence, notwithstanding they were avowedly subordinate to the Province, their rents being entered in the Midnapore Cutchery books, and most of them having always paid a *peshcush* or tribute of acknowledgment; that the Chatna Zemindar is one of those, and that, however adjacent or blended his districts may be with those of Patchael, they are actually out of the limits of Bengal, have always been comprehended in Soubah Orissa, and, till of late years paid a regular tribute to the Phouadar of Midnapore; that agreeably to your instructions, therefore, you had concluded a settlement with his uncle (the Zemindar himself being a minor) to pay an annual revenue to the Company at the Midnapore Cutchery and that you trust this explanation will not only acquit you of having intended any improper behaviour but in fact claims his attention to support the settlement you have made against any designs of the Patchael people to usurp possession of the Zemindar's country. If this explanation does not produce the desired effect, we must, in short appeal to the decision of . . . superiors. In the meantime you should write to the Zemindar directing him peremptorily to desist from molesting the party, as Captain Upton writes he is guilty.

I have just now received your favour from Bultrampore with the three Bengal notes, but the other letter you mention to have received from Captain Upton was omitted to be

enclosed. I do not conceive, however, that it can contain anything but what the explanation, which I have herein recommended to you to make, must sufficiently answer, especially as it appears evident by the Bengal note (which is wrote in the name and under the seal of . . . Sircar) that he is misled by the designs and informations of the . . . people.

The answer which you have directed the Ameynagar Zemindar to make to Captain Hadley is very proper, . . . and say he will give him no further trouble.

The Raipore and Fokusma districts doubtless depend on the Province of Burdwan, but it appears somewhat mysterious and inconsistent that they should reject our assistance for obtaining from them an increase. I will write and explain the matter to Mr. Goodwin and shall send you further directions when I receive his answer. In the interim, I recommend you to proceed immediately upon the plan you propose for the reduction of the Gatsela Zemindar.

J. GRAHAM.

25.

TO LIEUTENANT FERGUSSON.

MIDNAPORE:

15th March 1907.

SIR,

I received last night your note enclosing the second letter from Captain Upton, but as I suppose it does not require any more particular answer than what is contained in my letter of yesterday, to it, therefore, I refer you, and return you Captain Upton's letter enclosed.

In my letter yesterday I omitted to mention to you the settlement of the *talook* composed of sundry villages around the Tanna and said by the statement to be possessed by one Achabnarrain. I must now recommend that point to you, if possible, before you leave Bulrampore, if not after your return from the reduction of the Jangore Tanna.

I approve of the succession of the Sankacooler's son for the same reasons that I gave you in the case of the Jargung Zemindar.

I am, etc., etc.,

JOHN GRAHAM.

26.

TO J. GRAHAM.

TANNA BULRAMPORE:

14th March 1767.

SIR,

I have this moment received your packet, but the answering of your other favour I must delay, as I am preparing everything for going off in the morning.

To Captain Upton I wrote in the terms you suggested, adding from that explanation he would at once see the impropriety of my complying with the contents of his and letter and I accordingly sent the two Bengal chits enclosed in his.

The *talook* I did not omit to make particular inquiry about when last here, but all the answer I could get was that it had been incorporated with the two *purganas* 50 years ago, and this too after I had settled for these *purganas*, *viz.*, Ramgur and Sankacoola. In your's of yesterday, you mention it as your opinion that if we continue to awe and protect these people, that the revenue may be considerably increased. In this opinion I entirely join with you, and, if I may be allowed to judge from the face of the country and appearance of the people, very considerably too, were they somewhat civilised, and this more

particularly in the western purgunas. The Tanidair has engaged to send this letter and the amount of both the bills on the Sergeant.

With regard, I am Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

J. FERGUSSON.

27.

TO LIEUTENANT FERGUSSON

MIDNAPORE:

17th March 1767.

SIR,

I have received your two letters of the 13th and one of the 14th. With the former was received the *chalan* of Rs. 1,000 which shall be brought to account when the bonds are recovered.

I think you judge very properly in determining to proceed with caution against the Gatsela Zemindar. As you advance towards his country, I imagine you will be able to obtain more certain intelligence of his strength and intentions: when, if you esteem it necessary, I shall expect to hear from you.

The merits of Uchubarrain's *talook*, which you are informed is incorporated in the Rangur and Sankacooles's purgunas, may properly be enquired into more exactly when you return again to the Tanna, because if the Zemindars have already possessed themselves of it, it will at least be an argument for demanding an increase from them in the ensuing year.

I am, etc., etc.,
[JOHN GRAHAM.]

28.

TO J. GRAHAM.

JAMEUNIE:

17th March 1767.

SIR,

This day I received two letters from you. The former favour I shall answer in a few words, *viz.* that this day at noon, immediately on receipt of yours, I sent off the tent, and that (as I imagine that won't properly suffice for your both-canna) there is too in the stores an old marquee which I should imagine would also be useful.

Having principally by the means of Mogul Ray, Zemindar of Jathunia, got a tolerable account of his force, dispositions, and the route, I think I can depend, as far as any person can in such cases, on being able to force his intrenchments, and make my way good into his fort. In this opinion I am seconded by all my little army, who are in very good health and high spirits, seems sufficiently satisfied with their Commander's abilities, etc. This day I halted here for a variety of reasons. That which you suggested to me in the close of yours on the head of retreating occurred and was a principal reason together with a desire of further intelligence not to run headlong and imprudently on before I had settled a plan of operation, as also the replenishing of my *hyar* and recollecting my provincials concurred to induce to this measure.

Gosindram Basie, who I took on as a good soldier, has retained near 200 of his people, besides 35 horse, Cootickram 20. Gaupenel's people have increased 50 to-day. Collianpore to 50, Mogul Ray with 150 men attends me of his own accord, and is likely to get in favour. The Jambunie Zemindar attends us with 100 men. These two neighbours of the Gatsela Zemindar being his natural enemies and of long standing, I do not doubt will take this opportunity of gratifying their revenge.

Now as I am clear in my own breast that neither motives of interest or ambition sway me in the resolution I have at present taken, but that I have acted on mature deliberation, you, who always have been my friend, will, I am sure, on this occasion be my advocate to the world if the event should render my judgment or discretion suspected.

His nephew who resides at Butra Bojoon, I have not been able to induce to take any part in the affair at present, nor even to come to me; my people put it to the account of his inability to form any faction in the country.

You may depend on hearing from me very frequently, if intelligence can be conveyed after we penetrate into the heart of his country.

The deep impression which that warm style in your letter makes on me it would be vain to attempt to express. This, however, I must add, that I am conscious to myself of a daily applying to the Supreme Source of all good for the success and prosperity of yourself and family. With my best respects to Mrs. Graham and children I am with real regard, etc., etc.

JOHN FERGUSSON.

29.

TO J. GRAHA

CAMP, LARGE PLAIN NEAR BIND VILLAGE,

11 COSS FROM GATE, FORT:

17th March 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I last night did myself the.....of acquainting you that, by means of Mogul Ray, Zemindar of Jatbunie, I had made myself master of the strength, situation, etc., of the Zemindar of Gaiseela's army, and had also been able to plan a route by which I had a good prospect of making my way good to his fort.

In pursuance of this plan, and on strength of intelligence from this same person, I understood that a force of about 2,000 had entrenched themselves and made a parapet of palisadoes in a plain about 3 coss from Jambunia, having the channel of a *nalla* (*nala*) and a jungle in their rear. Having resolved last night to attack this force at break of day, if possible, I set out at one o'clock in the morning, resolving to march slowly and circumspectly, it being very clear moonlight, but such were the length of these cosses and such the badness of the roads, having all of them in his pargana to make them as we marched, and also two considerable *nullas* (*nalas*) to pass, which they only abandoned as we approached, that, instead of arriving at daylight, we were only able to reach this tanna of his at 10 o'clock. The enemy soon abandoned their post, and betook themselves into the channel of the *nulla*, with a view, I believe, of flanking us in the storm, but we were guarded against this as well as against an ambuscade, which they had laid on the banks of a tank to the left of the rear; for having examined the ground on all sides, before the onset, I resolved to divide my force in such a manner as to attack them in these three places at once, which I accordingly did, and my force drove the enemy before them clear out of the jungle and over a large plain into the village of Bind, where about 200 of them endeavoured to make a stand to no purpose. With regard to my troops, I must say that the seapoys behaved very bravely but not like disciplined troops, for that party which I sent under the command of Sergeant Bascombe to storm the *nulla* in the jungle broke at once, and ran on without keeping any order, and it was with much difficulty I could keep the small party with myself and with the

guns from running after the rest into the jungle, when they found there was nothing to do in the entrenchments, which were abandoned.

Mogul Roy has got a great name among the seapoys. The number of the slain on the enemy's side, I have not been able to learn yet, it being in the jungle that the execution was done; but three heads have been found that the guns had shot off, but of my men there is not one so much as hurt, not even a provincial.

[Usual Greetings.]

JOHN FEROUSSON, who has an immense headache, so hopes inaccuracies will be excused.

30.

TO J. GRAHAM.

CAMP AT THE VILLAGE CHOUKLA :

19th March 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you yesterday on the event of driving the enemy out of their tanna, as it is called, and taking possession of the village of Bind. This morning, at broad daylight, we marched hence, and I went about three-quarters of a *cosse* uninterrupted, but on arriving at the village Mundalackura, intelligence arrived from the front, that the jungle in the front of the village was spread over with *chewars*, on which I halted a little, and ordered one gun and a small party of sepoy to advance, dispersing the whole in such a manner as to be able to support that party or to detach to rear or flanks, according as the enemy might make their appearance. On seven rounds of grape and two or three platoons from the sepoy, they retired, having indeed first endeavoured to alarm us on all sides but to no purpose, as their shot from the jungle would not reach, and they would not come in sight. During this short skirmish one seapoy received a shot through the muscles of the thigh. Finding the enemy determined not to maintain any battle with us, I immediately disposed my troops to maintain a running fight, and march pretty smartly at the same time, by strengthening my rear, ordering 20 sepoy on each flank, and endeavouring, but to no great purpose, to flank the whole with my provincials. However, we succeeded very well, keeping the enemy so much at bay, that they were not able to make any impression on any quarter, though they repeatedly attempted it, especially in the rear. They indeed wounded five or six *chewars* and camp adherents on our side, and a fine old fellow of a horseman of Govindram's had his leg broke by a matchlock ball which I have set again, and I hope will do well, though the doctor will say that a gun shot wound and fracture is a very difficult case. Thus we maintain for three *cosse*, when we arrived at a very large plain, well watered, near a village named Choukla, where I had before planned to halt, as there was no other halting place within 5 *cosse*. Here we have the enemy alongside of us in the jungle, but they dare not come out, though we have distressed them greatly by taking possession of four fine tanks in this plain, and guarding them in such a manner that they cannot get a drop of water but at the hazard of their lives, though it is the only water within 5 *cosse* by my intelligence. To-morrow I propose marching in the same manner, by which we'll be on the way half the day, it being 5 jungle *cosse*.

[Usual compliments.]

J. FEROUSSON.

8 o'clock night.

31.

TO J. GRAHAM.

GATSEELA FORT
22nd March 1767.

SIR,

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I am in possession of Gatsela Fort, after having fought my way to it for 16 *coss* through a thick jungle, where the enemy took every method of interrupting our march, except that of a drawn battle, which they only attempted in their intrenchment near the village of Puro about 4 *coss* from Jambunle, the first day that we attacked them from their strong intrenchment there and from the channel of a *nalla* in the jungle to the rear of it; we soon drove them, and, on all the march hither, they never attempted to make a stand in other places, until to-day as we approached their fort.

During the march I soon saw that if we halted always on their approach, that our march would be greatly interrupted and tedious. I therefore resolved to strengthen my front and rear considerably, and flank the whole on each side, and to march on without ever halting, leaving to the rear guards to maintain the engagement with the enemy, and proceed at the same time, taking care to reinforce them if pressed hard from the main body, and I believe I owe my success to that resolution.

Yesterday a *wakel* arrived from him who said he was sent to make the Raja's acknowledgment, and settle for the rent. On questioning him I found that he was empowered to give Rs. 5,000 to buy me and my army off from proceeding any further. This not being business I explained to him for what purpose I was come, and told him that if his *zemindar* would pay the Company such a yearly revenue that I would forgive him notwithstanding his great fault. He immediately despatched people to the *Zemindar*, who returned no answer, and accordingly we proceeded. On this day's march they fought very warmly, showing themselves a good deal, first in front and then in the rear, but were not able to make any impression. About 9 o'clock, we made his fort, which we found in flames, and his people all round in small parties, in the jungle on the outside to attack us in the rear, but finding that we discovered them by a gun and a company being sent against them, the people within abandoned the fort by a gate to which I judged it imprudent to send any part of my forces, as the smoke of the fire blew directly on it.

Notwithstanding that the fire had destroyed the most valuable things of which there must have been an immense quantity, yet we arrived time enough to save a great quantity of grain, which gives me great satisfaction, as otherwise we should have been in distress soon for want of provisions, as they have burned their villages as well as fort on the way.

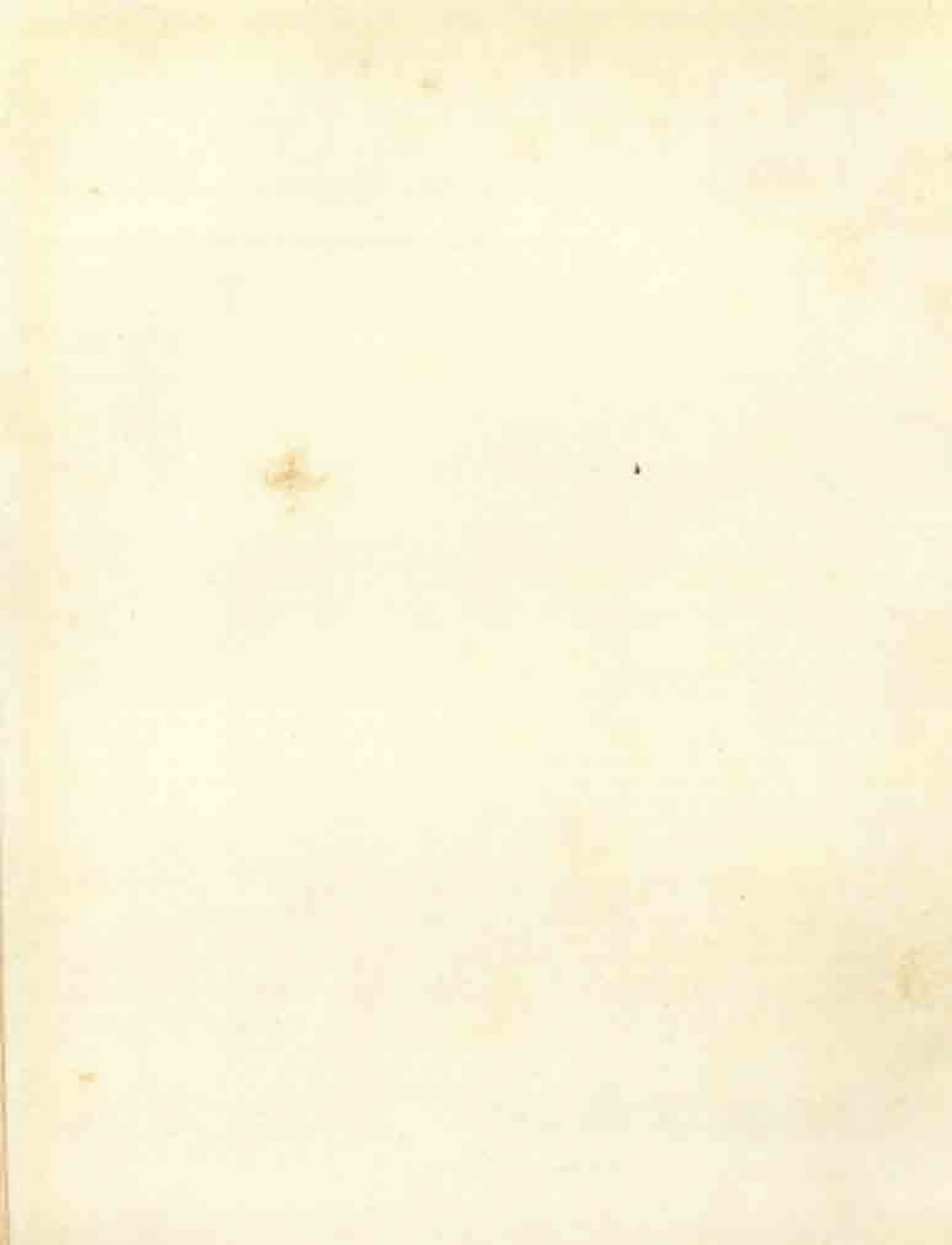
The Raja, with a numerous, though vanquished army, has retired into a hill about 4 *coss* distant, he having guards all the way to the fort on every side in the jungle; so that it will require your orders towards my conducting myself properly in what remains to be done. There are none of the *Zemindars* along with me who will undertake the charge of this *purgana*, notwithstanding (from the forward, nay barbarous conduct of the Run-away) the probability of gaining over the country people. From his nephew I have not so much as heard, though one would imagine he ought to have endeavoured to conciliate my favour; so I can be no judge whether he is in any respect equal to the charge. I shall therefore expect your orders respecting the settlement of the *purgana*, while, in the meantime, I shall lose no favourable opportunity which may offer, whether to distress the enemy or to make an advantageous settlement for the Company, if this fool should repent of his obstinacy.



ESPLANADE ROW—1788. (COUNCIL HOUSE STREET IN RIGHT-HAND CORNER.)



OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE—1788.
From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured Views.



During the whole march there was killed one *hilidar* and one *chattr* of the Jambunie Zemindar's, one horseman shot through the leg and the leg broke, 5 sepoy's wounded, of which three is slight and two shot through the muscles of the leg by ball, one of which is my orderly, who, poor fellow, got it to-day while close by me. In this day's engagement, he had a piece of cannon planted in the jungle flanking the road, but it did no execution, the shot flying too high.

It now remains to excuse myself for not writing before; the reason was that I could get none of the Zemindars to undertake conveying it safe, and on that account I desisted. This goes by means of the Jambunie Zemindar, who, if he had behaved all along as he did the first day, I should have recommended.

[Compliments.]

J. FERGUSSON.

32.

To J. GRAHAM.

GATSEELA FORT:

22nd March 1767.

SIR,

I last night did myself the pleasure of addressing on the event of taking possession of Gatsela Fort, but as there is some difficulty in conveying intelligence, it is possible it may not reach. I deem it proper to write this to be sent by another channel, viz., of the Jambunie Zemindar, as yesterday's was of the Jambunie's.

In yesterday's letter I gave a full account of our march, etc., and the taking possession of the Fort. Hoping that letter reached I shall only here say that after forcing our way *to* ~~over~~ through a thick jungle, we at last reached his fort, which the enemy abandoned after very little resistance, but setting it on fire.

The most valuable effects in the Fort with which it abounded are all burnt. However, I have the pleasure to tell you that we were able to save a great quantity of grain which to me is a principal article, as otherwise I should soon have been obliged to abandon my conquest for want of provisions, for on my march they burned their villages, so that we had no supply since leaving Jambunie. We should have been able to have extinguished the fire had there been water in the Fort, but there are only some small ponds, I think draw wells, which were scarce sufficient for the purpose of quenching the thirst of our army, having marched a *fort* and a half without water. This day I send a party of seapoys into the jungle about a mile with the cattle to a fine tank of water, as the enemy have a strong guard there, and also one hundred coolies with two handies along for a supply. In last night's letter, I acquainted you of my manner of marching, by which means I saved my men greatly, having lost from the whole only two, a *chattr* and *hilidar*, and five seapoys, and about 20 other adherents wounded.

I shall now make it my business to explain to you, as far as I can, my sentiments on the head of: resetting this pargana.

It is my opinion that this runaway Zemindar ought by no means to be harkened to if he should propose the largest terms, because there is no dependence to be put in him, he paying no regard to treaties: nay, did he give hostages, it would find him no further than when he is immediately awed by a force. He also is a great nuisance to his neighbours, constantly disturbing them, so that it would not be a popular step in the eyes of those who have not only settled for their own country, but also helped to reduce him. Moreover, by all accounts I hear he is such a barbarous monster, that he is by no means to be countenanced by a civilised nation, that is, if the current reports are true.

From allowing the neighbouring Zemindars to talk over the matter in my presence, without seeming to take any notice, I find that the most probable method is that of settling up his nephew, as he will be able to detach a great many, if not all, from his uncle. If he should be able to detach all, as they say there is a very great chance for, then he will also answer the Company's demands without any further trouble; but, if he should not be, then a part of my force will be necessary to support his party till he gains strength. Should this nephew be unwilling or unable to form any party, and to pay a proper revenue, then, I believe, nay, I know that Magul Roy, of Jatbunia, will undertake to pay the Company's revenue, and retain the purgana, if supported by a small party of sepoy's to garrison the fort, but whether he is more ambitious than wise I can't say.

Our Midnapore Zemindars all say that they would not take a present of the country, so that there is only one other alternative, and that a poor one for the Company that of levelling the fort and burning and destroying his country *in terrorem* to our other new subjects, and proceeding to the reduction of the remainder of the Tanna, and then, if you judge proper, to return and lay on the country in such a manner as to oblige the heads of it to abandon their infatuated master.

Thus, Sir, from being on the spot, I have presumed to declare my sentiments freely; for though his army cannot withstand mine, yet they are very numerous, and I dare say against people of their own caste would still endeavour to maintain the country. If I can obtain any intelligence, I shall not fail to distress them still in their lurking holes, if I can do it to advantage. If I can find the channel of intelligence to and from you can be carried on easily, you may depend on hearing from me daily, but, if difficult, only on extraordinary occasions.

[Compliments.]

JOHN FERGUSSON.

35

TO J. GRAHAM.

GATSEELA FORT :
24th March 1767.

SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you twice from this place to inform you of my conduct, etc., on the march, and success against the fort, as also freely communicating my sentiments on the head of resetting the purgana, which I hope you will not be displeased at. In consequence of further intelligence and distant negotiation with the country people, and of having formerly consulted you as head, I have now taken a bolder step, *viz.*, that of sending my *furmana* to his nephew, who resides at Burra Boloa, inviting him to come and take the purgana from me, and pay a just revenue for it to the Company, that I made him the first offer on account of his connection, but notwithstanding, if he would not pay as large a revenue as any other, that he should not have it.

This step I took in consequence of assurances from the country people by means of neutral persons who attended me that, if I set up the nephew for Zemindar, they would all abandon the Runaway and contribute their utmost towards enabling the new Raja to answer our demands.

I hope, therefore, that you will approve of the step I have taken, as by the uncertainty of the channel of intelligence remaining uninterrupted, nay, that he so now, the waiting for your orders would occasion a great loss of time, especially as I believe that, when a new Raja

is set up, he will require our presence for some short time. In hopes that you will approve, I shall expect your answer containing full instructions regarding the transacting this affair as you would wish it to be done.

With respects and compliments as usual, I remain with real regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

J. FERGUSSON.

34

TO GEORGE VANSHITART.

GATEEELA FORT :

28th March 1767.

SIR,

My addressing you on this occasion is in consequence of a letter of Mr. Graham's bearing date the 23rd instant, which I have this day received, desiring that after the 24th you should be addressed on all public subjects, as; you by that time would have the charge of the Province. Permit me, Sir, before I enter on the head of business, tho' a stranger to your person, to congratulate you on this occasion, and to offer my best wishes that you may be happy and successful. Allow me also to hope that if (as shall be my constant endeavour), my conduct while under you should be inclinable to your sentiments, that you will bestow on me some share of that favour which I so amply experienced under Mr. Graham. My letters dated 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, and addressed to Mr. Graham in his public capacity, I acquainted him of our success in this purgana, and also that after I had taken possession of the Fort, I had, in consequence of being pretty well acquainted with his sentiments before, sent my perwanna to the nephew promising him the purgana if he would pay a yearly revenue to the Company for it.

I had intelligence that the former Zemindar had gone to some distance; and found the country people disposed to remain quiet under any Zemindar that should be appointed. I on that account avoided proceeding to any other part of the purgana in a hostile manner, being well assured that the Zemindar is so far deserted by his subjects as that he cannot pretend to act in an offensive manner. However if intelligence that can be relied on should put it in my power to make an immediate attack on him, I certainly will not omit it. The messengers who were sent to his nephew and only near relation—at present a resident in the Burra Boinon Purgana—are not yet arrived and if they were, I am at a stand until your instructions arrive. At the same time that I will presume with you, according to the indulgence of the former Chief, of making an advantageous settlement for the Company, when it appears that I should not hear in the interim. The only distress which we feel here is sympathy for the few of us who suffered in the different skirmishes, whom I would willingly send to Midnapore, could I do it without a strong detachment, as I have neither medicines nor time to attend to them properly myself. Provisions, that is, rice, dal, and salt, we have sufficient for 12 months, but all the ghee was burnt in the general conflagration we found the Fort in, and which we could not extinguish for want of water.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, most humble servant,

JOHN FERGUSSON.

35.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART.

GATEWALA FORT.

29th March 1767.

SIR,

I yesterday did myself the pleasure of addressing you, but as a circumstance of great importance, as to me it appears, has since happened, I have not a moment delayed communicating it. Since my having taken possession of the Fort, I have employed all my time in detaching the country people from the rebellious Zemindar, and in getting intelligence where he had absconded himself, in which I was so successful that he not only deserted by the greater part of his people, but that I also got exact intelligence where he was, and some of his own subjects to undertake to guide my forces to him. I had no sooner brought matters to this crisis, but I immediately detached one Sergeant, one Subadar, 4 Jemadars, 110 rank and file, 100 Chewars last night who surprised him, took him prisoner, and are now arrived in the Fort. The resistance they met with, in consequence of my prior negotiations was trifling: only one sepoy and some chewars wounded.

My not being on the spot, and the Sergeant's authority not being so weighty, induced the sepoy to break through the orders they were enjoined in regard of plunder, so that his wealth and effects.

I am, etc.

JOHN FERGUSSON.

36.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART.

[NO ADDRESS.]

4th April 1767.

SIR,

Your favour of the 27th and its duplicate arrived yesterday as also your letter of the 28th this day. Fear having kept the nephew from appearing while his uncle was at large has hitherto retarded the resetting of the country, but since the event, some of the chiefs of the country have gone to invite him, and I expect him daily. I am pretty certain that there only want the naming of a new Zemindar to induce the majority to make their submission, and if any at that time obstinate, I shall according to your orders them, and leave the purgana at the devices of whosoever shall be appointed.

A journal of my proceedings I have up to this day, but my compass went wrong the 2nd day's march to this Fort, I having it in my hand to observe our course, when the enemy set on us, and my needle, from the firing, I think it must be, flew off its axis. This will in future make me very imperfect in the course, and the want of a set of mathematical instruments renders me incapable of making charts.

This Fort is situated on a plain surrounded with jungle. Its Area nearly 1,156 square feet. It has a rampart of very bad earth, or rather gravel, and, of course, a bad rampart, as the gravel does not stick; but the ditch is excellent, being forty-two feet wide and 18 feet high to the level without. The principal gate is on the north side near the N. E. angle, for there is no bastion, and there is a small gate in the same manner near the S. W. angle. The bridge over the ditch to both of these gates is a set of trees laid horizontally, and covered with earth. They broke part of each on our approach, but, resolving not to hold out, repaired it again with planks. Without the principal ditch is a very large esplanade, in which was the bazaar and several dwelling houses, and this again was surrounded by a ditch about seven feet wide and four feet deep. Within the very centre of the Fort was

the Zemindar's particular dwelling house, surrounded by a very high and thick wall, being to the north and south, 268 by 240 feet to the east and west, esplanade and all. There are only three paltry draw wells, but to the north-west, without the limits of the lower ditch two large tanks.

Thus have I endeavoured to answer both your letters. Let me only add that with this I send a return of my detachment. That I will make it my business to attend to all your instructions, and inform you of every circumstance here, and that I am

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

J. FERGUSON.

P.S.—As you will observe, I talk of the Raja's dwelling, bysar, etc., in the perfect tense, as they are all burnt and don't now exist.

37.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART.

GATSEELA FORT

5th April 1767.

SIR,

Your favour of the 1st arrived here yesterday, and your order regarding the Zemindar shall be paid the greatest regard to as soon as circumstances which you could not foresee admit of its being put into execution, that is as soon as the vehicle and bearers can be had to convey the old man, for he can't ride, and as soon as a *bamin* (*sic*) can be got to prepare for him the necessary sustenance, for since his arrival he has had of his only one slave boy and has had his victuals dressed some times by one zemindar's *bamin* and sometimes by another's. This, I hope, will be a sufficient plea for a day or two's delay in which time I shall be able, I expect, to send him off according to order. Hitherto his effects had been locked up in one of the houses where I live under double centenals, but now I shall break them up and send you an inventory of them.

When my *perwana* reached the nephew where he resided it gave him great satisfaction. He accordingly made preparations departing directly, but when he was about to set out, he found himself detained by Endergeet, Zemindar of Aditbhoon, on frivolous pretences. This Zemindar being a friend of the uncle's, had been often applied to by him to make away with the nephew, but all he could obtain from him was a promise that he would detain the nephew in such a manner that he would not disturb him. However, it is the opinion of the black people here that as soon as the ryots and surlars, 3 of whom I sent on the event of the Raja being taken, arrive that the Endergeet will not only set him at liberty, but also conclude a sort of alliance with him, such as existed with the uncle.

Motives of justice, equally with political ones, induced me to have a little patience with this candidate, as he is the heir, and of course has the best title, provided he acknowledges the Company, and in the better light as he is the most desirable to the ryots for of all those whom I have as yet mentioned none proposed another but after saying that whoever I set up would be agreeable, they added that if left to their choice the nephew.

Captain Upton's letter convinces me that he has not given up the point regarding Chaitnah. He seems surprised that I should not immediately condemn the orders and information of my Chief so clearly and distinctly expressed, on account of his assertions, and because Lieutenant Carter happened to come that way in the course of his survey, as if the Chief of Midnapore was not a proper judge of the limits of his own Province, than a young gentleman about a year in the country, who is ordered on a survey, I suppose

because he knows the use of Gunter's chain and the theodolite, and perhaps is an excellent hand at charts. He talks of disputes. I cannot conceive what in the disputing stile he could pick in my letters, and if it is a matter to be settled by the Governor, for I can't conceive how Mr. Sykes should be joined with him in that affair, the sooner the better, as I, notwithstanding Captain Upton's caveats and Lieutenant Carter's menasurations, have adhered to my first settlement with the Chattrah Zemindar, and there is actually some revenue arrived from him in the Tanna of Bulrampore. Your orders on this head I'll expect in your next, for I know my duty too well to pay attention to any other quarter, unless immediately from the Governor of Fort William. One small favor I must request from you, and that is a small quantity of paper, as the supply I brought from Midnapore is almost expended.

Mr. Peiarie's chit I received, but as all the monthly bills were gone some days by a circar, his letter is in effect answered.

I am, etc.,

J. FERGUSON

P.S.—I have just received intelligence that Kunudali, the nephew, will arrive here to-morrow morning.—J. F.

36.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART.

FORT, GATKEELA.

9th April 1767.

SIR,

Permit me by this address to acquaint you that, finding Kunudali on his arrival to be the proper person for the zemindary in its present situation and also well disposed in the revenue affair, I proceeded without delay to settle matters in this pargana. Having with great difficulty induced the heads who were present to agree and undertake to assist in collecting the sum of 5,300 dornahply mpees, which they had great objections to, on account of its exceeding their *fussan jumma*, but at last undertook it. I this day made their favourite Kunudali Zemindar, by the name of Jugernudol, it being customary to change [names] on like occasions, and made him ratify the settlement of the yearly revenue. On this occasion I took on me to present him a horse, sword, dammas and several other things that are usual. I also gave a little phillie in a present to an old bamin, who is a considerable man among the ryots.

I hope this settlement will be to your mind, as this much they undertook to be punctual in paying of, but if exceeded it would depress the country people and of course occasion arrears. I also sent the former Zemindar guarded by two Company's commanded by my Sergeant off for Midnapore, where he will probably arrive the 13th or 14th at furthest. In a letter which you will receive by the hands of the Subadar, I hope there are sufficient and satisfactory reasons for my not immediately complying with the tenor of your order. I have in vain attempted a list of his effects. They consist of gold trinkets, silver trinkets and some plate, brass vessels and utensils, men and women's wearing apparel; and the implemets of state I have given the new Zemindar. There were also four horses and three mares. One horse and one mare I gave as above. Of what remains and is tolerable and I should wish to keep; the rest either are or border on tatters. The value (according to the estimate of the circar people along with me) may amount to Rs. 5,000 odd. The clothes which are of least value, I shall dispose of as they are bulky. The most valuable things shall be disposed of when and where you shall order.

Having erected a new Zemindar in the Purgans and everything wearing a peaceful aspect, I propose as soon as the Sergeant joins me, 4 days hence, to set out for Jaupore Tanna.

So soon as that supply of paper arrives which I requested in my last, I shall be punctual in communicating to you every circumstance that deserves notice. In the meantime, I am with regard

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

J. FERGUSSON.

39

To J. FERGUSSON.

FORT, GATSEELA:

10th April 1767.

Sir,

As I am of myself by no means a proper judge what to do regarding a circumstance, which has occurred since writing to you last night, I do not delay a moment to consult you on the occasion. This morning the two revenue people who are along with me acquainted me that there were three vakils of Mounal's, late one of Patchest Phougedar, arrived with a letter from their master, and that they earnestly entreated an audience. After some doubts, not knowing what their business might be, I granted their request.

Being admitted, the contents of the letter and of their petition imported that they applied to me as the only Company's servant they could have access to with any safety on account of the forces in pursuit of them. They proceeded to explain that both their master Mounal and his nephew and colleague (*sic*) Mounila deem'd themselves hardly dealt with in being drove from their inheritance, without inquiring into their right settlements, that they conceive that the Governor of Bengal is not acquainted with them, they request the favour of an inquiry, in which case they hope everything from the known justice of our nation, as they will undertake to prove that the Phougedar at present supported by the Company, his Father, was always supposed an impostor, and that his repeated endeavour to forcibly to make himself master of Patchest being fruitless, and his having recourse to negotiation, they also in that by the justice of their cause prevailed against him at Moorshedabad. It was after these repeated disappointments that he retired to Burdwan, where he begot the present Phougedar of Patchest, who is his natural son, he not being married to the mother, which they say, allowing him to be the son of their elder renders his claim posterior to others who are lawful offspring of the same grandfather, admitting the impostor's claim. Now, as they are ready to pay the Company what *lushes* the country affords, and in every respect to acknowledge the Company, they hope, if they are allowed an audience and enquiry into their rights, and if it be found that their allegiances are founded in truth, that may be re-instated in preference to one who has a remoter connection. The former Phougedar will himself on my promise deliver himself up to me in order to inquire into the affair, his vakils are ready either to attend you or go to Calcutta if allowed on the same subject. The Phougedar won't venture out of the jungle until hopes are given him, and then he will perform his promises for this country, if he is restored, with great cheerfulness. This is the account of their address which I heard, and told them to take care that their master came not into the Midnapore Province, for that if he did I must consider him as an enemy, that their grievances I would represent, but

that they in the meantime were to hope nothing, and that in four or five days I would give them an answer.

I beg, Sir, if in this affair I have acted improperly that you would immediately reprove me for it, and of yourself extricate me without mentioning my imprudence, as by that means I shall know how to act on another occasion. If this is not the case, and there is no impropriety in what I have done, pray instruct me how to act.

I am, etc.,
J. FERGUSSON.

P.S.—I this morning received your favour of the 8th.

(To be continued.)

SHILLONG,
March 31, '09.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.





ELIZABETH BARWELL'S TOMB BEFORE RESTORATION.
(Photo. by J. de G. Downing, Esq.)



INSCRIPTION RECENTLY ADDED.

The Barwell-Clavering "Affaire D'Honneur."



ALL students of the days of the Olympians of Calcutta's story are well acquainted with the available details of the duel between Hastings and Francis "on the road leading to Alipore" in the early morning of the 17th August 1780, when, in the words of "Junius," "my pistol missing fire I charged it, we then fired together and I was wounded and fell." On that occasion, if the statement of the often unreliable Mr. G. F. Grand may be accepted, the seconds (Colonel Pearse for Hastings and Colonel Watson for Francis) baked the powder for their respective friends. The encounter between Clavering and Barwell, on the new road to Budge-Budge, on a Sunday (?) of April 1775, is less a matter of common knowledge.

As was often the case then, a lady (a daughter of General Clavering) is supposed to have been at the bottom of the trouble. It was Calcutta's age of lovely women and the ball-room of Barwell's Garden House at Alipore (now "Kidderpore House") was wont to echo to the dancing feet of as entrancing a galaxy of fair ladies as ever graced any city since winning and bewitching woman started on a crusade of conquest. Mrs. Hastings (of Zoffany's canvas) the "Lady Governess" (of Mrs. Fay's letters), her hair unburdened with the gauze and pomatum usual then, but whose apparel "chiefly of muslin" made all others appear "underdressed in her presence," was the reigning social Queen. Lady Chambers (Miss Francis Wilmot—a "Hebe" of Reynolds' brush) described by Johnson in a letter to Boswell as "exquisitely beautiful," in *Hartly House* as one who "both as to smartness and variety yields to no one," and by Mrs. Fay "as the most beautiful woman I ever beheld"; Lady Day (Miss Ramus—her charms have been handed down by both Romney and Gainsborough) and Mrs. Motte ("Pretty Mary Touchet"), the inseparable companion of Marian the magnetic, foregathered there; and the very wall shades and lamps which looked down upon their revels are sometimes lighted to-day. There too was to be met the incomparable Noel Catharine Verléé (G. F. Grand's misunderstood wife); Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson, afterwards Mrs. Barwell—"the celebrated Miss Sanderson," wife of "the friend of Warren Hastings" for whose massive monument in Park Street cemetery the Historical Society has recently secured a renewed lease of existence, and upon which, at the Society's suggestion, Government has placed a tablet; and Maria Margaret (described by Colonel Pearse as "divine"), one of the

two daughters of General Clavering—"the real hero of Guadeloupe," of whom Barwell wrote to his sister that "she at one time plays with my affections if not with her own," and who doubtless in Clavering's still standing house south of the Church in Mission Row (before her father died there) assisted Lady Clavering in entertaining the rank and beauty of the settlement with the decorum and extravagance becoming a Member of Council's daughter. The old Garden House of Alipore "has rung with the laughter of these and other daughters of love as well as the gallant overtures of bucks and beaux who made obeisance to wit and elegance."

The tale of the duel is a sordid one. Clavering was "a peppery potentate" and Barwell, as is supposed, had but an indifferent sense of honour. Gaming was the vogue, and enormous sums were lost and won at the card table. According to one account (*Echoes of Old Calcutta*, p. 151), Barwell fixed on Philip Francis, and challenged him to high play, but only succeeded in "catching a tartar" at a loss of some £40,000. Francis then refers to Barwell as "rapacious without industry and ambitious without an exertion of his faculties or steady application to affairs." And again: "He will do whatever can be done by bribery and intrigue. He has no other resource. His mind is strictly effeminate and unequal to any serious constant occupation except gaming, in which alone he is indefatigable." "If money be his blood, I feel no kind of remorse in opening his veins; the bloodsucker should bleed and can very well afford it."

In the course of these personal disputes Francis wrote to Lord North: "It is settled that Barwell shall marry Miss Clavering. After the censures of him to which General Clavering has signed his name * * I cannot but foresee, etc., etc." and, later, "he is to marry Miss Clavering. A damnable match."

It would seem, however, that Clavering had his own views as to Barwell as a son-in-law, and events shaped themselves against the union. In April 1775, he charged Barwell with malversation in the Salt Department: Barwell retorted that he was a——. The General put his hand to his sword: Barwell bowed and retired, and the Council broke up. On the merits or demerits of the accusation it is unnecessary to dwell, but one report goes that the duellists met the next morning and Clavering (who had first shot) fired and missed his man. Barwell refused to return fire, and Clavering, suspecting his delicacy of feeling arose from the attachment to his daughter, called out loudly to him to take his chance of hitting him, adding that he (Barwell) could rest impressed that he stood no chance of ever being allied to his family, and went on passionately to express his resolution to fire a second pistol. Barwell persisted in his intention, and the seconds professed their opinion that the *point d'honneur* had been satisfied. All this is disclosed in a narrative

of the event by G. F. Grand recorded by Dr. Busteed. *Asiaticus*, Hunter, and the *D. N. B.* either do not mention the occurrence or only refer to it very briefly.

Francis' version of the episode differs widely from Grand's. It states that "the General challenged Barwell, who desired a respite of a few days to make his will. They met the Sunday following. Barwell received one fire and asked pardon. I could easily collect from Clavering's account of the affair that Barwell behaved very indifferently in the field. He had reason to be satisfied with his good fortune. The wonder is how the General, who is perfectly correct in all the ceremonies of fighting, happened to miss him. Clavering was highly pleased with himself on this occasion and showed me his correspondence with Barwell with many tokens of self-approbation. It has since been printed."

Mr. Firminger, in his *Guide to Calcutta* (p. 118) also cites a third account of the duel by Charles Grant, the civilian. According to Grant the occurrence took place on the fifth day after the quarrel but without seconds. Barwell, who was wounded on the thigh, subsequently apologised in the most ample manner, apparently before the same persons and in the same place where the affront had been offered. It is impossible to reconcile these conflicting narratives. Grant writes:—

CHARLES GRANT TO HIS COUSIN JAMES.

CALCUTTA, 26th May, 1775.

About a month ago these two gentlemen were arguing at the Revenue Board about the propriety of Mr. Barwell's holding farms for his own benefit. The General [Clavering] asked: "Well, but Mr. Barwell, how do you hold this act to be consistent with your oath of fidelity to the Company?" Mr. Barwell, after some recollections, answered: "Whoever says that I have done anything inconsistent with my oath to the Company is a rascal and a scoundrel." "These are strong terms, Mr. Barwell, very strong," replied the General. They were then going to put it to the vote whether he had not broken his oath, but this, after some discourse, was over-ruled. The town remained long ignorant of the altercation, and even the members were not at first in the secret of what followed. In the evening the General sent Mr. Barwell a message to meet him next morning. Mr. Barwell agreed to the meeting, but desired it might be put off two days until he should settle his affairs. It is said that he afterwards asked two days more, finding the first delay not sufficient. The fifth day they met at five in the morning on the new road to Budge-Budge without seconds. They walked on a good way until they found a convenient place. "What distance do you choose, Sir?" says Mr. Barwell. "The nearer the better." They stood within eight yards. "Will you please fire, Sir," said the General. "No, Sir,

you will please to fire first." "Is your pistol cock'd, Mr. Barwell?" "Yes, Sir." "You will give me leave to look, Sir. I did not hear the drawing of the cock." He advances, satisfied himself, looked at the pinning too, then retired to his stand and fired. The ball passed through Mr. Barwell's thighs, grazing the inner part of one. "Fire, Sir," said the General. "No, Sir, you will give me leave to decline that. I came here in obedience to your summons, and I think I may now, without any imputation to my character, declare that I have no enmity, and that I am sorry of what is past." "Sir, I must insist on your firing, if you continue to refuse, you will oblige me to fire again." "Mr. Barwell repeated his reluctance to carry the matter further, and his desire to end it by accommodation in such a manner as should be satisfactory to the General. At length the latter yielded so far, with many conditional clauses, as to accept of an apology before the same persons and in the same place where the affront had been given, stipulating particularly that if the apology should not be entirely satisfactory, it should pass for nothing. Upon this they returned: the apology was made in the most ample manner and the affair thus terminated. You will probably hear many accounts, but you may depend upon the substance of this to be genuine."

Barwell's letter to his sister (published in Sir J. Stephen's *Nuncomar*) and already referred to goes on to say:—"I deal plainly with her (Miss Clavering), expose my situation and intimate my expectations from her. Matters are brought to a point. The father then interferes, begins suddenly to doubt my public conduct, and withdraws his daughter. But it is without effect, and having proved me not to be the dupe of passion, he begins to bluster. He threatens me with the terrors of the law—he brings forward a false charge touching the benefits I derived from salt while at Dacca. I do not deny the profits I made. I avow them. I always avowed them. They were neither secret nor clandestine, but I object to the conclusions drawn and refute them, etc."

Clavering died on the 30th August 1777. Francis wrote: "The Governor ordered minute guns * * * I attended the funeral on foot to the grave."

Miss Clavering married Lord Napier and died in 1821. Her portrait will be found in the latest edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes*.

And Mr. Barwell married in 1776 Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson ("the celebrated Miss Sanderson") who died in November 1778. She was the daughter of Mr. Robert Sanderson, who gave evidence in the Grand *vs.* Francis suit, and to whom other references may be found in Dr. Busteed's book.

"FISCAL"

[This article was written and in print before the Society acquired the Barwell letter copy books.]



IN SOUTH PARK ST. CEMETERY, CALCUTTA.
(Photo by W. Archer, Esq.)



The Tomb of Mrs. Barwell ("the celebrated Miss Sanderson")
in South Park St. Cemetery, Calcutta, after its restoration
at the suggestion of the Calcutta Historical Society,
showing tablet with inscription by D&K.
(Photo by W. Archer, Esq.)

A Document of the Charnock Time.



THE following letter can hardly be claimed as a novelty, for in point of fact it has been in print from 1883, when it was published, with other correspondence of the Haddock family, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in the eighth volume of the *Camden Miscellany*. Still, embedded as it was in a mass of non-Indian matter, it escaped the notice of even Sir Henry Yule and Dr. C. R. Wilson; and (so far as I am aware) it has not been mentioned or quoted by any writer on the early history of Calcutta. If we add that the printed volume is a scarce one—particularly in India—sufficient reason has perhaps been shown for resuscitating this interesting narrative of Heath's operations at Sûtānati and Balasore in the autumn of 1688.

For this purpose use has been made of the original letter, which (written in a singularly bold and characteristic hand) now forms part of *Egerton MS.* 2521 in the British Museum. The punctuation has been modernised, abbreviations have been written out in full, and a few words or letters have been added (within square brackets) where necessary; but otherwise the original has been closely followed.

The writer, Joseph Haddock, was at this time captain of the *Princess Denmark*, a ship freighted by the East India Company in 1687. He had previously served in the Royal Navy as an officer in the *Lion* (1672) and *Royal Charles* (1673) and had taken part in the Dutch War. His brother, to whom the letter is addressed, was Sir Richard Haddock, a distinguished naval commander (see the *Dictionary of National Biography*).

It is scarcely necessary to add that a full account of the events here narrated will be found in Dr. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. I., p. 115, etc., and in Sir Henry Yule's *Diary of Williamn Hedger*, vol. II., p. 79, etc.

ABOARD THE SHIP *Princess of Denmark*,
BALASORE ROADS, 17th December, 1688.

MY EVER HONOURED BROTHER,

My last of the 7th August from Vizagapatam gave Your Honour account of our arrival [at] Madras and of our affairs to that tyme. The 10th August we saild thence for Balasore, where we arriv'd the 13th; in which bay we have continued and rid out the monsoone, which has prov'd favourabler then expect'd (beinge Leape Yeare).

The 13th [sic] September Captain Heath arriv'd [at] this place; who, by vertue of the President and Counsell of Madras order, requir'd my goeing up with him to Chuttynutte, in the river of Hugly (the place where our Agent and factorie resided), my selfe; with the rest of the comandars of the Europe shippes then in the river to assiste him in the Right Honourable Company's affairs. In fews [sic] days after our gettinge up to Chuttynutte, a letter

was writ to the Nabob of Dacca (the cheife governor of that city), who had formerly requ[est]ed our Agent that if we would assist him with ships to transport soulders and hors from Chottagam [Chittagong] to Arraccan (they beinge in warre with that king), he would give us his pharwana of a settlement of trade, with prevaledges as formerly, accordinge to the 12 articles formerly sent him from our Agent, etc. Captain Heath, in the letter sent, condesended to the Nabob's request in supplyinge him with 10 ships and vessells for the Mogulls occasions to transport ther soulders and hors, provided they would allow of the buildinge of a fortification within the river of Hugly, for the better security of the Right Honourable Company's estate and servants; without which grant of a fortified place the Company's orders possitive are to withdraw off all our factory from this place.

We continued here 3 weeks for the Nabob's answer to the proposall; but [it] not cominge we, haveinge taken off all the Honourable Company's coosernes from the shoare, saild from Chuttynutty the 8th November and passed by ther forts peaceably. At our arrivall [at] Balasore [we] found that the Governor of the towne had (some tyme before our cominge) detain'd the Right Honourable Company's goods, beinge this yeares investment, alsoe particular mens goods, and would not permit none of the factors nor our people that were ashore buyings provisions to come off. Captain Heath sent two of our factors with a letter to the Governor (who was come downe to the Banksall, or point of sand goeing into the river, wher he was makinge a fortification) to demand the Right Honourable Company's goods with all our men. His answer was: what he did was by order from the Nabob, and if he did dilliver our goods and men [he] should loose his head. Three days after, two of the factors were againe sent to acquaint the Governor that our intention was to depart out [of] these parts peaceable, we haveinge come away out [of] Hugly river without doeing any act of hostility to any of the Mogulls subjects; therefore requir'd him to send off our goods and people by faire meanes; if not, we would have them by force of armes: which hee not permittinge them to goe off, the next day all our soulder, about 320, and upwards [of] 240 seamen were put into the small vessels and all our boates, and early next morninge they landed a mile to the westward of the fort which the Governor had rais'd; against which landinge place they had planted five small guns on a sandhill, which they discharg'd at our men and killed two and wounded two more; soe [they] fled from the guns. Soone after, the cheife captain of our soulders had drawne all the soulders and seamen in order of battalia, marcht up to the fort, which at ther aproach fired all ther guns they had planted to the land; but soone after the Governor and all his men fled out [of] the fort without doeing much harme to our men; the which we possess without any farther opposition. In and about this fort they had upwards [of] 40 guns mounted, and a good wall, made with timber and clay, [which] might have bine sufficient (if manag'd by Europeans) to [have] withstood a greater armie of men, or at least done much more mischief then they did. The Governor, after [he had] deserted his fort, made all hast possible up to Balasore towne, and ordred the factory house, in which were confin'd all our people (thirteene in number) to be sett on fire. Our people in the house defended themselves bravely, killinge several of the Moores; but by the firness of the fiere were forst to surrender themselves on termes to have their lives and good useage. The next day Captain Heath (who went ashore with the soulders—Captain Sharpe comanded the small vessels and boates that were to goe over the barr, leaveinge mee in comand of the ships in the roade) went up with all the soulders and seamen to Balasore towne by watter, and landed short of Old Balasore Fort, the which they soone louke: soe marcht into the towne, few or noe people beinge left to oppose them, the Governor disertinge it at their cominge, carrying

with him all our English, amongst which are three of our ships company (viz., Mr. Davenant being ashore bying provisions, Charles Searlet, midshipman, and Samuel Harbin, gunner); [a] servant of Captain Heath's, his pursur, and three more; Mr. Stanley, cheife of the factory; the rest free men that trades in the country. As yet we cannot gett the Governor to give their releasement. We have sent several messingers to him that we have not burnt their towne nor ships, expectinge he would dilliver up our men; but, if not, we will retorne and doe both. Our soulders (but seamen more especially) have comitted many inhumane actions in the towne plundringe not only Moors but several Portugeese houses and killed several innocent people. We have had the greatest loss in this action, viz., 4 men kill'd and 3 wounded. The names are: Mr. Starland, third mate, Henry Grove, cheife trumpeter, Christopher Hogg, and John Hinton, who very indiscreetly went out with several more seamen to a garden house, expectinge great plunder, [and] were cut off, several of them, by a party of horss. The 3 wounded are Henry Roxby, Francis Johnson, and John Smart.

I have by the *Williamson* (by whom this is alsoe intended you) sent Sir Henry Johnson and Sir Thomas Rawlinson, and alsoe to my wife, a list of our dead, etc., men, in all 44. Our supernumery men which I brought out of England, beinge 27, at my arrivall [at] Madras I aquaint'd the President therewith, who offred them to Captain Bromwell, the *Rotcheester* haveinge lost most of ther men; but he refuseinge to pay the charge the Honourable Company were at [in] sendinge them out, they were not taken out ther; and what of them that are alive doe still remaine in our ship, not beinge demanded here by the Agent. I suppose our owners will be alowd for them at 50s. per month noe longer then our departure from Madras, to which tyme we had lost 30 men. I doe not repent ther continuinge aboard, haveinge had soe great mortolaty, and most of them the best of our seamen. I suppose our next enterprize will be towards Chottagam, a place neere the coast of Arraccan. The Right Honourable Company's passative orders are for endeavouringe the takinge it; but I feare we shall not have strength sufficient to effect it, the Nabob haveinge sent many tho[usands] of [men] this year ther to overrun and take the kingdome of Armeccan. The King [of] that country beinge some tyme since dead, part of the people are in rebellion against the present government; by which it's supos'd the Mogullers will goe farr in takinge that country this yeare, and we frustrated of our designe.

Honourable Sir, I have not writt to any of [the] owners (except the two in charty), beleiveinge we shall retorne to Madras before the *Williamson* sailes for England. Our ship is in a very good condition and very thite. I beleive our stay in India will be the extreme of our tyme, for at present [there is] noe prospect of a freight for Europe; and I feare the brave trade of Bengall will be lost, at which the Dutch and French rejoyce that this trade may wholly fall to them.

I have not eise to add; only please to p[re]sent my duty, respects, and love to all our deere relations and friends. Thus, with my due respects to yourselfe and my good lady sister, doe remaine,

Honorable Sir, your affectionate brother and servant

whilst [alive],

JOSEPH HADDOCK.

Sir, I received your letter (alsoe one from my wife) sent per the *Defence*, and retorne my humble thancks for it.

For the Honourable Sir Richard Haddock, at his house on Tower Hill, present, London.
Per the *Williamson*, Captain Ashby Comander D. G.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

PART III.

IT appears that at the time of Colonel Pearse's march towards Madras, though no tents were allowed for the Bengal sepoy, yet small ones, as bells of arms, were supplied, to protect their arms from the weather. On the Madras Establishment, Colonel Pearse found that the tents for the men were furnished, sufficiently capacious to protect both men and arms at the same time.

Amongst the numerous remonstrances which Colonel Pearse made upon this subject, the following paragraph, in a letter to Major-General Stibbert, is not uninteresting as a record:—

"On this (the Madras) Establishment, the sepoy has no bells of arms; tents for 50 men each are allowed, which cost about 112 rupees 8 annas, or 35 pagodas; two bullocks carry one. The bells of arms of our Establishment cost more in every respect; that is, they cost the Company fully as much; yet storekeepers have their profits here as well as in Bengal: hence, I conclude, that if every Captain of a battalion was allowed 250 rupees a month for 10 tents and 25 bullocks—to be kept up by him, in good and serviceable condition, and to be shown every muster—the whole Army might be covered, and all parties pleased. This expense would not be 200 rupees a year more than is paid for the bells of arms alone, supposing they cost only 60 rupees each, and that a camel can carry five, (which they cannot do for any time), and even at that rate, if Lascars are put to the charge, it will not answer it.

"I shall send round a tent to you, and only remind you, that Corah affords cloth fit for the purpose in great abundance; and if it never falls into the hands of jobbers, every thing will be easily effected."

On the 1st of May the army reached Satiavaram. Colonel Pearse from this place writes several letters, in all of which he alludes to bad rice as the principal cause of the sickness which had prevailed in his Army. We leave the reader to draw his own conclusions, not wishing to draw down upon ourselves any controversy on this subject.

"To J. H. CASMAJORE, CHIEF OF VIZAGAPATAM.

"Sir,

"I am now to return my best thanks for the noble supplies which the Army under my command have met with, from the time it entered your district to this day; to the goodness of the provisions I must in a great measure attribute the recovery of my sick; for I verily believe, if we had been served with such abominable stuff as we got from Gaujam to Tickally, that I should have lost two-thirds of my army."

That rice was the principal supply received for subsistence of the Native army, needs no argument; and though in the above paragraph it is not



THE SUN PILLAR, PURI

distinctly named, yet, in the following, written from the same place, there is no room for doubt remaining.

" TO J. DANIEL, ESQ., CHIEF OF MASULIPATAM.

" Sir,

" I learnt with much concern, that the rice (laid up for our supply), is not equal to the sample sent, which was taken from what our troops received all through the Viragapatam district; and I begged he, (a Mr. Graham), would endeavour to get rice of equal quality; for I assure you that our people, having been always accustomed to eat fine rice will be very sickly if they are by necessity driven to eat the coarse; it does affect their bowels; and if in my progress through the Ganjam country, I have not sent my own banar people to the right and left, to purchase better than the wretched stuff laid up for us, I should not have had a thousand men left; for they would have either died or deserted."

On the 4th May the Army was at Joomingmatoor; on the 7th at Peddapore. A letter, which is very characteristic of Colonel Pearse's integrity and strength of mind, was written from this place.

" TO J. DANIEL, ESQ., CHIEF AND COUNCIL, MASULIPATAM.

" Sir and Gentlemen,

" This morning about 8 o'clock, soon after my arrival here, I received a letter from your Secretary, accompanying the copy of Mr. Hamilton's letter to Mr. Daniel, relative to the elephant supposed to belong to Hyder and now under the protection of the Dutch factory of Jaggernauthpooram, requesting, that after I shall have obtained sufficient knowledge of the circumstance, I will make such use of the intelligence as may seem most conducive to the public service."

" In consequence of a letter of the same tendency, received from Mr. Hamilton, which contained a request to seize the elephant, I had the honor to write to you, offering my services to act in such a manner as you might desire, and yourselves point out: by which I beg to be considered as offering my services, simply, to act under the Government of the district; and so as not take upon myself any responsibility, for aught but the execution of what may be performed by the Army, or any part of it, under my command."

" The case, Gentlemen, is of the most weighty nature; the Laws of Nations interfere, and of them I do not set myself up to be a judge: because in the present situation of affairs, so much depends upon a very little matter, that war may be the consequence of a mistake: yet I believe peace, with the few nations not at war with us, is to be preserved, if possible, with honor."

" In regard to the situation of Jaggernauthpooram, I, who am a perfect stranger to this district—to the state of dependence of the parts composing it—and to the powers vested in the ruling authority, cannot form any precise judgment until I am better informed, and for that kind of information, neither time nor opportunity offers."

" Give me leave, however, to point out to you, a mode of doing all that you can desire; I mean how to get the elephant secured. This I conceive may be easily done, by your addressing the Rajah of the district in which Jaggernauthpooram lies, requesting him to seize the elephant in his own right, as an elephant lodged under the protection of the Dutch flag, for the use of Hyder, who as an enemy of the English, is certainly so of their allies and dependents; and then, if he requires your aid to effect it, my troops, with his orders, shall complete the seizure."

" PEDDAPORE, 7th May, 1781.

" I am, &c.

Some Commanding Officers, on a similar occasion to the present, would have been obedient with less scruple; others would have refrained compliance altogether, from timidity; and some probably would not have attended in the least to such an application from a secondary Civil Authority. In the substance of the preceding letter, however, both the man and the soldier is to be admired.

Captain Sandford, at this halting place, was placed in arrest by his immediate Commanding Officer, Major Kilpatrick, in consequence of disrespectful conduct towards the resolution of bringing the offender before a Court-Martial.

Here the appeal against Colonel Pearse's orders, by the Captains of his Army, was at length delivered to him, to be forwarded to General Stibbert. We do not find any copy of this appeal amongst Colonel Pearse's papers; but the nature of its clauses may be guessed at from the answers to them in the letter which was written and forwarded with the appeal to the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal.

"TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GILES STIBBERT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"Sir,

"I enclose a representation made to you against orders which I found necessary to issue. I am sorry for it; not from any apprehensions of impropriety in my own conduct, but because it obliges me to lay open a scene of litigation and violence, which tends to subvert all military subordination, and to re-establish a system, which necessarily drove Government to abolish."

"To the first paragraph I answer; that the only leave I gave, was to Captain Sandford, whose letter is marked No. 3, from which I suppose he meant Sir Eyre Coote; though, if that were meant, the rest have re-considered the matter. The letters I received from the other Captains, and my answers, are Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; but Captain Sandford has found means to get the rest to sign a general representation, except Captain Bennet; and had all asked I should most cheerfully have acquiesced; therefore I only point out the mistake."

"The second paragraph states partially, and neither conformably to my words or meaning; for which I refer you to my orders at length, given on the 12th and 13th instant; and now, Sir, I shall tell you the plain reason for giving both."

"I found after I left Itchapore, that such a desertion was taking place as threatened the whole Army with annihilation, and it fell chiefly on veterans, and that men of long service had complained of neglect. I saw boys at the head of companies, who could not speak the language, and who, of course, were not altogether competent to judge of men's merit—young Captains at the head of some battalions, who were but just promoted, who had not served in those battalions, and who, of course, had not been long enough with the men to know fully their pretensions. The veterans were going away by hundreds; and having been told that their services were not taken into consideration, to what else could I attribute their discontent, but to neglect. This was, therefore, a sufficient reason to warrant ordering, that seniority should be a recommendation, and be first considered, when there was no bar to promotion from having misbehaved. But when I was told that many who had long served, were not competent to fill higher stations, the order of the 13th explained the latitude to be

given, to avoid the evil ; and every scope was given to reward merit ; for, agreeably to that order, any man who had distinguished himself, might be promoted (assigning the cause for giving the preference), and every man who, by his zeal, activity, or conspicuous merit, deserved to be distinguished, could advance, without impediment, to the rank which he was fit to hold."

"The third paragraph states another supposed injury of a different nature, and appeals against the Majors having the appointments of Havildars. The situation of the Majors without this privilege was deplorable : the sepoys paid no regard to them ; the very officers dared not visit them ; a Major had recommended two sepoys for promotion, and had been refused ; and the sepoys held them in contempt. It is alleged that your orders say, Captains shall exercise the power of Lieutenant-Colonels ; Majors, of Colonels ; and it is argued that the Colonels of our establishment in the European regiments do not appoint sergeants and corporals. I admit it for the Infantry, but I practised the contrary in my own regiment, without a murmur ; and I did it, because it was my right ; for a sergeant is a man of the next rank to an Officer, and of the regiment, liable to command mixed bodies of both battalions ; as such, the Colonel is the only proper person to appoint and reduce them. Far from any intention to diminish the proper power of a Captain, it was merely to support subordination, by giving the Majors a share in the promotion, which, without it, they cannot have, because *Jemadars* are appointed by the Commanding Officers of the Brigade ; and it was urged that even these the Captains ought to recommend, and the Majors simply to be the channel of those recommendations. After what has been practised in regard to promotion, surely some check was necessary to those abuses, they might have prevailed again, and though they might not have been general, they were equally to be guarded against. That the Colonels of Brigades, did not exercise their power, is not a bar to their rights ; they are in fact Brigadiers, and give up their smaller rights to have more time to attend to their general duties. To draw a line from the King's service is difficult, if not impossible, except from the Artillery ; because every battalion had its Colonel, and Colonels certainly appoint non-commissioned officers ; and it matters not whether the regiment consists of one battalion, or of twenty if each has only a Lieutenant-Colonel at the head : for there can only be one head to the regiment, and he is the Colonel—in his absence the senior Lieutenant-Colonel—if it were otherwise, a Colonel of a regiment of more than one battalion, would be less than one who had only one battalion, with respect to his regiment, considered as such ; and he would only be in his own regiment, the same as an Officer Commanding several regiments, doing duty together under his orders. This I am persuaded was not the intention of yourself, when you penned the order, or of Government in approving of it. The Majors were placed at the head of regiments to be chief, to control the internal management and economy of the whole ; and, of course, to be respected as the head ; but if each Captain in his battalion is to be independent of the Major's authority, as to the internal economy of that battalion, the Major ceases to be in the station of a Colonel, and might as well be in Europe, for any good that he can do in his regiment. This was my reasoning when I gave the order, and still is, and will be, till I am corrected, if in a mistake, by your superior judgment. Far am I from agreeing to the reasoning that a Major may be praised for having one good battalion, and one bad one ; he is responsible for the whole regiment, considered as an unit ; and the Captain must be answerable to him in the first instance, and the Major to Government. With as much propriety might a Captain in a regiment of one battalion expect to be independent of his Colonel, and to have plenitude of power to do what he pleases with his battalion, as a Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a regiment of two battalions

can expect it; for the case is exactly similar. The unity of the regiment is destroyed equally in either; and the Colonel is no longer the head of the regiment, than while it continues to preserve that unity undiminished. But if in a regiment the Lieutenant-Colonel can set up a right, relative to his battalion, independent of his Colonel; the Captains of the battalion certainly have a better right to be independent of the Lieutenant-Colonel; and so the regiment will be reduced to a set of independent companies, acting under a Colonel, and two Lieutenant-Colonels. Besides this, I find that orders given in 1722, and again by General Coote, direct that Havildars be presented to the Field Officer commanding the sepoy corps for his *approbation* / which is in fact for *appointment*, and it was practised by Parker for a time, though it was afterwards dropped in consequence of the disgust it gave."

"The fourth paragraph states as a grievance, that the sepoys have liberty to make their complaints to the Officer who is most likely to redress their grievance. First, I shall observe that the Articles of War declare the right; next, as you know the nature of the sepoys too well for it to be necessary for me to tell you, that if this right is not clearly explained to them, they never can obtain redress but by modes similar to those adopted by the 20th regiment. Should the appeal be against an officer, and the sepoy be obliged to go first to him, and then upwards, a complaint could never be made, and injustice would rage with impunity; for the person against whom the complaint lies, has only to threaten the complainant with punishment if he proceeds further: the consequence will be that the grievance will remain unredressed, till the man deserts, or, in combination with others, joins in a general complaint, and then it is called mutiny. Complaints have been made of injustice in regard to promotion, &c., which never could have been known if the order had not been given. But, Sir, an occurrence has taken place, of so extraordinary a nature, that it proves the force of this assertion in a most conspicuous manner, though the subject is not a complaint in the appeal. A Major finding the men of his regiment deserting, called for his Native Officers to inquire the cause of it; and he did this, by ordering each Captain to send them. Each sent his proportion; but it happened that he sent a Subadar of one of the battalions, who had been sick some time, and had not done any duty. Though still unable to do duty, he crawled to the Major's quarters when sent for. The Subaltern was advised to take it amiss, and to put the Subadar in arrest for going to the Major; the ostensible cause for it was, that he had not reported his company to the Subaltern, though he had gone to the Major; but he was actually told that he was put into arrest for going to the Major. As soon as I heard of it, I told the Officer who had put the Subadar in arrest, that he had been guilty of mutiny, for that he had punished a Native officer for obeying the orders of the Major of his regiment. The Subadar was released again before this passed, but his sword had been sent to the Quarter-Guard, which only reports to the Major; and the Subadar was again released without reporting to him, either the arrest or release."

"To the fifth paragraph I shall only answer, that as some of the orders of the new establishment have been given, and others announced, I was forced by repeated applications to give auxiliary and temporary orders, to support some degree of subordination. I had also begged the disputants to wait for those orders, which they knew were to follow; and my request was urged with entreaty that they would not disturb my peace with intestine broils, at a time that pestilence, desertion, and almost famine, called for the utmost exertion of my mind and body; when I was hardly equal to them, being far from well. To all this they were totally deaf,—their importunities rose higher, and became more troublesome,—till at length, determined to put a stop to such a violence, I took the pen, and sought relief from my own orders. Little is to be apprehended from a Commanding Officer, who has

only to superintend an establishment, in which the rules are settled; and not in expectation; and the very orders I have given positively say, *they are only to be observed, till the orders of the Establishment shall settle the point.*"

"But Sir, I have not enumerated all the signs of an intention to overthrow the Major's authority, so shall proceed, though they are not subjects of this appeal. It has been disputed whether the Major has any right to give orders regarding clothing. In consequence of a general order of my own, two Captains dressed their men in their new clothing; they say they did it to examine them, but had that been the case, they would have spoken to the Major about it, and have ordered the men to put their coats off as soon as the parade was dismissed; but quite contrary to this, the men continued to wear the new clothing during the remainder of the day; and the Major thus defied, was accused of an intention to deprive the men of their rights in the battalion, and of interfering in matters which they (the Captains) were alone answerable for. The absurdity of this is evident: for if this be allowed, one battalion will be at a review in new clothing, and the other in half worn-out, or old, according to the Captain's pleasure."

"I send you an appeal made against a Major, for ordering his battalions to go out to exercise without first apprising him of it, and my answers Nos. 7 and 8."

"It has been alleged, that as Officers sign the muster rolls upon honour, the Major ought not to cause the roll to be called at muster; yet he is to sign them, and consequently to be answerable for those who may happen not to have any honour."

"And to complete all, and reduce everything to the old system, it has been urged, that the Captains ought to entertain all recruits; to submit and supply them; to discharge all men; and to make all promotions, without the interference of the Major, or recommendation of the Subaltern. Let this but take place and the new system must perish as a thing of course."

"A Major, at the head of the regiment ordered a manoeuvre to be performed; and finding it not done as he intended, he himself directed how it should be done, partly in English, and partly in Hindoostanee, to save time; this was also a subject of dispute, and had nearly produced a Court-Martial."

"I must now conclude by sending you a copy of a correspondence, Nos. 9 and 10, between Captain Sandford and Major Kilpatrick, which will shew you completely the violence that reigns. The consequence is, that though I am employed from morning to night on public business of a very troublesome and intricate nature, I must sit down to examine a regiment, and employ my Officers on a General Court-Martial. On this head you shall hear further in a few days."

"Therefore, Sir, I humbly beg that the Regulations which are to be our guide may be hastened, to relieve one part of the Army you command from anarchy and confusion, which now break down all the bounds yet raised to support subordination; and whilst so great a display is made of the prodigious zeal, and of the determination not to be remiss, indifference or neglect become, in some at least, more conspicuous than does them honour, and the service suffers in consequence."

"You will perceive that the appeal is not general; a Captain Bennett has not signed it, which I observed in the former part of this letter."

"PREDANORE, 10th May, 1781."

"I am, &c., &c.,

"(Sd.) T. D. PEARSE."

"P.S.—Captain Ogilvie never wrote on the subject that urged by the rest, he came and asked if he might sign it, and was told, on my part, to do as he pleased. Captain Powell spoke about the orders, and we had a long conversation on the subject the day they were

issued; but he never mentioned any address to you. The explanation was given in consequence of the conversation with him, and he was, as I thought, at the time perfectly satisfied."

The letters referred to in the proceedings are as follows:—

- No. 1. Captain Sandford, of 14th April.
- " 2. Captain Pearson, of ditto.
- " 3. Captain Sandford, of 15th ditto.
- " 4. Captain Green, of 17th ditto.
- " 5. Captain Scott, of 21st ditto.
- " 6. Acting Brigade Major in reply.
- " 7. Pearson and Vanristel, of 21st ditto.
- " 8. To Major Wedderburn.
- " 9. Sandford and Hill's correspondence.
- " 10. Kilpatrick and Sandford's ditto.
- " 11. } Orders.
- " 12. }

The Army halted at Peddapore seven days, in order to oblige the Rajah of the place to go to Masulpatam, according to requisition from Mr. Daniel and the Council to Colonel Pearse. On the 14th the Army marched to Rajanagur. On the 15th May the Army crossed the Cadaverree at a ford, and encamped at Cowoor. On the 16th the camp was at Gowerapatnam; on the 17th at Gertnagooda; on the 18th at Neeloocherta; and on the 30th at Ellore. Here Colonel Pearse addressed the following letter to Mr. Hastings:—

" TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND
SUPREME COUNCIL.

"Honorable Sir and Sirs,

"I beg leave to inform you of the arrival of the Army under my command at Ellore; the distance from this place to Midnapore has been measured 645 miles, and we have performed it in 64 marches. I am very much concerned at not hearing anything of the Mahratta horse; we have suffered so very much by desertion, that the junction of the horse is more than ever desirable; yet I now begin to despair of having them, because the Kistna will rise in a few days, and we must get beyond it before the 2nd June, or run the risk of undergoing great difficulties. When this is effected, if we wait for the horse, the stores of provisions which we are to use on our march must be consumed; if to avoid this, we push on, I dare suppose the horse will not be able to follow. All this I have stated to Sir Eyre Coote, and hope now daily for his orders, to extricate me from this perplexity. The General has ordered me to Nellore, but that was before he heard of the horse; what will be his orders now, I cannot guess; but whatever they may be, I shall do my utmost to carry them into execution. My sick have not yet joined. We were suffered to plunge into another danger, without being apprized of it. At Yertnagoodam there is a great mart for cotton, and an extensive trade between that place and Poonah, Nagpore, Benares, and Bengal; and great roads lead from it to all these places, before I could get notice of it we lost 150 men."

"The persons resident in these districts, must have been very stupid if they were ignorant of these circumstance; but indeed they seem to be too good merchants not to

have known it perfectly well. As there is such a road, and peace with Berar, permit me to suggest raising 2,000 recruits expressly to march through Nagpore and join the Bengal Army in the Carnatic. I say expressly, that they may not be deceived or astonished, when they find where they are going, as they would be, if it were not an original agreement. The only thing will then be, to find an Officer who will really and truly raise them, on these express terms; and faithfully explain before hand, the very worst possible concerning it, that they might engage with their eyes open."

"I am, &c., &c.,

"T. D. PEARSE."

"ELLORE, 10th May, 1781."

Major Edmonstone was President of the General Court-Martial sitting upon Captain Sandford, and it appears that a reference was made to Colonel Pearse by the Court, on the subject of a prisoner's right to object to certain Members of the Court by which he has to be tried. The following answer was returned by Colonel Pearse:—

"TO MAJOR EDMONSTONE, PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL
NOW SITTING.

"Sir,

"Agreeable to the usage of the service, a prisoner has not any right to object to a Member, without assigning his reasons; and of them the Court are to judge whether they are, or are not sufficient. In the trial of Lord George Sackville, the prisoner objected to Lieutenant-General William Belford, and assigned reasons that himself and General Belford had been on ill-terms relative to certain points of command: General Belford having declared, that though Lord George Sackville, by his appointment of Lieutenant-General at the Board of Ordnance, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, he (Lieutenant-General Belford) would not receive orders from Lord George Sackville. The Court considered the matter, and determined that the reasons assigned were not sufficient; but General Belford, rising from his seat, begged to be excused from sitting on the trial, as he had been objected to by the prisoner: this was granted."

"In the case of Captain Sandford, I find he has simply said, that he shall want Majors Wedderburn and Byrn as evidences: that objection is not good, when the very questions have not been communicated to the Court. I should have wished the Court had been cleared, and the prisoner directed to communicate the nature of the evidence he should want, that the Court might have determined whether persons giving such evidence were competent to sit."

"If a prisoner can object at once, he may evade a trial altogether; and in small armies he may do even worse, by objecting to all whom he may suppose not likely to answer his purpose, and only admitting those whom possibly he may know before hand to entertain such opinions as may affect their judgment, and this is of infinitely worse tendency to the service than even evading trial."

"I desire that this may be communicated to the Court; for though I by no means suppose either that the prisoner meant to evade trial, or to choose his judges; or could flatter himself that he could by any means benefit by the exchange; yet, the precedent is of such dangerous consequence, that I cannot let it pass, without apprising the Court that I shall represent it to the Supreme Council, in order that if the point be doubtful now, it may be made clear for future Courts."

"ELLORE, 21st May, 1781."

"I am, &c., &c.,"

At Ellore, Colonel Pearse found it necessary to create some extra staff to carry on the duties of the different departments of his Army.

Lieutenant Bushby was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General; Lieutenant Mordaunt, Deputy Baggage Master, and Deputy Commissary of Provisions; Lieutenant Blundell, Bridge Master; and Captain Hearsay, Commissary of Provisions.

A Native General Court-Martial for the trial of deserters was assembled at Ellore.

Shaick Nattoo, a sepoy, was tried for shooting his Native Commandant, condemned to be hanged, and executed on the 29th.

Eight thousand hired bullocks to supply the wants of Sir Eyre Coote's Army (which was completely at a stand for want of cattle for the train, &c.) are mentioned as being in company with the Army from Ellore.

In a letter to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Colonel Pearse writes :—

"The mention of the melancholy subject of the desertions, makes it necessary for me to digress, and remark, that the Hindoos are nine out of ten in the numbers composing this Army; therefore the desertions might be supposed to have been in the same proportion; but the fact is quite otherwise; I may venture to assert with safety, that twenty-nine Hindoos have deserted for one Mussulman. The cause is but too evident: an Hindoo can live on two rupees a month, and save five, after paying for necessaries—and of those who have died, many have been found possessed of from 65 to 110 rupees—whereas, the Mussulman will live well whilst he can; is seldom worth a rupee, and therefore has a tie upon the service that the other has not, for the Hindoo with 100 rupees, returning to his own home, can stock a farm, and live happily for the rest of his days or make his family happy, by leaving the money with them and going to earn more; his stature and appearance, in the latter case, ensuring his reception into any corps."

"For this reason, and for this only, I must give it as my opinion, that all possible encouragement ought to be given to Mussulmans; and that we ought to cease to seek for tall smooth-faced Hindoos, and to get shorter and rough-faced Mussulman soldiers."

On the 30th June, the Army marched from Ellore and crossed the Kistna the next morning.

On the application of Colonel Pearse to the Chief in Council at Masulipatam, reinforcement of two battalions of the Madras troops was granted; and Captain Dickson was appointed Adjutant-General of the Army.

The Army mustered on the 30th June 3,000 men under arms before the Madras troops joined. Colonel Pearse proceeded to Masulipatam from Ellore to settle some money matters, etc., etc., connected with the Army under his command; and re-joined it on the 6th on the south bank of the Kistna, from whence the following truly interesting letter was written:

"TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"Dear Sir,

"Accident often leads men to useful discoveries; such an accident happened to me yesterday, as men grew merry, drinking the health of the best of Princes.



The long-closed Gateway of the Doveton College in Park St.,
Calcutta, on the eve of its demolition.
(Photo, by W. Archer, Esq.)



The Resting Place of Colonel and Lady Monson in South
Park St. Cemetery, Calcutta.
(Photo, by W. Archer, Esq.)

"It was boldly asserted, that Sir Eyre Coote was much dissatisfied with you; because when he went away, you had promised him troops, money and provisions and he had not received them. I replied there are always men enough, whose business it is to do mischief; and that Sir Eyre Coote had been beset by such men ever since he has been in India. I am certain the pains taken to sow dissensions between him and Mr. Hastings have been such that I am astonished they have not been more successful than they are. To take up this first part—troops.—It is I trust notorious, that he has made good his promise. The Bengal Army under my command has crossed the Kistna: true, not so early perhaps as Sir Eyre might have wished, but early enough to be of infinite service. With respect to the detention of the Army at Midnapore, I explained the cause to Sir Eyre in a letter which he has replied to in these words: 'You have informed me of circumstances relative to the detention of the detachment that I was totally unacquainted with; I must lament it, as it is more than probable that the subsequent difficulties you have met with, are owing to that detention.'—I proceed. Though you say Sir Eyre did not believe we were intended to join him, he must be convinced of his mistake by this time. The train we have was augmented at my particular request; for I conceived, first, that it would overawe the Maharattas, if they were wavering; secondly, that agreeable to advices received from this place, I was to expect to meet a potent enemy in the Circars; and, thirdly, that whether I met any one or not, north of the Kistna, it would be so much an object for Hyder to prevent our junction, that I conceived he would endeavour to do so if possible, and I am still of that opinion. But though neither Mr. Hastings nor Sir Eyre Coote could tell beforehand that one of the six battalions ordered for this service, would mutiny against its Commanding Officers, that happened; and, as I explained to Sir Eyre Coote, it caused the detention and the reduction of the Army to its present state of weakness. However, the delay was lucky for us; we could not have passed through Cuttack at all in the middle of January, and consequently the Maharattas might, if they had pleased, without any risk have opposed us, and have obliged the Army to return with disgrace; on the contrary, the detention put it out of their power to oppose us with any probability of success, and peace has followed with Berar; but this had nearly been the cause of the Army not being sent and nothing but Mr. Hastings' firmness has effected it. Men, whose hearts are bad enough to do anything, used every means to spread alarms, to raise lies, and to prevent the Army going at all; and they prevailed on men, whose hearts were good, to believe their evil inventions, and to press Mr. Hastings to stop the detachment totally, to keep it for the internal defence of Bengal. Their propositions went so far, that had he not resisted every importunity, the English would not have a foot of ground in India at the time we are now talking. Money he has sent, but how he got it to send, is most astonishing; for every infamous report that could be spread, to hurt public credit, I knew and heard daily in Calcutta. Provisions were sent as soon as they could be, and Mr. Hastings could not be blamed because the bullocks and sheep died. And now as to the promised peace with the Maharattas: with Berar it is settled. Chinnagee, who was to invade Bengal, is coming to my aid, and peace may probably be concluded with the Peishwa at this very time. Sir Eyre in angry mood may say he wanted peace on any terms, I am sure he never meant it; he would be the first to say, die with honour, rather than submit to ignominy.

"Now dear Sir, all this long letter is not to display my zeal in your cause, but simply to tell you that you have not been communicative enough with Coote; and that for want of such information, the miscreants that beset him have repeated, no troops! no mercy! no peace! your regulations overturned! no provisions! till the old man really believes that

the Bengal detachment is still at Calcutta, that he has not received a rupee, nor a maund of rice, and that you do not intend to make peace, even on honorable terms. Pray make somebody send him extracts from the trial of Grant, to shew him the villainies that compelled you to agree to the new arrangements—convince him how very general those practices were—let him know the mutinies in the 20th battalion, and what has since happened in Cook's; for I can see by a paragraph in one of his letters, how very sore he is. I wrote him about the number of servants allowed to each rank, and said I should be much obliged to him for a copy of his regulations, that I might conform to them as nearly as our state would admit, his answer was—I have it not in my power to send you a copy of my regulations; and if it were so they would be of no use to you, as they have been all overturned by regulations made by Brigadier-General Stibbert. The Owens, and the Macs, who surrounded him, din all this in his ears. Owen is at the bottom of all this, I am certain. When men complain of his supersedings, he turns to the Bengal Army, and bids them see how many Majors have been appointed, who supersede, and are coming among the Madras Officers on service; and to keep Coote firm to support himself, he perpetually din in his ears the new regulations made on purpose to supersede his. Nay, though Coote's regulations were the most extravagant that ever were made, I hear he now arraigns the extravagance of this Establishment, and laments that the Bengalees have more than the Madrasses. Fame says that he has written to Europe against the former having so much pay and allowances, and recommended to the Directors to put them on the Coast Establishment.

"I must now, as I am going into the enemy's country, take my leave for a while; as I certainly shall not have time to tire you with long letters; but before I do this I must do justice to the coasters as I find them.

"Wonder not at wars, or the loss of national honour, discontented rajahs and the dangers to which we are exposed, but wonder how we keep a single foot of ground in India. Tyranny and rapine have exalted their standards here, and lord it with wanton cruelty. Of Ganjam I can only say, that for the sake of getting rid of a little bad rice, this Army was almost ruined; delays were created to detain us; the villages were emptied by the inhabitants to prevent their selling to us; they were reminded of the ravages committed by the battalions that served under Peach, on their return under little Almuty; and in short everything was done to prevent our being supplied with aught besides the *poison* that was laid up for us, for the provisions deserve no better name. The very elephants would hardly eat the rice; the rajahs all fled for fear we were sent to fleece them or devour them: nevertheless we did get on, we got supplies, cheap and good, to prove that we were destined to be made a bargain of.

"At Tickally I told you the Kenedy Rajah met me; then I began to learn, what afterwards I found to be systematic, that the Rajahs are oppressed to such a degree, that they hardly forbear breaking out into open war, and seem to be prevented from doing so, only by a desire to disappoint their oppressors. The Kenedy Rajah had just been put up, after the Vizac meeting; of course he had paid up his balances, etc., etc., so he had only been ordered to do, and to undo, and there I left him.

"But at Vizanagram I learnt a great deal more. To detail the treatment the Rajahs there have met with, would require a volume instead of a letter: what I saw, shocked me beyond measure. Great pains were taken to prevent my going to Vizanagram; it was said the Rajah would be offended, he wished our detachment to take some other route. I persisted in going, only because it was inland, and had shelter; but the object was to prevent my learning the malpractices. Slitteram Raue was represented to me as disaffected; desirous to

pick a quarrel; and to set up for independence; as being monstrously in arrears, and unwilling to pay a rupee: in short, as a man whom it would be necessary to send a force against to reduce; and he was said to be making preparations to resist, and repairing his fort. The fact was this, he paid Rumbold an enormous sum to settle on his present footing; determined to abide to it, he will not pay for the continuance of it, and therefore a quarrel must be picked to set up another, or to make him pay for his preservation. This he told me without reserve, and added, he was the friend of the Company, and would do anything to serve them; but the treatment he had met with was such that he could hardly bear it; and if times did not mend very speedily, he was determined to go to Benares to end his days, and let the country go to whom they pleased; for he neither could or would govern it. The demands on me, he says, are more than I can bear: one chief succeeds another as often the moons and each must make his fortune at my expense. The present chief is my sworn enemy, so is Mr. Smith, accordingly I received an order to pay off all arrears. I am willing to do it, but I borrowed money from the English to pay Rumbold, and though unable to do both, when I offer my tribute, first, the due of the servants is to be adjusted, and the remainder goes to the Company. If not sufficient, new loans are offered, and the illegal interest is first taken out so the debt increases, and the means of oppressing me increase also. At the time I was doing all I could to pay my tribute, I received an order to raise a body of horse; I did so at a great expense before it was accomplished, I received orders to disband them; I did that also but whilst I was doing it, an order came to raise a body of sepoy and pikemen: I complied. Before the levies were completed, orders came to disband them, and I am doing it; but I have not money to pay them, so they keep together. The face of one of the bastions fell down, I sent word of it, asked leave to repair it; the leave was refused me: but as I could not repair the bastion, the expectation of seeing a body of Hyder's horse in my palace, drove me to make a small entrenchment to keep them from the foot of my bastion. Now this has been represented as a most insufferable crime, and an order is come, couched in gross terms, to destroy it. Some time ago an expedition was set on foot against me, and an army fit to besiege Madras was ordered to march. I had no hostile intentions: no fort to resist; so I sent the keys, paid, and all was well again. Thus each that comes finds means to make me pay. I am ready to go with you; I will go anywhere with all the force I can collect: but when I raise it, even by their own orders, they declare apprehensions of my force and intentions, and order me to disband. All this dishonours me in the eyes of mankind. You want bullocks, and I am told, if I do not give them, they shall be seized and sent: so Mr. Casmajor writes to me. I am getting them, but to prevent it, I am ordered to go to Visagapatam immediately; but told, it is supposed, I shall make the Bengal troops a pretence to stay, therefore bid to avail myself of it, and to go the instant you set out. The bullocks are a new demand; it requires time to collect the number. You say Mr. Casmajor has desired you to take them from hence; and you cannot stop; what can I do? but beg you to let me send them to Mr. Casmajor and let him despatch them to you. N.B.—I did so, and never got a bullock, nor was it intended I should have one. To go to Visagapatam, or to Madras, is a disgrace that is hardly supportable; because we are treated with such contempt, that is not to be borne. The Chief may perhaps condescend to see us, but unable to speak a word, he sits with a stupid stare and his Debash interpreter. If we plead our own cause no one understands a word we say; the Debash must be paid to do any thing, and the Master to hear it. Justice is never obtainable; because our antagonist pays also; the only chance is, his paying less. You people from Bengal all talk to be understood; here nobody either does or will understand. Their Debashes are the interpreters, and until we can transact our own business face to face, the same thing must happen over and over.

I am determined when you return by this route, to accompany you to Bengal, that I may go and lay my complaints before Mr. Hastings, and to obtain orders to do me justice; for the Guntoor Sircar was restored lately, and happy is the State where the Governor can and will hear the cause and do justice. Mr. Smith is my enemy only because Mr. Rumbold put me in. I have done everything I was ordered: I have paid off a great part of the arrears; will pay the rest in a very short time; have money now to send, and it is going. On my part, I only said I should be glad of his company if I had your permission to take him; and that he would not need any Debash to talk to you, nor would any appear before him: that I earnestly recommended it to him, to pay his arrears close up; to pay off his debts to the English; never to borrow any more; to live frugally till he had got a year's revenue before hand; then to send his tribute regularly at the stipulated time; if he did this, none could hurt, tease, or perplex him: he might bid all his enemies defiance.

^a Juggapella Rauze, Rajah of Peddapore, is as much harrassed to the full. He also had received orders to raise troops, and to disband; and had done so; but he was very refractory, and so I was applied to, not to pass Peddapore, till he should have set out for Masulipatam. Accordingly, I set to work about it; the Rajah declared he had not any hostile intentions, unless driven to hostilities; and after all this, he wished to settle his tribute; but it was insisted on that he should go to Masulipatam, and he resolved to die and see his whole family perish, rather than go without conditions. His terms were, that he should be called down in the usual manner, and assured that the Merassee business should not be brought forward at present, but allowed to lie over till he could appeal again to Madras; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to settle his business with Vencatroylloo, but with the Chief. What the Merassee-business means is as follows: Whilst he was a minor, a new post was created, and a certain sum stipulated, for which certain lands were assigned; but the lands exceeded the stipulation, and by means of the post, a great grievance was established: as the possessor raised under that power seven times the stipulation; the enforcing it was effected by the Company's troops; he complained of it, and paid near a lack of pagodas to Rumbold to get the post abolished, and to settle 10,000 pagodas a year on Vencatroylloo in lieu of the collections which yielded 35,000. Vencatroylloo never would demand or receive the stipulation; and having been to Madras has purchased, as it is said, for 20,000 pagodas the re-establishment of the post; and orders are come to enforce it. He offered to pay three years of the stipulation into the treasury, to be disposed of as they pleased, provided Vencatroylloo refused to take it; but Vencatroylloo by virtue of this appointment, assumes a right to sit above him, even as a Rajah. He is only of about 20 years standing whereas Juggapella Rauze has had his country in his family above 300, and he cannot bear the degradation. This being stated, he begged me to make known his request and I did so, and waited for an answer. In the meantime I settled with him, that he should go down at any rate, settle his tribute, pay the stipulation, and trust to the effect of my representation: for I had taken the liberty so point out, that whether the measure was right or wrong, this was the time not to make a change from an absolute agreement; because the doing so might drive the principal Zemindars to arms; and that would strip them of the tribute due, at the very time that, by their own letters to me, they declared everything depended upon receiving it. They answered my letter; agreed to what I asked; and he went down: but, as I knew they would suppose he had influenced me by money, I thought it necessary to inform them, that so far from making me any present he had absolutely affronted me by sending a lame old elephant, covered with a tattered blanket, which I sent back with the contempt it deserved. Thus by some management, I prevented the necessity of force; which by the letter the Masulipatam Board wrote to me,

they had cautiously avoided warranting; so that they wanted me to use force, and left the responsibility to me; a trap I did not choose to fall into. It was this cautious wording of their letter that made me at all listen to his tale; for I did all I could to avoid hearing it.

"Opperow is another Rajah. I had a perwannah on him for 300 bearers, and was desired to enforce it; Kenneway was sent, and from him I learnt that Opperow is indebted to all the Company's servants, in large sums, for which he pays exorbitant interest. He had been ordered to Masulipatam; but, because of the above dues, he was allowed time to borrow money, and our peons are to collect it for him; for it is a practice here that I find very common, to send out troops upon every frivolous pretence of that kind, though they seldom are sent for the Company's tribute, an instance may suffice. They had written repeatedly to Juggapella Rauze to go down; and he formed delays; at last they sent a Subaltern with a company to seize him. The man has a fort, which, though in a state of ruin, would bid defiance to a battallion without guns; and he brought a 6-pounder to the gate and bid the troops defiance. From which I infer that there was no real intention to seize him, but to irritate him to some act that could apparently warrant sending a large force to reduce him; the consequence of which must have been a general war with all their Zemindars, who all looked up to this, the principal, to act as he did. I send a copy of the resolutions of Council concerning the Merassee business, in which, whatever were the secret motives, there is a great appearance of justice. This, Juggapella Rauze begged me to read and I took a copy of it to show a little of the state of things and to explain the causes of dissatisfaction among the Zemindars of the district. As for myself, I neither ought to know them, or hear a word I could avoid; but as they employed me against my will, what I did learn, I think it a duty to the Company to communicate to you. I hear it is surmised that supervisors are coming to make an inquiry into the state of the Sircars. If I, who am a mere traveller, can, as I pass along, pick up so much, judge what men sent on purpose will hear!

"Their management in other respects is all of a piece. When I left Sattlaveram, I quitted Sitteram Rauze's country; and from thence to Ellore I could hardly get supplies of provisions. To me the cause was perfectly clear. Through Sitteram Rauze's country, I was supplied by his own people, we had profusion, and the best of everything; but through this district I was cursed with the Company's servants, who, to get a rupee, would sell an Army. Their orders were so very contradictory and vague, that I was actually detained two days at Sattlaveram, till in consequence of my own orders, provisions were laid at all the places; and to get away, I carried on Sitteram Rauze's people to Toomingmator. Provisions indeed were collected at Samulcottah, but as they had not got 10 bullocks to carry it, it was utterly useless, eight days elapsed at Peddapore and Sattlaveram, all which I wanted to have had at Ellore, that I might collect the convoy, repair the train, and make sure of crossing the river. When I reached Ellore, the time was critical, and yet things were not ready; provisions there were in abundance, but the bullocks were so far from ready, that at last I set out incomplete, and had nearly been stopped by the river, for it rose suddenly above 4 feet; if we had not crossed, I should have borne the blame; they would all have joined to say as they did, that I might have gone away earlier.—True, I might, but if I had, I should have perished from famine; or have gone to Coote without the only thing he wanted from me—bullocks to carry provisions, and to drag his train. But it is over now, and my grain will all be here to-morrow, except perhaps 1,600 bullocks; which, as they were not ready to march, were left behind for want of drivers, and God knows whether I shall ever see them or the grain again. Lucky it is indeed that Mr. Daniel came up, for the man who was here

before is a silly blockhead ; and though we were so long expected, we should not have had anything ready ; for what has been done, has been in consequence of his great exertions, as you may suppose indeed from hearing that I was forced to leave 1,600 bullocks behind, that are called the Company's own, for want of drivers.

"The task that falls to my share is the most difficult an officer can have ; yet it seldom entitles a man even to thanks. A convoy is generally accounted a mere common duty ; but of all others it is the nicest, the most dangerous, and the most troublesome ; but I trust we shall do very well. The rising of the rivers will keep the enemy south of Nallore ; and then I trust Coote will join us, with the assistance of the fleet when it can be heard of.

"After all my misfortunes, I have still, including Native officers, 3,820 men ; but I have been forced to miss the only opportunity I could have, of mending my fortune by sacrificing all advantages from the bazars to the public, to keep provisions at a moderate price. This was the only emolument I could have had, though Peach made a fortune in the same place, by having the contract for cattle on higher terms than the present are ; and indeed, to have gained anything by it, it must be higher ; for I do not believe the contractor can save himself, or could have done it between Ganjam and this place. This, however, is no business of mine, not that the contractor could have made his fortune in the time, had he not been carrying on a war, and of course receiving presents ; all I have had you know already, and I have no further expectations.

"I do not tell this in the way of complaint, I only mention it to show, that envied as my station is, it has only entitled me to a load of vexation : however I keep my health and spirits, and as you find, can afford time to write long letters.

"I shall conclude with a request to be favoured with one short letter, to tell me whether it is true as the world says, that I have been near losing you by sickness ; and am I to lose you by your going home ? If so, alas poor Pearse ! That you may be happy wherever you may be, is the most fervent wish of,

"Dear Sir,

"&c., &c., &c.,

"T. D. P."

"SOUTH SIDE OF THE KISTNA, 7th June, 1781."

The following letter is dictated with that spirit, which warmed the breast of Colonel Pearse, the true spirit of a soldier.

"TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GILES STIBBERT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"Sir,

"I am now to acquaint you that I have given leave of absence to Captain Ogilvie, to go to Masulipatam, for the benefit of his health, as he has been very ill lately ; and when he is there, I shall order him to return to Bengal. An Officer, *not at the point of death*, who quits his station just as he comes in sight of the scene of action, deserves no favour ; and I hope therefore, that he will never be permitted to return to the Army under my command. The very certificates shew how little necessary it was that he should go, and would have opened the eyes of any one, not determined to shut them.

"Lieutenant Bowie, at the point of death, has obtained the fullest certificates and recommendations, and I have given him leave to go to sea, or return to Bengal, as may be most conducive to his health.

"Lieutenant Mordaunt is extremely ill with the liver complaint, but he is determined in spite of all recommendations, to set it out ; however, I shall endeavour to prevail upon him to go away, for he is a valuable young Officer ; so is Lieutenant Bowie."

On the 11th June, the Army, (which had been long detained on the south bank of the Kistna, for supplies of money, cattle, and provisions, from Masulipatam,) marched to Cundalah. On the 12th the Army reached Sandole; on the 13th, Baupetla; on the 14th, Yantopollom. Here Colonel Pearse sent orders to Captain Bridges, commanding the 7th Circar battalion then at Ongole, to join him at Tingatoor with his battalion. On the 15th the Army reached Raperlaw, on the 16th the Ongole river.

A Captain Lysaght was offered by Colonel Pearse the post of Quarter-master-General, but he declined it; and Lieutenant Gillespie is mentioned, (in a letter from the south of the Paularoo, 18th June,) as having been placed in the situation.

On the 25th the Army was at Nellore; from whence Colonel Pearse writes the following letter to the Governor of Madras:—

"TO THE HONORABLE CHARLES SMITH, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND SELECT
COMMITTEE, MADRAS.

"Honorable Sir and Sirs,

"Doubtless you have heard from Captain Patterson of a mutiny amongst the Nawab's troops on account of a man's being punished. Though it was quelled, it is of very serious consequence, and their numbers ought to be reduced. A mode offers which I submit to you; it is, to let as many entertain with me as are willing; and I am told near 1,000 want it. If it be approved of, we shall want arms, for I left my spare ones at Ellore and Ongole; the latter I can soon get, and have sent for; the former are out of reach.

"Not knowing my actual destination I am at a loss how to prepare. I shall suppose it is Madras, though rumour says we are destined for another place; if to Madras, I consider my army as a convoy, and shall carry everything I can to you. But in this case the longer we stay here, the less we shall convoy; as the enemy will most likely send reinforcements to oppose us.

"The Phoundar of this place has got a great deal of grain; more than I can want or carry, for we have brought only about 5,000 bullocks from Masulipatam; and of them, many are hardly able to bear their loads. We have besides, about 1,200 draft bullocks; of which about 280 are worth very little, and 350 for slaughter, (which were sent from Vizac and Ingeram,) these must be for your Army, as my people do not use animal food; but they are, and were from the first, *carriens*. They wanted to deliver me large flocks of sheep, but I declined taking them, because they will only incumber me, and perish on the road. The Phoundar has 2,000 bullocks ready for us. I find he could get more, which, if not wanted by me, can be returned, or kept here for further supplies.

"As there are no tumbrils for the 24-pounders I conclude they are not for me; if they are, I apprise you, we have not the means to carry any ammunition, except bullocks, and that is the worst of all possible carriage. Experience now confirms the opinion I have always strenuously urged, that all ammunition ought to go on carriages; for the draft bullocks we brought with us, are better than when they set out; but all the carriage cattle are nearly disabled from sore backs, yet they can all be put to the traces. The magazine—or bullocks—are the subjects of eternal vexation: the carriages would make a fence against horse; the bullocks only confusion. It is vain to talk of length of train: the bullocks take up more room and are defenceless; the carriages could be drawn up in a state to be protected, in a tenth

part of the time, and could not be carried off, for at the worst, the cattle being taken away, the carriages could not travel. Besides ammunition is never secure in a heap; a rocket striking the pile might destroy the whole: if it struck a carriage it might blow up that one, and there the mischief would end. Water might do as much harm as fire, for we cannot always be sure of dry ground in the rains. I wish this matter was maturely considered; to me it is so evident, that I cannot cease to urge the use of carriages. The objection against them founded upon the supposed difficulty of sending them to many parts where troops may be sent is answered at once by saying, wherever guns can go, the ammunition-carriages can pass; where guns are not to go, the troops cannot want more than their pouches can hold, or their supplies may be sent in a few minutes. I hint this for futurity. I know the impossibility of getting carriages now and so must be the means we have; but I foresee that an Army may lose its ammunition by the present mode which could not suffer any loss if it had carriages. Let me add that in Europe, where the roads are not near so good as in this country, beasts of burthen are unknown; and only light carriages are used; and as they have had more experience than we have, so they may be supposed the better judges.

"If you can send us by water, four pairs of tumbril wheels and axle trees, we should be much assisted; for many are in a most disabled state, past repairing in our present situation. However, we shall patch them as well as we can, to get on, for all difficulties are surmounted with diligence and time; but if we march past Madras, the exchange must be made there, which may be perhaps in your power.

"On my arrival here the Venkatagerry Rajah sent his vakeel with a letter, and a small present, which I received. I enclose a translation of the letter and my answer, which you will see are merely complimentary. Your letter of the 21st has this morning come to hand, and it enabled me to speak more fully to the Rajah. His vakeel, who is in my camp, tells me the Rajah will declare in our favour, and join me, if I will send a detachment to Narepette, to overawe Lallah's people, who are constantly about him, and urging him to declare in favour of Hyder. But unless I can do that, or move towards him with my Army, he dares not openly profess his attachment, as it will bring immediate destruction on his country. This is very good reasoning on his part, but I cannot send a detachment on such a business, because an Army parcelled out has no strength, and I have not any authority from you, or the General to send one; rather than do this, I would advance, and take an intermediate position, so as to support him, and delay for a time in the environs of this place. This I submit to your consideration; for, under the orders I have received from General Sir Eyre Coote, supported by your letter, I cannot take upon me to move, unless an enemy should make it necessary.

"His vakeel next recommended my writing a letter in strong terms, requiring him to declare or join me; and said that the Rajah would make use of it to temporise, by shewing it to Lallah's people, and pointing out his apprehensions of destruction from this quarter, if he should declare in their favour. This, as I had not authority to do more, I have done, and send you a copy of the letter. For my own part, I do not think there is any reason to doubt his intentions; but I do not choose to trust to casualties, lest I should be led into mistakes from the want of a thorough knowledge of the men I have to deal with.

"The Ongole Rajah wanted to accompany me, but had not money to enable him to set out.

"I am happy at the receipt of your letter, as it clears up the point relative to the battering cannon. I shall prepare to carry them; but whether I take them or not, I shall want the Europeans for the cannon we have already.



DEODAR AVENUE, DILKUSHA GARDENS, HURDWAN.

"I have urged the Nawab's manager to get horses for the troopers that were sent round to this place: the officer tells me he has got only 23, and part of them are bare, and unfit for service."

"Captain Lysaght having represented that his services may be wanted in the Masulipatam district, I have given him leave to return."

"I have sent back Lieutenant Mackay, and put Lieutenant . . . in possession of his post."

"I found it necessary to appoint a Quartermaster-General and an Adjutant-General: the former I offered to Captain Lysaght, and on his declining to accept it, I gave it to the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bengal troops, who came with me; and I appointed my own principal Aide-de-camp Adjutant-General. I thought it necessary to inform you of this, as I have sent word of it to Sir Eyre Coote, and the Governor-General and Supreme Council."

"I am, &c,

"T. D. P."

"NELLOR, 27th June 1781."

"P.S.—The Phourdar has actually got vast quantities of every thing: there was a contest about the supply, when Mr. Turing wanted to lay hands on it, and in consequence he made a representation of it to me. He says, what I do not use he will ship for Madras, and send thither. Mr. Turing came to me, and wanted to interfere, but as a receiver under a receiver, can only answer the purpose of monopoly, and of enhancing the price, and as I find it is neither painful or troublesome to transact business with the Nawab's officers, I declined his interference."

"To SIR EYRE COOTE, &c, &c, &c."

"Sir,

"Uncertain as I am what are your instructions respecting the Army under my command, the addition of the 24-pounders gives me reason to suppose there is foundation for the reports that prevail, that our destination is Arcot. Accordingly I am making the best preparations: I can, to be able to accomplish your wishes, and carry your orders into execution. From the short return I sent, you know our strength, exclusive of the troops I found garrisoned, who are to accompany me, as I find by the letter from the Select Committee. The state of the country thereabouts points out to me that we must depend chiefly on what we carry for our supplies; but I conceive it would greatly facilitate our operations, if magazines could be so formed as to secure our supplies, if the place should be held out for some time. All this I dare say makes a part of your plan, but as the preparatory part must fall to my share, I hope I am doing right in collecting what I can, because what we do not want we can leave here. I should have been very glad to have received some outline to have guided my judgment; for all I am doing may be wrong, if the plan be different from what I suppose; relying on reports, which, whether well or ill-founded, are so current that they have reached me from Calcutta. The troopers sent to this place are only in part mounted, and I despair of getting horses to complete them, but will do my best; for, small as the numbers are, they will be of service to us. I believe we could get a number of the Nawab's men to entertain with us, if it should be thought advisable to take them; and perhaps it is known, that they are now discontented and mutinous for want of pay. I have my doubts of the attachment of the people of this place to the Nawab, therefore cannot think it safe to remove all our troops from it; on the contrary, if they could be supplied by other means, I should judge it best to keep a garrison of our own here, till the troubles are over. The place itself is paltry, for the walls are in a ruinous state; but it could not be taken by the enemy without a siege unless treachery should give it up; to guard against which, I think we ought to have a garrison in it. For the present I have only taken the European Artillery, the 24-pounders,

and the horse. I mean to put the European infantry to the guns, and shall take them out to teach them; but the sepoys I shall leave till the last moment, to keep the place in awe, and to preserve Captain Patterson's command as entire as can be. That no time may be lost, I have written at large on the subject to the Select Committee. I sent you in a day or two ago a return of present strength, and copies of all letters sent since those you had received, by which you will see what were my views, and the execution of them you have learnt by my arrival at this place. We lost a great many men by desertion at the Kintna, and on the way; but the evil is abated, for we have not lost a man this week. The reports that prevailed really frightened our men away. I was forced to invent news to keep them in spirits. It had its effect; for I told them the enemy ran before us, and to this day we have not seen a soul to disturb us, so that hearing they had been here, I gained credit. Be assured, Sir, I will do everything in my power; I will neither spare pains nor endeavours: success I cannot command, but I will strive to deserve it. We mustered to-day, and in two more days I shall send new returns.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"T. D. P."

"30th June 1781."

Sir Eyre Coote had sent orders to Colonel Pearse, that when he arrived with his Army at Nellore, he was to wait for further instructions. It appears, however, from the preceding and following letters, that Sir Eyre Coote had not admitted Colonel Pearse into his confidence, or communicated to him any proposed plan of operations, and therefore he had only to blame himself for the apparently useless detention of the Army here, as Colonel Pearse complains of the delay.

"TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES SMITH, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

"Sir,

"I addressed the Select Committee a day or two ago relative to this Army generally and particularly as to certain points respecting the Vencategerry Rajah. I must trouble you on the subject of our future operations. First I beg to observe, that whatever be our destination, the longer we wait here the worse it will be for us, and the task more difficult to execute; because the troops lose their spirits by halting, and not knowing the causes why we do not proceed, they suppose that they are very different from what may be avowed. In short, that the enemy are too strong, and we too weak, for it to be safe or practicable for us to advance. The stories they hear from the town's people confirm these opinions in their minds. From the nature of the guns and stores sent to me, a kind of guess may be formed that a siege is to be undertaken; and rumour speaks so plainly of Arcot, that I will, in what follows, take it for granted that it is so: though I own I am so totally in the dark that I absolutely know not what orders to give, or for what to prepare. I wish I could have been honoured with a little more confidence if the plan is laid; or that it had been settled so, that we might have been put in motion to execute it, as soon as we could have made the necessary and unavoidable preparations. But to return to the subject. If Arcot be our object, there are some points necessary to enquire about. The first is, whence are provisions to be drawn for the troops during their siege? Admitting we can carry a month's provisions, it will take seventeen days to go to the place; so that on our arrival, we would only have thirteen days in store. If by any ill fortune we should be so long, or longer, in taking it, we should be under the necessity of seeking for provisions, unless we could previously seize some place of strength, and therein lay up a store for our future use. Is there such a place? and can a magazine be formed there? and whence are the supplies

to be collected? are not, I hope, improper questions. For, in case of failure of provisions, we might be obliged to quit a certain conquest, from inability to wait till the proper time to make it. We set out from Ellore with about 9,000 maunds of provisions, and with other small supplies not worth mentioning. I trust we shall be able to set off with as much from hence, but the difficulty lies in want of cattle. I expected to have had 6,000 carriage cattle from Masulipatam, but we were disappointed of 1,450 of the Company's cattle, which were left for want of drivers. The Nawab's manager here cannot furnish many carriage cattle, it will be well if he can deliver us enough to carry the camp equipage of the reinforcement we are to take from hence, and the stores of the 24-pounders, with pack-saddles; nay, I fear it is next to impossible, though enough of draft cattle could be had. But to what end collect draft cattle? they will not carry their own straw, cannot be taught to carry till saddles are provided, and then not in less than a fortnight even if there were regular drivers to teach them. But granting bullocks and saddles are ready, the men are not to be got. The horrors that strike the minds of the people on account of Bailey's disaster and the retreat from Conjeveram operate stronger than offers of money promises or threats. Now, Sir, disagreeable as these truths may be it is my duty to explain them to you, for whether I am to conduct the operations, or the General in person as rumour says, is of no consequence, the preparatory part must fall to me; and therefore that no time may be lost I explain what must be done, and yet time is losing daily from the absolute ignorance I am in as to the end purposed. I must now proceed to a subject of a different nature: I mean this place. Nellore is an oblong square surrounded with a mud wall, having at two or three of the angles of the square, round towers faced with stone. The curtains or sides have towers at distances from each other according to country fashion and they are mud or stone—a kind of *pach work*. There is a ditch, narrow and not deep, dug out of the rock as far as it runs, and out of the earth for the remainder of the circumference. The walls are in a very miserable plight, doubting whether to fall or stand; therefore will soon determine on the former. Admit the contrary, and suppose them to stand, may to be kept up with small repairs to the end of the present troubles—it is my opinion this is practicable, and it is in consequence of that opinion that I took a view of the inside. There I find the reinforcement that was sent for me; and returns tell me, 2,318 of the Nawab's troops. Amongst the latter discontent prevails, occasioned by the want of pay. Troops, ill paid, cannot be kept in discipline: hence mutiny and treasons. Thrice they have mutinied since Captain Patterson came here or at least have behaved in a mutinous manner. Notwithstanding the bad state of the walls, I do conceive that Nellore with a proper garrison may be of great importance. Grain might be laid up either to send to Madras or to the Army; and it might remain there till convoys could be sent to transport it to the part nearer to the seat of our operations. Bullocks to carry it might also be kept in safety here and certainly they might be sent forward at convenient opportunities to lodge the grain in some place further advanced and nearer to the Army. But to make Nellore of this importance it must be garrisoned by the Company's troops and that they must be the majority and their commandant must be governor of the town, as much so as in Trichinopoly, &c., where the Company's troops are stationed. Whether this may be agreeable to the Nawab or not, it is for his service; and I suppose he might easily be persuaded to agree to it during the war. I find Captain Patterson has powers, but greatly short of this. However, it appeared to me to be highly improper to diminish his authority by taking the reinforcement intended for me out of the garrison, and therefore I have only ordered that they be in readiness to march. When we do march, Sir, I pray you consider the state Nellore will be left in, if other troops are not sent to reinforce the garrison. I am of opinion that Captain Patterson cannot stay with safety, without a body of the Company's troops. What then is to be done? The

Europeans, the Artillery, the 24-pounders, and the horse, I shall order out ; the 24-pounders I have taken, because it will require time to get the bullocks ready for the stores.

" If there are any parts of this letter that you may deem such as ought not to have come from my pen, I beg you to consider that I am embarked in the cause too deeply, not to be more zealous about it, than men in my state not employed in the same manner ; and that being thus zealous, I am less studious of forms, than of doing the duties of my station according to the best of my abilities."

" 30th June 1781."

" I am, &c.,

" T. D. PEARSE."

" P.S.—Since I had finished the letter, I have heard that the greater part of the Masulipatam bullocks are coming on ; and taking into consideration the moral certainty of augmentation, I have written to the Ongole Rajah, to send 1,000 or 1,500 cattle, loaded with grain, and provided with drivers. These, if not wanted, can be returned : wanted by us they cannot be, for already the vast numbers we have will be, if not more than we can cover, at least as many as we can ; and to convoy the whole safe will be more than I can flatter myself with performing. But as I have said before, difficulties submit to perseverance ; and I shall set my heart against them, and use every exertion in my power, and really I do not despair of performing what may be committed to my charge in a satisfactory manner."

It appears that Captain Ogilvie had so far recovered from his illness, as to re-join the Army at Nellore, on the 30th June.

Major Wedderburn is mentioned as having been left dangerously ill at Ongole ; and Captain Pearson, whom Colonel Pearse speaks of as a very deserving officer, was appointed to the command of the 25th Regiment in the absence of Major Wedderburn.

The Madras Council having appointed an officer specially to command the troops of that presidency, which had joined the Army, Colonel Pearse now appointed Major Edmonstone to the command of Bengal troops, with the staff of an Aide-de-Camp.

" TO SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND THE HONBLE C. SMITH, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

" The Vencatagerry Rajah has just sent word that he has heard of our arrival at Ongole. Hyder has ordered Lallah not to oppose us, but to lay waste the north country ; that he will send Tippoo with 10,000 horse, and as many foot to join him ; and that he means not to meddle with us, till we get to the place where he engaged Bailey. Lallah has orders to decamp everything within four *coss*, but not to approach Nellore. The Rajah prays me to advance to Narpette, that he may declare and join ; and says, ' I shall then be able to check Lallah, preserve the Nellore country, and secure him.' The General says positively *halt* ; so does your letter ; what must I do ? I cannot see villages burnt around me, and not move ; yet if I advance to Narpette, I shall disobey orders ; if I stand still, I shall destroy the reputation of the Army, and let an Ally be sacrificed : therefore I must advance, for if once we lose our reputation, we are undone. Already my people begin to despond from halting. When I hear of Lallah's advancing, I must absolutely stop him, if I can."

" I am, etc.,

" 1st July 1781.

" (Sd.) T. D. PEARSE."

The following laconic letter to Mr. Hastings will no doubt prove entertaining to the reader.

"TO MR. HASTINGS.

"Dear Sir,

"I arrived here on the 25th of June, and am now waiting till a plan is laid for future operations. I am quite in the dark as to what I am to do; so much so, that I have written a letter of complaint to Madras, which went off yesterday.

"An Hirkara is come into the camp this day from Poonamallee, with the following news in a letter from Captain Harding, who commands there, to Lieutenant Speedman, of the Artillery, with us:

"'A Dutch war.....Johnson and a fleet with 4,000 troops, gone to take the Cape.....Lord Macartney to be Governor at Madras.....Cotsford to succeed him.....Sadler to be second in Council.....Whitehill removed and disgraced.....The Council to consist of twelve, and Smith is the 9th, Johnson the 10th. The Select Committee to consist of Lord Macartney, Sadler, Monro, Holland, and Cotsford.'

"'The 16,000 pagodas allowed to Counsellors is struck off.....Tingu taken by Tippoo.....Wandewash attacked again.....Chillambiam taken.....Dutch ships at Madras seized. Dutch at Pulicat offer to surrender prisoners of war, and beg for troops to protect them from Lallah.' If all this is not true, it is just as I received it. I shall send you a copy of my letter to Smith to-morrow."

Major Byrn, with 500 sepoy and 500 of the Nawab's troops, two guns and an howitzer, were detached on the 7th July to proceed to Narpette, in aid of the Vencatagerry Rajah, and with the hope of inducing him to declare for the Company.

A salute of 19 guns was fired by Colonel Pearse's orders on the 11th of July, in consequence of the communication from the Select Committee at Madras, of a successful action, in which Sir Eyre Coote has beaten Hyder near Mootepollom.

On the 23rd of July Colonel Pearse writes to Mr. Hastings as follows:—

"TO MR. HASTINGS.

"Sir,

"Since I wrote last I have received a letter from Coote (who had just received all my letters in a packet) and he says, '*All I can say in reply is, that I highly approve of your whole conduct;*' and then he gives me orders to proceed to Pulicat, drop my incumbrances, and perform the part of a soldier according to circumstances. This is too good news to be delayed."

"I am, etc.,

"NELLORE, 23rd July 1781."

"T. D. PEARSE."

On the 25th of July the army marched from Nellore, and Colonel Pearse writes the following letter to the new Governor of Madras:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE MACARTNEY,

etc.

etc.

etc.

My Lord,

"Last night I was made superlatively happy by the receipt of your letter, and one from Sir Eyre Coote; more especially as the latter fully assured me, that I had so conducted myself as to meet his approbation.

"We marched this morning, shall be at Carrawan the day after to-morrow, and the next day expect to enter the island; here all my cares will end, for then the convoy will be in security. I have left the Nawab's troops, the battalion, the 24-pounders, and all patients in the hospital, not able to march; notwithstanding, the convoy is very extensive, and I shall rejoice extremely to get rid of it. I have taken the Europeans; they got shoes from Masulipatam, made up necessaries after I sent them back, and are now able to march.

"I hear Hyder has threatened to cut off Lallah's head and I have therefore told the Vencatagherry Rajah, who still resolves to join me, that if Lallah is inclined to come over to us, I will receive him and his forces; and that if he brings any treasure or jewels, they shall be secure; and that I will not, nor shall any one else, touch them. I was led to this, from seeing that the villages in our route were not injured, which indicates good-will towards us. I hope that I have not stipulated too much; it appears to me so expedient to spread the spirit of desertion amongst his army, that if once it can be begun, Hyder will moulder away to nothing in a month."

"25th July 1781."

"I am, etc., etc.,

"T. D. PEARSE."

The following letter in cyphers was despatched on the 28th; no doubt it contains some intelligence important at that time. We give it to our readers, as it may afford amusement, at any rate, to those who have the leisure and inclination to attempt to decypher it.

"TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE MACARTNEY,
GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

"My Lord,

"48. 15. 31. --- 10. 9. 5. --- 39. 3. 63. 40. 27. --- 80. 1. 15. 20. 56. 46. 25. --- 4. --- 2. 30. 71. 24. 42. --- 52. 23. 96. 91. 59. --- 101. 70. 120. 36. 68. 45. 99. 41. --- 10. 67. 56. 24. 72. 91. 120. 51. --- 99. 68. --- 66. 9. 113. 63. --- 9. 2. --- 50. 1. 121. 2. 65. 17. 24. 120. --- 80. 74. 21. 71. 26. --- 110. --- 84. 91. 39. 61. 82. --- 48. 15. 9. 63. --- 100. 5. 10. 91. 89. --- 53. 43. --- 22. 74. 41. 120. --- 63. 74. --- 9. 27. 32. 1. 48. --- 88. --- 96. 110. 104. 7. 112. 1. 63. 74. 65. 46. 53. 25. --- 24. 39. 42. 45. 71. 70. --- 12. --- 80. 70. 71. 96. --- 43. 35. 56. --- 31. 77. 61. 91. 109. 20. 74. 48. 46. --- 53. 113. --- 99. 101. --- 37. 84. 4. 54. --- 119. 118. 120. 104. 115. 101. The grains have afforded us plenty of water and grass. I received the duplicates of your letter and Sir Eyre's late last night. The original reached me the night before, as I informed you yesterday."

"I am, etc., etc.,

"T. D. PEARSE."

"18. 16. 94. 82. 46. 56. 40.

25th July, 1781."

A letter of the same description was also despatched to Sir Eyre Coote.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, ETC.

"Sir,

"I marched from Nellore yesterday, but only proceeded 9 miles, because it was the first march. To-day I stopped after a march of 12 miles, as we found water, and a good place to encamp on.

"The duplicates of your letter came last night, the originals the night before; and truly I can say, the letter made me superlatively happy, as you so kindly expressed your approbation of my conduct in the past. All your orders shall be strictly obeyed. 36. --- 2. 20. 71. 24. 43. --- 52.



OLD FORT STREET, (LOOKING NORTH TO CLIVE STREET.)



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—1788.
[From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured Views.]

23. 96. 91. 59. --- 101. 76. 120. --- 36. 68. 45. 99. 41. 10. --- 48. 15. 31. --- 10. 9. 5. --- 39.
3. 63. 40. --- 27. 80. 1. 13. 20. --- 56. 46. 23. --- 48. 30. 31. 27. 40. --- 13. 5. --- 32. 46. 41.
16. 74. 77. --- 60. 53. 64. 118. --- 98. 91. --- 110. 94. --- 113. 93. 19. 91. 80. 26. --- 48. 15.
1. --- 70. 77. 82. 91. 61. 68. --- 95. 30. 20. 45. 52 + 3. 74. 61. 78. 120. --- 15. 1. 16. 24. 10. ---
99. 80. 96. 91. 53. 49. 101. --- 4. 63. --- 92. 112. 89. --- 74. 63. 30. 20. --- 63. --- 99. 13. ---
41. 46. 48. --- 43. 80. 27. 34. 81. --- 1. 1. N. --- 104. 36. 120. 109. 91. 121. --- 112. 106. --- 1.
27. --- 10. 23. 9. 28. 32. 40. --- 2. 1. --- 102. 91. 24. 42. --- 97. 93. 41. --- 54. 120. 82 + 9.
2. --- 5. 5. 53. 54. 52. --- 71. 61. 31. --- 60. 4. 64. 24 + 11. 31. 91. 50. --- 46. --- 19.
66. --- 102. 100. 9. --- 48. 40. 34. 31. 56. --- 97. 99. 5. --- 9. 48. 63. 71. 72. 73. --- 16. 2.
48. 20. --- 121. 34. 32. 15. --- 107. 110. 121. 99. 82. 115. 71. 94. --- 101. 39. 119. 120. ---
93. 2. --- 100. 120. --- 13. 16. 43. 48. --- 102. 100. 120. 94. --- 25. 31. --- 9. 27. 31. --- 20.
28. --- 63. 84. 32. --- 4. 24. 9. 73. 10. --- "

"I took the European company, and put all to the guns; they were too few to act as infantry, and I wanted to have my guns perfectly manned; they are 20. 65. --- 63. 1. 20. 11. --- 80. 30. 31. --- 27. 46. 34. 96. 52. --- 4. --- 9. 13. --- 55. 39. 59. 37. 70. 36. 28. 58. --- 101. 1. --- 9. 16. 20. 4. 10. --- 113. 78. 93. 56. 37. 36. 48. 14. --- 112. 106. --- 3. 74. 59. 39. 58. 91. --- 38. --- 80. 112. --- 66. 40. 91. 51. --- 79. 77. --- 78. 93. 96. 101. 118. 120. --- 63. --- 15. 1. 27. 46. 76. --- 58. 84. 64. 77. --- 4. --- 17. 31. 24. 36. 40. 16. 52. --- 110. 101. --- 111. 99. 105. 120. 121. --- 9. --- 21. 39. 114. --- 51. 53. 19. 66. 52. 56. --- 91. 41. 72. 120. --- 17. 16. 48. --- 4. 63. --- 36. 13. --- 80. 20. --- 74. 86. 61. --- 93. 82. 86. 99. 54. 96. 9. 81. 91. --- 46. 41. --- 39. 37. 72. 1. 76. 34. 80. --- 112. 3. --- 101. 100. 120. --- 104. 118. 31. 23. 96. 116. --- 102. 120. 111. 40. 50. 80. --- 125. --- 96. 15. 31. --- 108. 99. 107. --- 89. 1. 9. 10. 2. --- 6. --- 25. 39. 48. 31. 59. --- 60. 52. --- 71. 34. 46. 63. 51."

"I am, etc., etc.,

"T. D. PEARSE."

"23. 34. 28. 21. 74. 61. 52.

(To be continued.)



Some Prints of Old Calcutta.



DURING the last quarter of the eighteenth century many artists visited India, particulars of whom are to be found in Samuel Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (London, 1874). In W. H. Carey's *Good Old Days of Honourable John Company* (Simla, 1882) will be found short biographical notices of these painters, taken principally from an article which appeared in the *Pioneer* some years previously, but the source of the information is evidently the above-mentioned *Dictionary of Artists*.

Of the artists who visited India at that time none are better known now, both for the quality and quantity of their work, than Thomas and William Daniell. There were many other well-known names in India then, but these artists nearly all confined themselves to portraiture, for which there seemed always to be a considerable demand.

Thomas Daniell was the son of an innkeeper at Chertsey and was born at Kingston-on-Thames in 1749. He early took to Art and was exhibiting at the Academy in 1774, and he continued to do so until 1784, when he went to India. He took with him his nephew, William Daniell, then a boy of fourteen years of age, and for the next ten years the uncle and nephew travelled over a large part of India "gathering stores in a region then unvisited by Artists" of which they made good use after their return to England in 1794.

When in Calcutta during 1786-88 Thomas Daniell engraved and published a series of twelve views of that city (reproduced in this number) which, so far as I know, are the earliest "street views" of Calcutta. They measure (engraved surface) about $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and were printed without margins or titles. They were then, if mounted at all, "laid down" on stout paper, about an inch or so of which was left showing all round, which formed a margin. At one of the lower corners of each print the inscription: "T. Daniell fecit Calcutta" with the year and the number of the series, is found.

They are probably amongst Thomas Daniell's earliest efforts in aquatint engraving—a process then only at its beginning but which he and his nephew used very largely and brought to great perfection in after years. Several of

them supply the sketches from which more finished pictures were produced and which appear in their later works—such, for instance, as No. 7 which appears in *Oriental Scenery* (1796) as "Part of Cheringhee, Calcutta," and No. 6 which is the original of the "Old Fort Ghat" in *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China* (1810). This latter print appeared in the October 1908 number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Two of the series (Nos. 1 and 2) have already appeared in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* and one (No. 3) in Miss Blechynden's *Calcutta: Past and Present*. This latter ("The Great Tank") is referred to as "from a photograph of an engraving said to be by the Brothers Daniell, 1788." There is no doubt as to the artist being Thomas Daniell, but it is not correct to refer to Thomas and William Daniell as "Brothers."

Other pictures of Calcutta by these artists are the well-known six large coloured aquatints appearing in the second volume of their *Oriental Scenery* (6 vols. Atlas Folio, 1795—1808). Four of these are reproduced in Miss Blechynden's book.

Thomas Daniell and his nephew returned to England in 1794 and at once commenced the publication of their great work *Oriental Scenery* which was completed in 6 volumes (144 plates) in 1808. At the same time both were exhibiting pictures at the Academy. Thomas confined himself almost entirely to Indian subjects and the Academy catalogues show that between the years 1795 and 1828 he exhibited 88 paintings. He had secured a competence from the sale of his published works (the subscription price of *Oriental Scenery* was £210), and from that time he led a quiet and retired life. He was elected A.R.A. in 1796 and a full member of the Royal Academy in 1799. He was also distinguished as a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Asiatic and Antiquarian Societies. He died in 1840 at the age of 91 years.

William Daniell, after contributing very largely to *Oriental Scenery* and while continuing to exhibit Indian subjects, latterly gave his attention more to home subjects, and his finest work in this field is his *Picturesque Voyage Round Great Britain* which he commenced in 1814 and completed in 1825. This work (in 8 folio volumes) contains 308 beautifully coloured aquatints, all drawn and engraved by himself. The letterpress is by Richard Ayrton.

Mr. Martin Hardie of the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, in his work *English Coloured Books* (Methuen and Co.) refers to "this wonderful series of coloured aquatints" as one which "could scarcely be surpassed."

William Daniell between the years 1794 and 1837 exhibited at the Academy 74 paintings of Indian subjects and 95 of English coast scenery, etc.

He was elected an Associate of the Academy in 1807 and R.A. in 1822. He died in 1837 at the age of 68 years.*

In concluding this note I will again quote from Mr. Martin Hardie :—

"Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century there seems to have risen a love of travel coupled with a keen interest in foreign countries and the manners and customs of their inhabitants. This is sufficiently shown by the demand for the large and expensive books on Continental scenery and travel issued by Ackermann. But the interest was not confined to the Continent, for Englishmen were beginning to give their attention to India and its Government, its sport and its possibilities.

"The principal promoters, however, by means of book and picture, of this interest in India were Edward Orme, and Thomas and William Daniell."

GEO. LYELL.

HORSELL LODGE, WOKING, SURREY.

April 1909.



* William Daniell's younger brother, Samuel Daniell, also published illustrated works on the Scenery and Animals of Africa, as well as of Ceylon where he died in 1817, aged 36. See Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, The *Dictionary of National Biography*, etc. [Ed.]



GREAT TANK. (LOOKING EAST TO OLD MISSION CHURCH.)



IN CHITPORE ROAD—1787.
(From T. and W. Daniell's Coloured Views.)

Sir Gregory Charles Paul,

THE DISTINGUISHED ADVOCATE-GENERAL.



THE subject of this short Memoir, though an Armenian by nationality, was an Indian by birth, he having first seen the light of heaven in Calcutta. Paul's father, Peter J. Paul, was a well-known Attorney of the late Supreme Court, and enjoyed a good practice. After school days at the Calcutta Martinière, Paul the younger was sent home, and a few days after his arrival in England, the boy was admitted into King's College, London, and after he had been there for a few years, was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated with credit. He had a mind to continue his studies and win higher academical honours; but his father, thinking that his son had acquired enough of general knowledge to commence learning business, decided that he should commence on his legal career.

Mr. Paul, who had been intended for his father's profession, was entered at the Inner Temple. He studied law with his usual care and diligence, and, after he had "eaten his dinners," he was called to the bar on the 11th June 1855. A few months after his call, he came back to the land which had given him birth, and duly got himself enrolled as an advocate of the late Supreme Court on the 8th day of November.* At that time the bar at Calcutta was well and ably represented, having had for its leaders such men as Dr. Charles Robert Prinsep, Mr. Longville Clarke and Mr. William Ritchie; but this circumstance did not prevent Mr. Paul from rising steadily in the profession. Endowed with good natural parts, and stocked with a fair share of learning, general as well as legal, with an experienced father to back him up with all his influence, it was not surprising that Paul junior should rise rather rapidly in the profession. He was also taken in hand by Mr. Hardwicke Cowie, then on the way to the top of the ladder. The professional life of a barrister is passed in the full glare of publicity, and if only he uses his time well and effectively, success should come to him. As Sir George Jessel, the celebrated Master of the Rolls, used to say, "the members of the Bar are passing a competitive examination every day, and

* Mr. Justice Prinsep, who retired from Indian Service only lately, also came to this country in the same year, and had, as is well known, an eventful career. In point of standing, he had become the Father of the Calcutta Bench at the time of his retirement.

to this may be attributed their keenness of apprehension, and their eagerness for the forensic fray." Mr. Paul made the best of his time, at home as well as in Court, and no wonder that he rose rapidly in the profession. Indeed, his signal success attracted attention, and the result was that he was appointed Standing Counsel to Government in 1870, in succession to Mr. Joseph Graham, who had been promoted.

Mr. Paul entered upon the duties of his office with a gladsome heart, and as had been expected, well and ably acquitted himself. This good success served as a strong impetus to Government's showing him higher favour before long, and he was, accordingly, offered a seat on the High Court Bench. The offer thus voluntarily made, was accepted in good part, and the new Judge took his seat on the Bench with a gladsome heart. As had been anticipated, Mr. Paul proved a success in his new sphere of action, and gained an enviable popularity. During his incumbency,* Mr. Justice Paul had to hold some important trials at the Sessions, besides deciding a goodly number of civil cases involving some intricate points of law. Of the several criminal trials held by him the most important was that of the dastardly ruffian who had stabbed Mr. Justice Norman, while the latter was descending the steps of the Town Hall, then used as a Court House. That ill-fated Judge was one of the best of men, and people wondered why he of all others should have been singled out and so unmercifully dealt with, his only offence, if offence it might be called, being that he had presided at some stage of the trial of that notorious Wahabi, Ameer Khan. Although the assassin was caught red-handed, still such is the character of British justice that he could not be convicted without a formal trial. The trial took place in due course, and the execrable villain was convicted and sentenced to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The charge which Mr. Justice Paul delivered to the jury on this occasion was worthy of his reputation both as a Judge and as a man.

The quiet sedentary life of a High Court Judge was not quite agreeable to his dashing buoyant spirit, and it was, therefore, not long before he doffed the judicial robe and again put on the barrister's gown. Mr. Paul reverted to his office of Standing Counsel, when Mr. Graham was still the Advocate-General.

While Standing Counsel, Mr. Paul had to fight hard for Government in the celebrated Wahabi case. Although Mr. Graham was his official superior, he had to bear the brunt of the battle. This was certainly no common feat, as he had for his opponent that prince of Indian barristers, the redoubtable

* Mr. Paul was a Puisne Judge for about twelve months, 1871-72; but short as his tenure of office was, he had well won the esteem and affection of his colleagues.

Mr. Thomas Chisholm Anstey* who had been brought down from Bombay to defend the accused. Mr. Anstey had a European reputation, and Sergeant Ballantine, no mean judge, has in his entertaining *Reminiscences of a Barrister's Life* described him as a genius in law. True it is, Mr. Anstey was of a somewhat eccentric character, but this was as it should be, eccentricity being a characteristic of genius. But though out of the common in his mode of doing business, Mr. Anstey seemed to have made success almost his lacquey, and as a matter of fact, he seldom lost any case which he had taken up in right earnest. In this way he came to be looked upon as a power in the land, and was held in high esteem, both by the profession and the public. In the famous *Towers of Silence* case at Bombay, which he won after a very hard fight, the jubilant Parsees were so much overjoyed, that some of them, in the exuberance of their excitement, drew his carriage from the Court House to his lodgings. With such a mighty champion Mr. Paul had to measure strength; and what was more, that knight errant of a hundred tournaments, who was quite a host in himself, did not enter the lists single-handed, but had for his adjutant, Mr. Thomas Dunbar Ingram,† a very able and learned lawyer and an impressive speaker. But though the opposition was led by such valiant and dexterous combatants, Mr. Paul boldly and with undaunted spirit stood the fire of their eloquence, and the speeches which he made in the course of the long-drawn Trial were well worthy of the halcyon days of the late Supreme Court. The Trial ended in the victory of the ruling Authorities. But though it was crowned with signal success, its glory was sullied by very gloomy and painful circumstances. Both the Supreme Head of the Executive, his Excellency Lord Mayo, and the Chief Justice, the Honourable John Paxton Norman, fell by the violent hands of two up-country assassins.

The hard-won victory which Mr. Paul gained on that memorable occasion paved the way to his being raised to the topmost rung of the professional ladder. Mr. Graham, whom in 1870 he had succeeded as Standing Counsel on his being elevated to the post of Advocate-General, retired from Indian Service in 1873 and left this country for good. As Mr. Paul had gained his laurels in the Wahabi case, it was only just and proper that he should be appointed to the post which had thus fallen vacant, and, accordingly, he was raised to the glorious eminence of the Advocate-Generalship, the highest office in the forensic line. This office he held for a very long time, the

* Mr. Anstey was called to the bar on the 25th January 1839. After coming out to India he joined the bar at Bombay and soon rose to be its leader.

† Mr. Ingram was an advocate of the Calcutta High Court and Professor of Law in the Presidency College.

longest that any Advocate-General of Bengal or of any other Presidency has ever held.

While discharging the very arduous and important duties of his office, Mr. Paul had to fight many a pitched battle in the crowded arena of the Court. Of these forensic frays the most remarkable was the Tarkeswar Will case. In this case the late Mr. Kamini Kumar Guha, an attorney-at-law, was involved. The Will purported to have been prepared and executed in his office, and he was the chief witness thereto. This gentleman was favourably known to Mr. Paul, and this being so, it was not difficult for him to convince the latter that the Will was a good and *bond-fide* document. Indeed, Mr. Paul had great regard for the members of the profession in general, and he seemed to have been of opinion that as a body they were above suspicion, if not altogether immaculate. He took up the matter in right earnest, and girded up his loins for the coming fight in the High Court. He brought to bear all the armoury of his resourceful mind on that fray; and, although the general impression—an impression which was not altogether ill-founded, and, if hearsay be believed, was founded in truth—was that the District Judge who had decided the case in the first instance was right in pronouncing the Will to be a downright forgery, he succeeded by his able and skilful advocacy in satisfying the High Court Judges that it was a genuine and authentic document. This was certainly a splendid triumph, and as the case was not carried up to the Privy Council, it was a *fait accompli*. Mr. Paul was a consummate master of the forensic art, and many were the victories which he won in the crowded arena of the Court.

But Mr. Paul's achievements were not confined to the Bar and the Bench: he did also yeoman service both in the Bengal and the Supreme Council* by framing or taking part in framing some of the Laws and Regulations which grace the Indian Statute-Book. His services in the Provincial Council were valued and appreciated, and in recognition thereof, he was not only appointed to the Supreme Council, but was also created Companion of the Indian Empire (C. I. E.) The double honour was conferred upon him in one and the same year 1878. This honour was not the last that was bestowed upon him; it was followed a decade later by his being decorated with the noble order of Knight Companion of the Indian Empire (K. C. I. E.)

Sir Charles Paul was remarkable not only for the qualities of his head, but also for the qualities of his heart. He was ever ready to assist

* Mr. Paul was a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council during all the time he was Advocate-General, and an Additional Member of the Supreme Council from 1878 to 1882.

the younger members of the profession with sound legal advice, and, what was very characteristic of him, with his purse. In fact, he was open-hearted in matters of charity and hospitality. For the members of the profession in general he entertained affectionate regard, and we know of several instances in which he lent his valuable services without taking any fee. Even if the commonest muktear sought his help in a matter in which his professional calling was concerned, he would try his level best to get him out of the scrape, and that without charging anything for the labour, provided always that he believed, or had reason to believe, that the case was worthy of his support.

But, though very kind to the members of his profession, Sir Charles was chary in showing favour to others, more specially to the rich, who were able to pay for his services. Where the latter were concerned, he would charge very high for his professional help. Mere legal opinion he would never give *gratis*. He used to say, with some eminent lawyers, that unpaid opinion has no value. Sir Charles had many rich clients. Among them was a wealthy zemindar in the district of Hooghly. For this noted man of substance he oftentimes held briefs and had also special personal regard. One day while Mr. Paul (for he had not then been knighted) was walking to and fro on the *verandah* of the High Court, this gentleman joined him in the stroll, and, in course of the conversation, asked his opinion in a matter which he intended soon to make the subject of litigation. Mr. Paul after hearing, or, rather, seeming to hear what the gentleman had to say, perfunctorily and without due deliberation gave out that he might bring a suit, intimating that there was considerable likelihood of his succeeding in it. Fortified by an opinion from such a high quarter, the gentleman lost no time in coming to Court for relief. But, unfortunately for him, he was cast, both in the Court of the first instance and in the Court of appeal. A few days after his ill success, he in soreness of heart interviewed Mr. Paul in his chambers and stated what had happened. "Did I give opinion in the matter?" asked the great lawyer somewhat in surprise. Then calling in his head clerk, Babu Sashi Bhusan, he told him to look to his fee-book (for he had large chamber practice and could not help keeping some such book) and see when the said opinion was given: at this, the gentleman interrupting him said, "No, no, Sir, no fee was paid for that opinion, it was given while your Honour was one day strolling on the *verandah* of the Court House." "Ah, I see, Babu," said the great lawyer smiling, as was his wont, "it was given, you say, while I was walking at ease; then it was a *walking opinion* and no more." The gentleman aforesaid was put to the blush and regretted that he had not formally asked for opinion in the usual way and paid the requisite fee.

Sir Charles Paul passed his days with honour to himself and advantage to the public. He was an agreeable companion and could keep his audience in cheerful spirits for hours together by his entertaining anecdotes of which he possessed a rich store. The poet of *The Great Rent Case*, in his usual felicitous way, describes him as—

"Jocundus Paulus
With ever ready jest,
Cracks jokes with Dikki Dolinits,
Of all the bar the best."

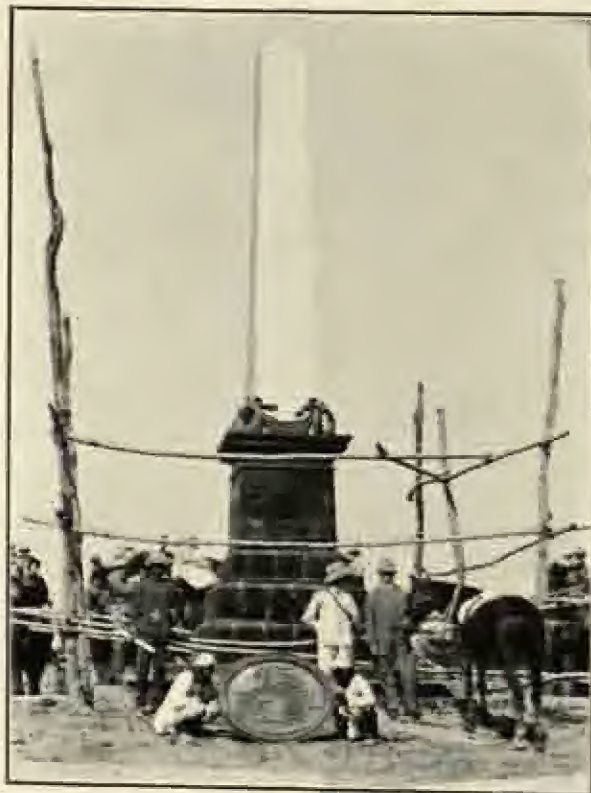
The circumstances in which Sir Charles resigned the office of Advocate-General which he had held so long and which he had hoped to hold to the last day of his life, seemed to have weighed somewhat heavily upon him and it was not unlikely that they hastened his end. He died quite suddenly, and most probably of heart disease, on the first day of January 1900, just one month after his resignation. In token of respect for the departed, the members of the Bar gladly subscribed for a portrait of him and presented it to their Association of which he was for so long the revered President. The portrait, which well reminds one of the good old knight, was graciously unveiled by Chief Justice Sir Francis William Maclean, on the 3rd January, 1902.

SHUMBHOO CRUNDER DEV.





THE OLD PLASSEY MONUMENT.
(On the site of the Mango Grove.)



THE NEW PLASSEY MONUMENT ERECTED BY
LORD CURZON.
(Photo. by W. Archer, Esq.)

Reviews and Notices.

1. A HISTORIC CHAPEL.*

"Attempt great things for God; expect great things from God."—*William Carey.*



CAREY'S Church, in Calcutta, better known as the Lal Bazar Baptist Chapel, has recently celebrated its Centenary, and its history has been written by Mr. Wenger, its Secretary-Deacon. The book contains in all 666 pages and 77 illustrations, more or less interesting. It has been most accurately compiled and its value as a work of reference is considerably enhanced by a bibliography and index. Indeed the work is one which could scarcely have been produced except with a vast amount of labour and research on the part of a person belonging to the "leisured class." From one point of view at least, it seems impossible to exaggerate its importance. It is safe to say that it presents the most exhaustive and complete history that has ever been written of any Church in India, thus serving to remind us how valuable and interesting might be the histories of other larger and better-known Churches, within and without Calcutta, if attempted on a similar scale or anything like it. Of course there are certain features which might not escape the observation of an adverse critic. The compiler, who makes no pretensions to literary style, frequently lapses into what may be called "missionese." This perhaps could scarcely be avoided by an author moving within his environments, who writes "not for the praise of man." One objection which he himself anticipates in the Preface is that some readers may consider his book "padded." Certainly it is not easy at the outset to recognise any connection between the Lal Bazar Baptist Church and the Royal Proclamation of 1858 or the Royal Message of half-a-century later, both of which are given at full length. So too as regards the License to reside in India granted to Silk Buckingham, a refractory journalist in years gone by. A whole chapter is devoted to the Pauperism Committee of 1891-1892 merely because the Pastor happened to be one of the members. Less remote, however, is the connection between the Chapel and the Juvenile Society on the one hand and the Benevolent Institution on the other—two extinct organisations whose histories are given.

* *The Story of the Lal Bazar Baptist Church, Calcutta. Compiled by Edward Stuart Wenger, Secretary-Deacon of the Church. Calcutta: Kishore Press. 1904. Rs. 2.*

No doubt all this matter is exceedingly valuable in its way and may be helpful to others. That it has helped to swell out the history of this particular Chapel is of course apparent.

It seems that an effort has also been made to immortalise obscurities—persons whose names would scarcely have survived recollection but for mention in its pages. It is as Cowper says—

"A fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble,* born to be forgot !

But here again we need not be too severe. These people in their own day and generation rendered ungrudging service to a good cause. In short, they did what they could, and it is "the meek," we are told, who "shall inherit the earth."

A picture is given of "St. John's Cathedral as it was in 1788," whereas it did not become the Cathedral until a quarter of a century later! The well-known name Thackeray being given as "Thackery," both in the body of the work and the index, might point to its being something more than a mere misprint.† In the Bibliographical Appendix, which has already been mentioned, the various items (one-hundred-and-six in number) are arranged neither in alphabetical nor chronological order. The lines of the hymns or poems quoted in the book (as for instance those at pages 19 and 211) do not appear to be correctly "indented."

Among the many interesting stories related are those of "the redoubtable Mrs. Wilson, a Hindustani woman of pluck," and Mr. De Bruyn, an Indo-Portuguese Missionary who was assassinated. No less interesting is the account of work done among the Sailors in Calcutta. This volume presents a faithful mirror of the quaint religious life of the city in by-gone years. We have, for instance, a "Minute" declaring attendance at balls, theatrical exhibitions and such like inconsistent with a Christian profession, followed by a Resolution on the subject of "Unscriptural Marriages."

Among other quaint touches there is a story of the cheerful old undertaker, Peter Lindeman, who "was always full of praise, and on one occasion, when the carriage he was in upset, praised God that things were not worse." Apparently in those old days so far as church-membership went, it was not a difficult matter for members to get "excluded." To begin with the ladies: one was "excluded for having two children sprinkled" (*i.e.*, christened); another for "regularly breaking the Sabbath by going to market on that

* It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that the word "ignoble" is here used in its least offensive sense of "obscure" or "insignificant."

† It is only fair to Mr. Wenger to add that, since the above was written, these mistakes, among others, have been corrected in an *errata-sheet* subsequently issued.

day," and a third "as she seemed to have lost all concern about religion." One poor man "was refused admission to the Communion because he was Rs. 300 in debt and was not making any effort to pay it off." A gentleman was reproofed for having attended a ball and the theatre, but would not submit to reproof. Nor did things go serenely with the converts. Rather a versatile character was Ram Nul, who, having been converted from Hinduism to Christianity, got excluded for next turning a Mahomedan. Another convert "died in the faith, but his corpse was forcibly burnt" by his people. More hopeless, again, was the case of a third of whom we are told that he "denied Christ and died." As a set-off to this sort of thing, however, we may turn to the instance of a fourth who was "killed at Sulkca whither he had gone to preach the Gospel," and of another member who "died in the arms of the pastor." In regard to the portraits of the dead and all but forgotten worthies, the compiler is fortunate in having been able to get them together. But what should most interest the general reader are the views of Old Calcutta which are here reproduced. There are besides several others which have now been published for the first time, such as those of the various Calcutta cemeteries.

Mr. Wenger must have felt gratified at our Editor's kindly reference to his work in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*. In fine, all things considered, our humble judgment goes most decidedly in favour of the book before us. It has provided the reviewer with many a pleasant and profitable half-hour, so why should not this be the case with the reader as well?

E. W. M.

ASIATICUS.*

MR. K. N. DHAR, of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, has rendered good service to all students of the early history of the British occupation in India, in reprinting a work time was rendering nearly unprocurable. Following the recent re-issues of *Hartly House* and Mrs. Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India*, the re-appearance of the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* is well timed, and the securing of Mr. Firminger's services as the writer of an able introduction and many lucid and informing notes afford a happy augury for the success of a fascinating literary venture.

Of works dealing with the social life of Calcutta in the days of Warren Hastings, Mrs. Kindersley's *Letters from the East Indies* appeared in 1777, the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* in 1784, *Hartly House* in 1789, and Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India* in 1817. The first mentioned

*The *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* : a new edition with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, B.D., F.R.G.S., etc. Published under the auspices of the Calcutta Historical Society. Hightall—the Bengal Printing and Publishing House, 1909. Paper cover. 8vo. Rs. 1-8.

work adds but little to our knowledge of the settlement; the "Sophia Gold-borne" of *Hartly House* is somewhat unconvincing as doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of her work, and it is indeed by some supposed to be a "pot boiler" written in England by some one with a second-hand knowledge of Indian events and scenes: Mrs. Fay's Letters did not appear for many years after the 1780 and afterwards to which they relate.

The *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* went into a second edition in 1785 when the author's name was revealed on the title page as "Philip Dormer Stanhope, Esq., late of the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards." Mr. Firminger's introduction disposes of the theory that this gentleman (though perhaps a member of the House of Chesterfield) was Philip Dormer Stanhope, the fourth Earl of Chesterfield, who died in 1773 in the December of which year *Asiaticus* started on his Eastern travels, and goes on to remark that it is not at all clear why antiquarians should have got themselves so confused as to the personality of the author of the *Memoirs*. *Asiaticus* is a *nom-de-plume* which might be adopted by any one. It has always been readily assumed that the various pamphlets, letters, etc., which bear the name "Asiaticus" must be one and all by one hand.

To put an end to this confusion it should be said that there are two quite distinct books dealing with old Calcutta and both bear the *nom-de-plume Asiaticus*. The first published was the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*. The other work, *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal*, was published in Calcutta in 1803, and its authorship is usually ascribed to Major John Scott-Waring on the ground that he bore that *nom-de-plume* during the pamphlet warfare evoked by the Hastings prosecution. The Major, however, only entered the Company's service in 1766, whereas the author of the *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches* tells us that he was in Calcutta in 1757, and interviewed Omichand a year after that ex-potentate was, according to Macaulay's account, mad if not dead.

In the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson by Boswell the story is told of the trial and execution of Dr. Dodd for forging the name of his pupil Philip Dormer Stanhope, fifth Earl of Chesterfield. Dodd was hanged in 1777 and the author of the *Memoirs* left for India in 1773. A portrait (by Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.) of the fifth Earl shows him as apparently of the age of 30 or thereabouts, and is published with the account of Dodd's execution. So that it would seem that two men of much the same age were named Philip Dormer Stanhope. One the travelling dragoon with literary propensities going to India in 1773; and the other succeeding to the earldom of Chesterfield as fifth Earl in the same year.

Of the contents of the "letters" little need be said here, they are now easily available in an attractive form and their perusal is well worth indulging

in. They reveal their author as possessed of a pretty wit, manly disposition, and an eye for beauty in association with the "female form divine." The tale of a love tragedy at the beginning is told in a way that leads the reader to disbelieve in it. It is probably the result of a surrender to the then prevailing social convention which pre-supposed every man of spirit to be either rushing into a love affair or else just coming out of one.

The outward voyage with visits to Madeira, the Cape, and Joanna was full of stirring incident and a sojourn in Madras led up to an arrival in Calcutta in October 1774. The descriptive details of the visit to our city are shrewd and to the point, dealing as they do with a most important period of her history. The return to Madras was interrupted by shipwreck, but, a second departure from Calcutta having been accomplished, Fort St. George was reached again and exciting military and other adventures in the Carnatic and regions round about followed till in 1778 the traveller landed in London once more after an absence of nearly five years.

The story of the displacement and death of Lord Pigot is a feature of the closing chapters of the book.

On the eve of starting for England our author remarks:—"I have had the pleasure of seeing the beauties of Bombay, at the monthly ball, and I have spent an agreeable evening with Mr. Draper, who is senior member of the council, and is the husband of the charming Eliza, whose fame will ever live in the celebrated writings of the immortal Sterne."

It was on 12th January 1773 that Elizabeth Draper fled in company with a naval officer from her home at Mazagon and then repaired to her uncle's house at Rajamundry. She returned to England in 1774. "Eliza's history" (writes Mr. Firmininger) "is an extraordinary counterpart to the Grand-Talleyrand business. Eliza had fascinated two quaint divines—the Abbe Raynal and Laurence Sterne. Noel Catherine was long years after to captivate the ex-Bishop of Autun—the "mighty Talleyrand."

Brief extracts from the earliest and latest letters published may perhaps not unfttingly conclude this notice.

"December 1773.

"The day was at hand which was to separate me, perhaps for ever, from my beloved *Charlotte*. My feelings on this occasion I shall not attempt to describe. Imagine to yourself, that I left the house of my friend overwhelmed with grief, and that all the pomp and pride of Asiatic grandeur had, in that moment, no charms for me."

"October 1775.

"You have seen the young lady on whom my future happiness is to depend. I have been introduced in form, and I flatter myself there is no obstacle to our immediate union. You have often told me that matrimonial

felicity is by no means connected with that violent passion, which teaches the lover to deify the object of his affections, and renders him deaf to the voice of reason. I subscribe to the justice of your opinion, but I confess that I am at this moment most heartily in love. The harmony of my *Isabella's* features, and the engaging sweetness of her looks, captivated me at once, and her good sense has increased the pre-possession which was inspired by her first appearance.

"I have now a new scene before me. I think that the brightness of the present prospect more than compensates for every past uneasiness, and I hope that the chequered adventures of my former life have not disqualified me for the peaceful enjoyment of true domestic felicity."

In the book from which quotations are made the names of the lady are not in italics.

"FISCAL."

AN OLD CALCUTTA NOVEL*

FOR some time previous to his sudden and lamented death in December 1906, Mr. John Macfarlane had been making preparations for a reprint of *Hartly House*, but unfortunately all that came to hand, after his death, was "a small bundle of MS. jottings." These the skilled pen of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton has worked up into a considerable body of interesting and valuable notes, and Mr. Barwick, Mr. Macfarlane's colleague in his days at the Library of the British Museum, has prefixed to the novel a brief but sufficient introduction.

Hartly House, Calcutta, is a "novel of the days of Warren Hastings"; the plot is exceedingly commonplace: the style is that of feminine writers of the society and fashion articles in modern journals, only with this difference that "Sophia Goldborne" sentimentality is of the latter end of the XVIIIth century type. The style indeed is so affectedly feminine, while the quotations on the other hand seem drawn from a rather wide range of reading, that one is at times tempted to believe that the book was put together by some smart literary man from fragments of information derived from Calcutta friends. Is it possible that Philip Dormer Stanhope, after scoring no small success with the two editions of his *Genuine Letters of Asiaticus*, published in 1784 and 1785 respectively, in 1789 assumed the pen of the gay Sophia Goldborne in order to put forth a book written in a style which had proved itself attractive? The *Genuine Letters* do not abound with quotations, but there is a very marked similarity of style between the two books, and

* *Hartly House*, a Calcutta novel of the days of Warren Hastings. Reprinted from the Edition of 1789. Edited by J. Macfarlane. Thacker Spink & Co.

also, it may be added, the same occasional blunders as to matters of fact. The lady-writer astonishes us by writing as if Warren Hastings and his wife made their final departure from Calcutta on the same day, but on different ships, whereas Mrs. Hastings left Calcutta on 2nd January 1784 and her husband not till 1st February 1785. We can hardly believe that if the authoress was, as she professes to have been, at Calcutta at the time, she could have made such a mistake. Stanhope, on the other hand, tells us that at Bombay, in February 1778, he dined with the Governor, who "has sat in the chair with equal honour to himself, and satisfaction to those under him, for five and twenty years." William Hornby assumed office as Governor of Bombay on 26th February 1771 and he made over charge of it on 1st January 1784. Mistakes of this kind made by persons who profess to be writing with first hand knowledge and at the very time suggest that the method was in each case the same. It is as "Sydney Grier" writes of Sarah Goldborne's slip: "The extraordinary mistake made in this paragraph would surely be impossible to any one who had been in Calcutta at the time, even though writing after the lapse of five years, and it would therefore appear that the author had already left India, and did her best in 1789 to harmonize what must have seemed to her the contradictory accounts of the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Hastings."

It has been quite impossible to write on the subject of Calcutta life in the days of Hastings and Francis without quoting extensively from *Hartly House*, and the frequent quotations made from it by Dr. Basteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* will have prepared the reader to welcome this most excellently-edited reprint.* Mr. H. E. A. Cotton in his modestly-worded preface asks us to attribute the merits of the notes to Mr. Macfarlane, and to ascribe himself alone to their shortcomings. This is as a friend should have written, but, as the notes to this book are numerous (eighty-three pages), and Mr. Macfarlane is known to have left only a very few sheets of MS. jottings, Mr. Cotton cannot escape the praise which is certainly due. His work is worthy of even his high reputation. The inclusion of Wm. Baillie's reprint of Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wood's *Plan of Calcutta* is an admirable addition to the utility of the book.

The note-writer, if we may not say Mr. Cotton, just suggests that there may be some connection between the Mr. Hartly of the novel and the Surgeon Bartholomew Hartley by whose famous lottery the building fund of St. John's Church so largely benefited. The present writer recently came across the sworn evidence of this gentleman in the case of murder on

* Even Dr. Basteed, than whom no one is better acquainted with the very different styles of Mrs. Fay and Sophia Goldborne, on page 122 of the latest edition of the *Echoes*, assigns the latter's description of a Calcutta dinner table to Mrs. Fay.

high seas brought against John O'Donnell and Captain McClary, after their return in 1782 from an adventurous privateering expedition in far eastern seas. Bartholomew Hartley had accompanied O'Donnell as Surgeon on board the Privateer *The Death or Glory*. The story of that expedition, including the daring capture of Dutch Fort of Perrac I must leave for another occasion. The authoress, however, tells that her Mr. Hartly was, like her own father, an old sea-captain in the H.E.I. Co.'s service.

Notice has been taken of the curious blunder in regard to the departure of Mr. Hastings; and the note-writer himself comments on it: but I do not think he has quite caught Sophia's meaning when she tells that when Hastings would have taken leave of his friends "at Diamond Point, they would not hear of such a thing they attended him to Sawger (*sic*), the extremity of the river." The note-writer says: "We may doubt this. It was at Diamond Harbour, forty-one miles below Calcutta, that in-coming passengers transhipped into budgerows, and those who were homeward bound went on board the *Indiaman*. The budgerows would not go lower than this point, and Hastings speaks in his letters of performing the journey from Kedgeroe to Culpee (seven miles below Diamond Harbour) in a pinnace." Thompson and Turner certainly went down as far as Saugor to bid farewell to their illustrious friend, but probably by a "budgero" our authoress meant a pinnace. Then again, I think, the place she calls "Diamond Point" is in reality Melancholy Point, and not, as the note-writer would have it, Hughli Point. It was at the Powder Mills, *opposite* to Melancholy Point, at Mr. Hay's house, the farewell dinner was given. Sophia says that the "Diamond Point," the place at which on her arrival she landed and found the palanquins in waiting, was "almost four miles from the Esplanade." Supposing she was told that a "coss" means "a mile" whereas it meant two, the distance would be about correct. If, as I suspect, *Hartly House* was compiled by a person with deficient local knowledge, some five years after the events described, the confusion of Diamond Point with Melancholy Point would be easily explained.

I am *inclined* to question the note in regard to the passage at "the New Fort there is a new Church erecting." The note-writer takes this to be the present St. John's, and if this was the case we should have another and a glaring instance of the unreliability of our authoress: for we do not need to be told that St. John's Church is not within the New Fort. Some time ago Major A. W. Churchill contributed to the *Calcutta Review* an article in which every evidence of his study of old documents was apparent, and he surprised us all by giving a date (I think it was 1781) as that of the commencement of the Fort Church. The present Garrison Church of St. Peter's dates only from 1826, but it seems clear that it had a predecessor. This subject is still as vested in obscurity as is that of the design for a magnificent Cathedral that



BURDWAN.—STAR OF INDIA GATE.
(Photo by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann.)

was executed as part of a scheme for the general improvement of Calcutta devised by the Marquess of Hastings.

On page 359, the note-writer identifies the "country jail" with that "which is represented to-day by Presidency Jail on the maidan." The expression "country jail" does not mean a jail "in the country," but the *native* jail. The jail on the maidan was not built until 1778, and it was for three years used for the confinement of French prisoners of war exclusively.

At least two very well written notes have been contributed by Mr. S. C. Sanial. The statement that the *India Gazette* "started in November 1780" made here, has only in the last few days been called in question by Mr. Sanial himself. I fancy that it is to Mr. Sanial's mature knowledge we must assign the very welcome clearing up of the mystery which has hitherto obscured the identity of those "Rajahs of Chitpur."

The Publishers and the Editor are both to be congratulated on this most attractive reprint.

W. K. F.



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

I. THE PANDUA-BURDWAN EXPEDITION



AVAILING ourselves of the *Sri Panchami* holiday, we made a very pleasant and instructive visit to Pandua and Burdwan. The success of the arrangements was due to the excellent organisation of the expedition by our Secretary, to the readiness of Mr. G. Huddleston, the Traffic Manager of the East Indian Railway, to assist in every way within his power, to Mr. Moitri, and, above all, to the hospitality and instruction so liberally afforded us by the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. The Society would take this occasion to express its gratitude to members of the East Indian Railway staff—and in particular to the Station Master of Pandua—for their courteous assistance.

About sixty persons, amongst whom were our Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen, and Mrs. Stephen, joined the train at Howrah Station at 6.51 A.M. (Calcutta time). The Rev. W. K. Firminger, who was with the party, had, unfortunately for us, felt himself unable to draw up one of his usual programmes for this expedition, as he felt that, as there is such an enormous wealth of interesting but almost unstudied materials for the history of Burdwan under British Rule, it would be unwise to publish an elaborate programme until these have been dealt with. Pandua having been so recently described in a very fully illustrated article in *Bengal: Past and Present*, it was sufficient for that part of the expedition to refer the members to that source of information. Much disappointment, however, was experienced by the inability of Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, due to an urgent professional call, to join the expedition at Pandua, and explain to the members the character and history of the old Town of Victory, and its surrounding ruins.

Pandua was reached at about 8.30 A.M., and here the members, of whom not a few had left their homes before daybreak, were delighted to find an ample breakfast in readiness. Messrs. Kellner and Co. provided for our needs: the chairs, tables, etc., had all to be brought up from Calcutta beforehand: and, as all the arrangements in regard to the retiring rooms, commissariat, etc., went off so easily and so well, it is most probable that the amount of forethought and organisation which led to this success was scarcely realised



THE MUKHARA, BURDWAN.



THE PALACE, BURDWAN.



THE MOAT, DILKUSHA GARDENS, BURDWAN.

by those who benefitted by it. At Pandua even *ticca gharis* are not to be obtained, but, to save the ladies a long and dusty walk in the sun, our energetic Secretary had secured some bullock carts. We had some experience of a rogue elephant on our first visit to Plassey: at Pandua Mr. Justice Stephen's craving for ruins (*vide* his speech at the Charnock dinner) must have been satiated by a rogue-bullock, who, on this occasion, added a native hut to the list of ruins at Pandua.

For an account of the historical places of interest of Pandua, we must refer the reader to Colonel Crawford's article in Vol. II., Part II., of *Bengal: Past and Present*. On our way to the tower, the courteous Station Master took us to see a sacred tank of *maggars* not mentioned in the article referred to. For the rest of our proceedings at Pandua, I must be content to quote from a very excellent report which appeared in the *Statesman*.

The party reached Pandua at about 8-30 A.M., and after breakfast at the station provided by Messrs. Kelmer and Co., the Society's banner was unfurled; and they proceeded under the lead of the Rev. Mr. Firminger, in the unavoidable absence of Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, to visit the different places of interest. To save the ladies the long and dusty trudge back in the sun the services of a bullock-cart were requisitioned for them. Among the places visited was a sacred tank containing one or two *muggurs* or alligators, which were not on this occasion seen to advantage.

Next to Satgaon, Pandua is the oldest place in the Hugli district and is the chief Mussulman centre. Once the capital of a Hindu Raja, it is now remembered chiefly as the site (known as *Jang Maidan*) of the great victory gained over the Hindus in A. D. 1340 by Shah Safi, a Mussulman saint, whose mother was sister to the Emperor Firoz Shah II, and commemorated by a round five-storeyed tower, which is in imitation of the Kutub at Delhi, and is considered the oldest building in Bengal. The edifice—sixty feet in diameter at the base and tapering towards the top, where its diameter is only fifteen feet—continued in good condition till 1885. The fifth storey fell in the earthquake of that year and the rest of the structure began to crumble away. The building was, however, thoroughly renovated in 1907 and a fifth storey (about twenty feet high), surmounted by a cupola and a pinnacle added. It is now a hundred and twenty-seven feet high with one hundred and sixty-one steps. On the present occasion, however, no attempt was made to ascend it, owing to some delay in obtaining the key. The building now looks quite spick and span, but has lost the charming air of antiquity. Near by are the ruins of a large mosque said to have once had sixty domes, a few of which are still standing, though the greater part of the building has fallen and much of the ruins have been cleared away. A number of large, black oblong roughly carved stones, probably forming part of an older Hindu temple, may be seen strewn about. Some of these stones are worked into the mosque or act as pillars. An inscription on another mosque, recently repaired and standing on the eastern bank of a tank to the east of the tower, points to its being about two hundred years old.

East of the mosque again is a small Mussulman cemetery, walled in but falling into decay. No vestige now remains of the wall and the trench which is said to have once fortified Pandua, unless, as has been conjectured, it be the old *band* which runs from the railway, a little to the north of the station, to the Grand Trunk Road. There is also a vault under which Shah Safi was buried. An annual fair, attended by about 10,000 people, is held at Pandua in the middle of January. It only remains to add that Pandua (district Hugli)

should not be confused with the old capital of the same name situated near Malda. A pistol was fired to warn members when it was time to return to the railway station.

By way of completing our transactions at Pandua, I shall make no apology for printing here a paper by Dr. H. Blochmann which appeared in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in April 1870. I should, however, add that Dr. Denison Ross has informed our Editor that he has come across an account in Chinese of a visit of an ambassador or pilgrim from "far Cathay" to the court of Pandua.

II. *Panḍuah* (پنڈوہ).

Panḍuah is the second station after Hóglí on the E. I. R. It was till lately the chief town of the Parganah of the same name, and occurs as such in Todar Mall's rent-roll, where the Parganah is assessed at 1823202 *dāms*, or 45582 *R.* It became English in September, 1760, and formed part of what was then called the "Zamindārī of Bardwān." There were formerly fortifications, and traces of the old wall and ditch may still be seen at a good distance from the present village. The ruins of its old mosques, and the great size of its tanks with their massive *ghāṭis* amply confirm the tradition that Panḍuah was, till lately, a town of importance. Its paper manufactories existed till the beginning of the present century: the term *Panḍul Kāghiz* is even now well known among Muhammadans. The Panḍuah paper, I am told, was prized for its thinness and durability, whilst the *Arwal Kāghiz*, or paper of Arwal, a town and parganah in Bihār, on the right bank of the Son, is still valued for its thickness.

The inhabitants of Panḍuah are chiefly Muhammadans. In former time Hindús had been kept out, though of late lower castes, as shop-keepers, have settled there; but even now-a-days, I am told, not a single Brahmin is to be found there. The inhabitants all claim to have descended from the saint whose story is given below, and the nobility (*sharīf*) of their origin is never questioned outside of Panḍuah.

With the exception of the *Ain* I have not found Panḍuah mentioned in the works of Indian historians. Another town of the same name, which the inhabitants of Panḍuah spoke of as the "greater Pandua" (بڑا پنڈوہ), occurs often in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (reign of Firūz Shāh, Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 588, &c.). It lies north of Málidāh on the road to Dinagore, and is generally called on our maps *Purroa*, instead of *Panḍuah*, the nasal *w* being omitted, and the *ḍ* changed to *r*. It was a mint town,* and for some time the residence of Ilyās Bhangrah, king of Bengal (1543 to 1558).

The decline of Panḍuah appears to be due to the epidemic for which the whole district is notorious; all whom I asked on this subject, unanimously attributed the decay of the town to the prevalence of fevers.

The places of historical and archaeological interest in Panḍuah are the tower, two old mosques, of which one is in ruins, and the tomb of Shāh Saifuddin شاه مني الدين which lie close together, about twenty minutes' walk from the station. Without entering into a minute description of these buildings, which I wish to reserve till several drawings have been completed, I may state that the tower resembles in structure the Quib Manār near Dhill. The inside walls are well enamelled. A fine view may be had from the top. The

* Thomas, *l.c.* p. 56, note. The two mints, Mu'azzamshāh and Ghilāpūr, mentioned by Thomas on pp. 61, 62, can perhaps be verified. The former is probably the same as Ma'azzampur in Sennār-gāw; the latter belongs to Lakḥmānī.

mosque to the west of the tower, is very long and low, as early Pat'hān mosques are. Within are two rows of 21 pillars each, 6 feet high, with high arches. The roof contains 63 very low copolas. On the west side is a steep declivity, at the foot of which is a tank. The mosque is built of small light-red bricks which, like the 42 pillars, once belonged to a Buddhist temple. The whole east side of the mosque is one mass of Buddhistic ornaments in excellent preservation. The pillars inside are of basalt,* about half of them are well ornamented, others are barely cut. The distance between the doors is the same as the thickness of the walls, about one yard and three-quarters. The inner western wall is ornamented with low niches of Buddhistic design. In the N.-W. corner of the mosque a high platform has been erected of solid masonry with a small room on it, which is said to have served

Shāh Qāfi as *Chillakhkhānāh* (چلخانه), or room to which hermits withdraw for forty days). Outside the mosque a few unfinished basalt pillars lie about. There is no inscription on the mosque. Across the road, south of the tower, is the *Astānah* (threshold) or tomb of Qāfiuddin. It has no inscriptions on its walls. West of the tomb is a ruined mosque of the 14th or 15th century, with ornaments half Buddhistic, half Musalman. It has on the outside three basalt tablets, with Arabic inscriptions in large Tughra characters containing verses from the Qurān, &c. There is another inscription inside. They are very high on the walls; facsimiles are being taken of them. The story goes that the mosque was built by a rich merchant in fulfilment of a vow made by him for the safe return of his ships (to Sātgarw ?); but he built it with chunam made out of cowries, and demanded, moreover, that no one should repair it unless he took the same kind of lime. "Hence it is now in ruins."

The *Astānah* and the old Mosque are under the charge of two Mutawallis, who live in a village near Pappūah. About three or four generations ago, the lineal descendants of Qāfi having died out, the Mutawalliship fell into the hands of a branch-line, to which the present Mutawallis belong. The old mosque is chiefly used for prayer at the time of the Baqr 'īd. Several fairs are annually held for the benefit of the Astānah, and many people come from distant places, and prepare food, or present eatables receiving in return every assurance that the desires of their hearts (*hājāt*) will be fulfilled. The beautiful tank to the south of the tomb, is called *Rangah Pokhar*. Another tank also, north of Pappūah, belongs to the Saint, and is called *Pir Pokhar*. A large alligator lives in it, and when the Faqir near the tank calls "Kālī Khān" or "Kābr Khan Miyān," evidently in allusion to its black colour, it will come to the land expecting to get a fowl as reward.† Hindūs and Muhammadans sacrifice to it poultry in fulfilment of vows. It is curious to see how such places are patronised by the people, irrespective of their creed; and I have often remarked, that Hindūs, whenever the treatment of a disease, for instance, is left to the miraculous power of a saint, will apply to a Muhammadan dervish, and reversely, Muhammadans to Hindū Faqirs. Only lately a Hindū sent his son from Hūgli to Harwār in Balindā (24 Parganah), the burial-place of Gorā Chānd, to whose memory a fair is also annually held in Baniapokhar, Calcutta (Circular Road). On arrival at Harwār, the hermit told him to lie down, when some time after, he fell over the young man beating him severely with a large stick. Some of his companions came to rescue him; but he told them to let the Faqir do what he liked; he patiently bore the thrashing, and got cured.

* Dr. Stoliczka informs me that the basalt of these pillars is the same as the basalt found in the Rājmahal Hills.

† The guardian of the tank who, on the occasion of the C. H. S. visit, called for the alligator seemed to cry "Aww, miah, aww."—ED., B. P. and P.

There is also a modern mosque in Paḍuah, called the Qutb Ḡālib Mosque. It was built in 1140 A. H. (1727-28 A. D.) by Fatch Khān, son of Shujā', an Afghān of the Sur clan.

The following is the legend which I heard at Paḍuah regarding the foundation of the Muhammadan settlement :—

"Six hundred years ago, when the Paḍub Rājah reigned over the district, Shāh Ḡāfiuddīn lived at Paḍuah. The Rājah was a powerful man, and resided at Mahānāth, a village not far from Paḍuah. Shāh Ḡāfi was a man of illustrious descent. His father, Bar-khurdār, was a noble of the Court of Dīlhi, and had married a sister of the Emperor Firūz Shāh. Once a feast was given in Paḍuah, to celebrate the circumcision of a boy, and a cow had been killed on the occasion. This sacrilege was reported to the Paḍub Rājah, who had the child killed. Ḡāfi then went to Dīlhi, complained to his uncle, the emperor, and asked him to give him a sufficient number of troops to punish the Rājah. His request was granted; but as the expedition was a religious war, Ḡāfi before setting out for Bengal, went to Pānīpat-Karnāl, to ask the blessing of Bū 'Alī Qalandar, a renowned saint. The blessing was not withheld, and the saint assured Ḡāfi that he had received the glad tidings of victory from heaven. Ḡāfi now moved to Paḍuah. In his army there were also two other men of renown, Zāfir Khān-i-Ḡhāzī, whose shrine is at Tribeni, north of Hūgll, and Bahrām Saqqā, who had imposed upon himself the task of serving as Bhlshī (*saqqā*) in a war against infidels. His shrine is at Bardwān. But it was a difficult matter to crush the power of the Rājah; for near his residence at Mahānāth he had a tank, the waters of which possessed miraculous powers; and whenever a Hindū had been killed, the Paḍub Rājah threw the dead body into the tank, and life and health were immediately restored. Ḡāfi soon saw that his efforts would be fruitless, unless the restorative power of the tank was first broken. This was at last accomplished by some faqīrs who had attached themselves to his expedition. They killed a cow, and managed to throw the liver into the tank, when all at once the Devis, upon whose presence the virtue of the water depended, went away. The Rājah was now easily defeated, and his power completely broken. The old temple in Paḍuah was also destroyed, and the present mosque built with its materials. The large tower was used as Manārāh for the call to prayer, and every Hindū was driven out of the town.

"Ḡāfi soon after continued his wars with the infidels, and was at last killed in a fight. His children buried him at Paḍuah, and erected the vault, which, together with his mosque, still exists. His descendants increased so rapidly, that Paḍuah soon became a large place. The fame also of the nobility of its inhabitants, who all trace their descent to the sister of the emperor Firūz Shāh, spread over the whole of Bengal."

This is the legend. I have not met with Ḡāfiuddīn's name in any Indian History, or in the numerous biographies of Muhammadan saints. The story, however, contains one historical personage, the saint Bū 'Alī Qalandar of Pānīpat-Karnāl, to whom, as related above, Ḡāfi applied for blessing. This apparently most unimportant item furnishes the clue to the whole legend. His full name is Shaikh Sharafuddīn Bū 'Alī Qalandar. He was a follower of the first Indian saint, Mu'īnuddīn-i-Chishtī, whose tomb is at Ajmīr, and wrote several religious works, from among which a small *Maṣnawī*, without title, has been printed.* Bū 'Alī Qalandar lived at Pānīpat, and died there, at an advanced age, on the 13th Ramazān, 724, or in the middle of September, 1324, A. D. His shrine still exists in Pānīpat. The

* See below. For Zāfir Khān see above. Pp. 22-4—E.E.

† Calcutta, A. H. 1283. It is merely called *Maṣnawī-i-Shaikh Bū 'Alī Qalandar*, 18 pp. small 8vo. like all didactic *Maṣnawīs*, it is written in short *Kawāl*.



PIB BAHARI, BURDWAN.
(Photo, by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann.)

date of the death of the saint enables us to ascertain which of the three emperors of Delhi bore the name of Firuz Shāh, corresponds to the Firuz Shāh of the Pandua legend. Firuz Shāh I. died in A. D. 1236; Firuz Shāh II. in 1296; and Firuz Shāh III. reigned from 1351 to 1388; and thus we see that the Pandua legend means Firuz Shāh II., or, according to his full name, Jalaluddin-i-Khilji Firuz Shāh, whose contemporary Bā 'Alī Qalandar was.

We may thus safely refer the foundation of the Muhammadan settlement at Pandua to the very end of the 13th century, or not quite 100 years after the conquest of Naddia and the overthrow of Lakshmanjyāh rulers of Bengal by Bakhtiyār-i-Khilji, a date with which not only the style of architecture of the Pat'hān Mosque of Pandua, but also the inscriptions on Zafar's tomb in Tribeni (A. H. 713, or A. D. 1313) fully agree.

Beginning—

محبوبای بلبل باغ سغن از گل رستا یغو یا ما سغن

And—

روز معشر دار با آل رسول از طفیل مقلان گردید قبول

It is interesting to add that, after Dr. Blochmann had read his paper, the Rev. J. Long "observed that he had obtained from the neighbourhood of Pandua two Buddhist coins which are about thirteen hundred years old, and indicate that Buddhism must have at that time been flourishing in these districts."

After a stay at Pandua of about three hours, the Society left for Burdwan, where, about noon, they arrived, and were welcomed by the Staff of the Maharajadhiraj. Carriages had been provided for members of the expedition, and they at once set to visit the most important sites of interest. Passing beneath the fine arche-de-triomphe, the Star of India, erected by the present Maharajadhiraj, the party reached the Palace. Every one was delighted to see in the Palace grounds a statue of one of the most illustrious of our Society's Patrons, Lord Curzon. Leaving the Palace, under the conduct of the Maharajadhiraj, we proceeded in stately procession to visit the garden of Pir Bahram. Here Mr. Firminger read aloud a document placed in his hands by the Maharajadhiraj, which runs as follows:—

In the memorandum book of Khusho there occurs the following reference to Pir Bahram:—

"Hazrat Haji Bahram Sakka was a native of Turkestan. He belonged to the Bayat sect of Musulmans."

This great man is also noticed, as follows, in the memorandum book of Nudrat:— During the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Bahram Sakka came to Delhi and was, for his piety, taken into the good graces of the emperor who placed implicit confidence in him, but owing to the machinations of Abul Fazi and Fazi who held important posts in the court of Akbar and who had grown jealous of him Bahram Sakka left Delhi in disgust and came to Burdwan. He, however, died here within three days of his arrival. It is also stated that when Bahram Sakka arrived at Burdwan, he heard of a famous hermit named Jalpal and made his acquaintance. The latter, however, very much struck and impressed with the miracles performed by this Mahomedan saint, became his disciple. The garden where the

grave of Bahram Sakka lies formerly belonged to Jaipal, who having made over all his belongings to Bahram Sakka fixed his residence in the corner of the garden where it still stands. When the news of the demise of Bahram Sakka reached Akbar, he, through the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, allotted the revenues of certain villages to the perpetuation of his memory. The tank and the garden were repaired and an allowance of two rupees a day was made for daily charity. Latterly the Government has granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 41-2-3 for the purpose. It is further related that Bahram Sakka was a Haji of Mecca and Medina and he afterwards became a watercarrier in the streets of Mecca and Najaf. It was his duty to offer water to every thirsty wayfarer and this act was considered highly virtuous. Bahram Sakka wrote in his works "Shaikh Sadi was a water-carrier for forty years."

The date of the death of Bahram Sakka (as engraved on the tombstone) 970 Hijri.

INSCRIPTIONS.

(1) *Arabic.*

Bismellâ her rahimâ ner rahim.

Ba mazmoon aye-h-i-karimâ âtel mâlâ alâhoob behi rawai korbâ wal etimâ, wal masâkiwâ wa imnassabil, was-Sâellinâ fer rekab. ba tosadduq fark mobarek wa banesâr harrat Shahanshahi darjaorti madadeh mâsh mazzâr anwâr Hazrat Salekeen bamajab nabeshtal alâhedâ mokarrar namudâ Shod wa matwalli Shaikh Bakhtiar bashad. Tagayyar Kunandayeh in karm nâ lanateh haq wa nafien rasul bashad (1015 Hijri).

SHAH SHUJA.

The rich should, according to the injunction of the Koran, with pleasure, help orphans, beggars, the afflicted and the homeless. The sum thus allotted by me should be spent in helping the poor and meeting the establishment charges of this sacred shrine and I appoint Bakhtiar Sheekh its manager. He who alters this my doing shall incur the odium of God and His Prophet.

(2) *Persian.*

Haji Bahram Sakka.

Paî tahrir sâleh fowt Sakka, namodam az Khodâ chun man tamannâ, Nedâ amad sedargâheh jalâlah, bood derveshma Bahram Sakka.

When I wished to know the date of Sakka's death, a voice came from the seat of God, saying "Bahram Sakka was my fakir."

Died 970 Hijri.

In the Garden of Pir Bahram, where his mussak was exhibited, we visited the graves of Shere Afghan, and his would-be murderer Kutub-ul-Din. There is something very pathetic in the close proximity in death of the bodies of these two foes. The tragedy which these graves memorialise may best be told in the words of that distinguished scholar, Charles Stewart:—

When the emperor Jehangire felt himself firmly established on his throne, and found that he could dispense with the services of Raja Man Singh, he recalled him from Bengal, and appointed his own foster-brother, Cuttub Addeen Kokultash, to the government of the three provinces of Behar, Bengal and Orissa. On the 9th of the month Suffer, of the



KHWAJA ANWARA'S BEBA, BURDWAN.



THE SHIVALAYA OF 108 TEMPLES, NAWABHAT, BURDWAN.

year 1013,* the new governor was invested with the robes of office, and, in addition to the usual present of horses, elephants and arms, received from the royal treasury 200,000 rupees for his own expenses, and 300,000 for the expenses of his followers.

A. D. 1001.

Some months after the arrival of the new governor at the capital of Bengal, he took offence that Shere Afgan, a nobleman celebrated for his great prowess, but who, disgusted with court, had retired to his estate in Burdwan, had not come to Rajmahal, to congratulate him upon his accession to the government; he therefore summoned him to appear, and to clear himself from some charges of which he stood accused. Shere, suspecting that treachery was designed, refused to move from Burdwan; and the viceroy, having represented this contumacious conduct to the emperor, received orders to send Shere Afgan a prisoner to court; and if this measure should be found impracticable, to put him to death, either by open force or by stratagem.

Such were the ostensible motives assigned for this transaction; but, in order to elucidate the real cause of this event, it becomes requisite to revert to the History of Hindoostan, and to introduce to the reader one of the most celebrated characters that has ever appeared on the theatre of Asia.

History of Khaja
Aias.

"About twenty years before this period, Khaja Aias, a native of the western Tartary, left that country to push his fortune in Hindoostan. He was descended of an ancient and noble family, fallen into decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could bestow. Falling in love with a young woman as poor as himself, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very necessaries of life. Reduced to the last extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the usual resource of the needy Tartars of the north. He left privately friends, who either would not, or could not, assist him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all consisted of one sorry horse, and a very small sum of money, which had proceeded from the sale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horse, he walked by her side. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue of so great a journey. Their scanty pittance of money was soon expended: they had even subsisted for some days upon charity, when they arrived on the skirts of the great solitudes which separate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No house was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain misery; to proceed, apparent destruction.

They had fasted three days: to complete their misfortunes, the wife of Aias was taken in labour. She began to reproach her husband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet, though poor, life, for the ideal prospect of wealth in a distant country. In this distressed situation she brought forth a daughter. They remained in the place for some hours, with a vain hope that travellers might pass that way. They were disappointed: human feet seldom tread these deserts. The sun declined apace: they feared the approach of night; the place was the haunt of wild beasts; and should they escape their hunger, they must fall by their own. Khaja Aias, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horse, found himself so much exhausted that he could scarcely move. To carry the child was impossible: the mother could not even hold herself fast on the horse. A long contest began between humanity and necessity: the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expose the child on the highway. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree; and the disconsolate parents proceeded in tears.

* *i.e.*, the Mohammedan era.

When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer distinguish the solitary tree under which she had left her daughter, she gave way to grief; and throwing herself from the horse on the ground, exclaimed, 'My child! my child!' She endeavoured to raise herself; but she had no strength to return. Aïass was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to sit down: he promised to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No sooner had his eyes reached the child, then he was almost struck dead with horror. A black snake, it is said, was coiled around it; and Aïass believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father rushed forward: the serpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful escape of the infant, some travellers appeared, and soon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually, and came to Lahore.

The emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Aïass,* kept his court at Lahore. Asuf Khan, one of that monarch's principal omrahs, attended then the presence. He was a distant relation to Aïass, and he received him with attention and friendship. To employ him, he made him his own secretary. Aïass soon recommended himself to Asuf in that station; and, by some accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the emperor, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse. He became, in process of time, master of the household; and his genius being still greater than even his good fortune, he raised himself to the office and title of Actimâd-ul-Dowla, or high-treasurer of the empire. Thus he, who had almost perished through mere want in the desert, became, in the space of a few years, the first subject in India.

The daughter, who had been born to Aïass in the desert, received, soon after his arrival at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Nissa, or the Sun of Women. She had some right to the appellation; for in beauty she excelled all the ladies of the East. She was educated with the utmost care and attention. In music, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, she had no equal among her sex. Her disposition was volatile, her wit lively and satirical, her spirit lofty and uncontrolled. Selim, the prince-royal, visited one day her father. When the public entertainment was over, when all, except the principal guests, were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to custom, were introduced in their veils. The ambition of Mher-ul-Nissa aspired to a conquest of the prince. She sung—he was in raptures; she danced—he could hardly be restrained by the rules of decency, to his place. Her stature, her shape, her gait, had raised his ideas of her beauty to the highest pitch. When his eyes seemed to devour her, she, as by accident, dropt her veil; and shone upon him, at once, with all her charms. The confusion, which she could well feign, on the occasion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye by stealth fell upon the prince, and kindled all his soul into love. He was silent for the remaining part of the evening. She endeavoured to confirm by her wit the conquest which the charms of her person had made.

Selim, distracted with his passion, knew not what course to take. Mher-ul-Nissa had been betrothed, by her father, to Aly Cooly Shere Afgan, a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown. Selim applied to his father Akbar, who sternly refused to commit a piece of injustice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. The prince retired abashed; and Mher-ul-Nissa became the wife of Shere Afgan. The latter, however, suffered in his prospects of life, for not having made a voluntary resignation of the lady to the enamoured

* In the *Tarikh Akbari*, he is called Ghyas Beg.



THE INSTALLATION CEREMONY OF MAHARAJADHIRAJ BIRAJ CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR AT BURDWAN,
on the 10th February, 1902.

prince. Though Selim durst make no open attack upon his fortunate rival, during the life of Akbar, men in office worshipped the rising sun, and threw accumulated disgrace on Shere Afgan. He became disgusted, and left the court of Agra. He retired into the province of Bengal, and obtained, from the Subahdar of that country, the superintendency of the district of Burdwan.

The passion for Mher-ul-Nissa, which Selim had repressed from a respect and fear of his father, returned with redoubled violence when he himself mounted the throne of India. He was now absolute: no subject could thwart his will and pleasure. He recalled Shere Afgan from his retreat. He was afraid, however, to go so much against the current of the public opinion, as to deprive that amyr of his wife. Shere was inflexible: no man of honour in India can part with his spouse, and retain his life. His incredible strength and bravery had rendered Shere extremely popular. He was naturally high-spirited and proud; and it was not to be expected that he would yield to indignity and public shame. His family, and his former reputation, were high. Born of noble parents in Turkomania, he had spent his youth in Persia; and had served, with uncommon renown, Shaw Ismael, the third of the Safviye line. His original name was Asta Jillo, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Shere Afgan, or the overthrower of the lion. Under the latter name he became famous in India. In the wars of Akbar, he had served with great reputation. He had distinguished himself in a particular manner under Khan Khana at the taking of Sind, by exhibiting prodigies of personal strength and valour. Preferments had been heaped upon him; and he was highly esteemed at court during the life of Akbar, who loved in others that daring intrepidity for which he himself was renowned.

Jehangire kept his court at Dehly, when he called Shere Afgan to the presence. He received him graciously, and conferred new honours upon him. Shere Afgan, naturally open and generous, suspected not the emperor's intentions. Time, he thought, had erased the memory of Mher-ul-Nissa from Jehangire's mind. He was deceived: the monarch was resolved to remove his rival; but the means he used were at once ungenerous and disgraceful. He appointed a day for hunting; and ordered the haunt of an enormous tiger to be explored. News was soon brought, that a tiger of an extraordinary size was discovered in the forest of Nidarbari. This savage, it was said, had carried off many of the largest oxen from the neighbouring villages. The emperor directed thither his march, attended by Shere Afgan, and all his principal officers, with their train of dependants. Having, according to the custom of the Moghul Tartars, surrounded the ground for many miles, they began to move toward the centre, on all sides. The tiger was roused: his roaring was heard in all quarters; and the emperor hastened to the place.

The nobility being assembled, Jehangire called aloud, 'who among you will advance singly, and attack this tiger?' They looked on one another in silence: then all turned their eyes on Shere Afgan. He seemed not to understand their meaning. At length three omrahs started forth from the circle, and, sacrificing fear to shame, fell at the emperor's feet, and begged permission to try singly their strength against the formidable animal. The pride of Shere Afgan arose. He had imagined that none durst attempt a deed so dangerous. He hoped that after the refusal of the nobles, the honour of the enterprise would devolve in course on his hands. But three had offered themselves for the combat; and they were bound in honor to insist on their prior right. Afraid of losing his former renown, Shere Afgan began thus in the presence: 'to attack an animal with weapons is both unmanly and unfair. God has given to man limbs and sinews, as well as to tigers: he had added reason to the former, to conduct his strength.' The other omrahs objected in vain; 'that all men were inferior to the tiger in strength, and that

he could be overcome only with steel.' 'I will convince you of your mistake,' Shere Afgan replied; and, throwing down his sword and shield, prepared to advance unarmed.

Though the emperor was, in secret, pleased with a proposal full of danger to Shere, he made a shew of dissuading him from the enterprise. Shere was determined. The monarch, with feigned reluctance, yielded. Men know not whether they ought most to admire the courage of the man, or to exclaim against the folly of the deed. Astonishment was painted in every face; every tongue was silent. Writers give a particular but incredible detail of the battle between Shere Afgan and the tiger. This much is certain, that, after a long and obstinate struggle, the astonishing warrior prevailed, and, though mangled with wounds himself, laid at last the savage dead at his feet. The thousands who were eye-witnesses of the action were even almost afraid to vouch for the truth of the exploit, with their concurring testimony. The fame of Shere was increased, and the designs of the emperor failed. But the determined cruelty of the latter stopt not here: other means of death were contrived against the unfortunate Shere.

He had scarcely recovered from his wounds, when he came to pay his respects at court. He was caressed by the emperor; and he suspected no guile. A snare, however, was prepared for him. Jehangire had meanly condescended to give private orders to the rider of one of his largest elephants, to waylay his rival, in one of the narrow streets, when he next should return to court, and there to tread him to death. As accidents of that kind sometimes happen, from the rage of those animals in the rutting season, the thing might have passed without suspicion. Shere was carried in his palanky. He saw the elephant in his way. He gave orders to the bearers to return back: the elephant came forward: they threw the palanky, with their master, in the street, and fled to save their lives. Shere saw his danger. He had just time to rise. He drew a short sword, which always hung by his side: with this weapon he struck the elephant across the root of the trunk, which he cut off with one blow. The animal roared, turned from him, fell down, and expired. The emperor was looking out at a window: he retired with amazement and shame. Shere continued his way to the palace. Without any suspicion of treachery, he related the particulars to Jehangire. The latter disguised his sentiments, but relinquished not his designs. He praised the strength and valour of Shere, who retired satisfied, and unsuspecting, from the presence.

Whether the emperor endeavoured to conquer his passion for Mher-ul-Nissa, or felt remorse from his own behaviour, is uncertain; but, for the space of six months, no further attempts were made against the life of Shere, who now retired to Bengal. The former designs of Jehangire were no secret: they were the subject of common conversation, little to the advantage of the character of a great prince. Absolute monarchs, however, are never without men who flatter their worst passions, and administer to their most pernicious pleasures. Cutub, Subahdar of Bengal, was one of these convenient sycophants. To ingratiate himself with the emperor, though perhaps not by his express commands, he hired forty ruffians to attack and murder Shere, when an opportunity should offer. Shere was apprized of the intentions of Cutub. He continued within doors; but such was his confidence in his own strength and valour, that at night he would not permit his servants to remain in his house. They, according to custom, retired each to his own home. An old porter only remained, of the men-servants, under the same roof with Shere. The assassins were no strangers to a circumstance common in India. They made their observations upon the house: they found that there was a room on the right hand within the principal door, which Shere used as writing chamber. This room communicated, by a narrow passage with the sleeping apartments. When it was dark, they took advantage of the old porter's absence, and conveyed themselves, without discovery, into the house.



TOMB OF SHER AFGAN KHAN.
(Photo. by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)

The principal door being bolted at the usual hour, Shere and his family went to bed. Some of the assassins, when they thought he was fallen asleep, stole silently into his apartment. They prepared to plunge their daggers into his body, when one of them, who was an old man, being touched with remorse, cried out with a loud voice, 'hold! have we not the emperor's orders? Let us behave like men. Shall forty fall upon one; and that one asleep!' 'Boldly spoken!' said Shere, starting that instant from his bed. Seizing his sword, he placed himself in a corner of the room: here he was attacked by the assassins. In a few minutes, many of the villains lay, weltering in their blood, at his feet. Scarce one half escaped without a wound. The old man, who had given warning, did not attempt to fly. Shere took him by the hand, praised, and thanked him for his behaviour, and, having inquired about those who hired the assassins, dismissed him, with handsome presents, to relate the particulars abroad.

The fame of this gallant exploit resounded through the whole empire. Shere could not stir abroad for the mob, who pressed around him. He, however, thought proper to retire from the capital of Bengal to his old residence at Burdwan. He hoped to live there in obscurity and safety with his beloved Mher-ul-Nissa. He was deceived: the Subahdar of Bengal had received his government for the purpose of removing the unfortunate Shere; and he was not ungrateful. After deliberating with himself about the means, he at last fell upon an effectual expedient. Setting the affairs of his government at Rajemahal, which was at that time the capital of Bengal, he resolved, with a great retinue, to make the tour of the dependent provinces. In his route, he came to Burdwan. He made no secret to his principal officers, that he had the emperor's orders for dispatching Shere. That devoted amyr, hearing that the Subahdar was entering the town in which he resided, mounted his horse, and, with two servants only, went to pay his respects. The Subahdar received Shere with affected politeness. They rode, for some time, side by side; and their conversation turned upon indifferent affairs. The Subahdar suddenly stopped: he ordered his elephant of state to be brought; which he mounted, under a pretence of appearing with becoming pomp in the city of Burdwan. Shere stood still, when the Subahdar was ascending; and one of the pikemen, pretending that Shere was in the way, struck his horse, and began to drive him before him. Shere was enraged at the affront: he knew that the pikeman durst not have used that freedom without his master's orders; he saw plainly that there was a design laid against his life. Turning therefore round upon the pikeman, he threatened him with instant death. The man fell on the ground and begged for mercy. Swords were drawn. Shere had no time to lose: he spurred his horse up to the elephant, on which the Subahdar was mounted, and, having broken down the *ambury* or castle, cut him in two: and thus the unfortunate Cuttub became the victim of his own zeal to please the emperor. Shere did not rest here: he turned his sword on the other officers. The first that fell by his hands was Aba Khan, a native of Cashmere, who was an amyr of five thousand horse. Four other nobles shared the same fate: a death attended every blow from the hand of Shere. The remaining chiefs were at once astonished and frightened: they fled to a distance and formed a circle around him. Some began to gail him with arrows; others to fire with their musquets. His horse, at length, being shot with a ball in the forehead, fell under him. The unfortunate Shere, reduced to the last extremity, began to upbraid them with cowardice. He invited them severally to single combat; but he begged in vain. He had already received some wounds: he plainly saw his approaching fate. Turning his face toward Mecca, he took up some dust with his hand, and, for want of water, threw it, by way of ablution, upon his head. He then stood up, seemingly unconcerned. Six balls entered his body, in different places, before he fell. His enemies had scarcely courage to come near,

till they saw him in the last agonies of death. They praised his valour to the skies ; but, in adding to his reputation, they took away from their own.

The officer, who succeeded the deceased Subahdar in the command of the troops, hastened to the house of Shere. He was afraid that Mher-ul-Nissa, in the first paroxysms of grief, might make way with herself. That lady, however, bore her misfortunes with more fortitude and resignation. She was unwilling to adopt the manners of her country, upon such tragical occasions : she even pretended, in vindication of her apparent insensibility, to follow the injunctions of her deceased lord. She alleged that Shere, foreseeing his own fall by Jehangire, had conjured her to yield to the desires of that monarch without hesitation. The reasons which she said he gave were as feeble as the fact itself was improbable—he was afraid that his own exploits would sink into oblivion, without they were connected with the remarkable event of giving an empress to India."

When intelligence of the death of Cuttub Addeen Khan reached the emperor, he was much afflicted, as he had ever found him a faithful and devoted servant ; and it is said, that, on this occasion, Jehangire made a vow he would never see the lady who had been, though unconsciously, the cause of his favourite's death : but the beauty and attractions of that accomplished female made him change his resolution, and, for many years, she, conjointly with him, ruled the empire of India. A circumstance so uncommon in an Asiatic government is thus recorded on the coin of that period :

بِأَمْرِ شَاهِ جِهَانْگِیْرِ یَانْتِ مَدِ زَیَوَرِ بِنَامِ نَوْرِ جِهَانْ بَانْشَهْ یَدَامِ زَرِ

By order of the emperor Jehangire, gold acquired a hundred times additional value by the name of the empress Noot Jehan (*Light of the World*).—*Khafy Khan's History*.

From Pir Bahram's Garden we proceeded to Khwaja Anwar's tomb or Bera, and on our way we passed a little Hindu shrine of red brick basso-relievo, which represents that indigenous school of Bengali art, so richly represented at Bansbaria, and which, so far as we know, no archæologist has ever taken account of. At the Khwaja Anwar's Bera the accompanying document was placed in Mr. Firminger's hand.

Nearly 350 years ago, Khwaje Anwar was deputed by the Emperor of Delhi with a detachment of army to suppress Sobha Sing and Babu Sing, who had risen against the Maharaja of Burdwan. Khwaje Anwar met with a rather mysterious death in this tent at Murkati, a place on the opposite side of the Damodar. He was a great favourite of Emperor Faruk Siyyar, who made arrangements for his burial here and had this building erected and gave *Ber* and five mousahs (Edilpur, etc.) to his descendants. The five mousahs were settled by the Government with the Maharaja of Burdwan and in lieu of the rent of the mousahs, Rs. 321 is received every month from the local Collectorate, from which are met all expenses in connection with *Shirinis*, charities, feeding of fakirs, servants' wages, etc. There are four *Matwallis*.

In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, in 1696 A.D., Subha Singh, Talukdar of Chitwa and Burda, then a part of Burdwan, raised the standard of rebellion against the Empire and slew the Maharaja of Burdwan Krishna Ram Rai and captured all the members of his family except his son Jagat Ram Rai, who escaped to Dacca and got assistance. The Governor of Dacca sent along with Jagat Ram a Mahomedan Captain who fought and got back all the properties for the Maharaja of Burdwan. This Captain after the recapture of the properties died and the Maharaja of Burdwan again sought the assistance of the

Governor of Dacca. The brother of the late deceased Captain came to Burdwan and lived in this place and hence it is called Khwaje Anwar ka Bera, or Compound, or residence of Khwaje Anwar.

The reader will notice from the illustration that the aisles of the essentially Mahomedan Bera are in architecture characteristically Hindu. The revolt of Subha Singh is of great interest, for it formed the excuse for the commencement of the erection of the old Fort William at Calcutta.

The grant allowed for the upkeep of the Bera and the garden in which it stands is so liberal that it is, to say the least, disappointing to find that not more is done by those in charge to make the best of this picturesque place.

The Society then repaired to the Palace, where the Maharajadhiraj entertained the members of the expedition to a sumptuous lunch for which, after their long journey, they were very well prepared. After lunch, our Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen, briefly but very enthusiastically, expressed the gratitude of the Society to the Maharajadhiraj for his hospitality and for all the trouble he had taken to make our visit to Burdwan both pleasant and instructive, and in so doing Mr. Stephen alluded in felicitous terms to what had been most obvious to every member of the expedition—our host's zeal for the preservation and wellbeing of the historic monuments in the district, which has the good fortune to be under his paternal care. The Maharajah, in reply, made allusion to the splendid services rendered by Lord Curzon to the cause of the preservation of historical monuments throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan.

After lunch, an opportunity was afforded of seeing the Palace. The portraits in the banquet hall are of great historical interest. The Burdwan Raj family have so long been domiciled in Bengal that we are apt to forget that it hails from the land of the five rivers. The family portraits not only bear witness to a continuity of great interest, but the portraits of Europeans intermingled with those of the Rajahs, show how loyal the Burdwan Raj has been to all that had made for "light and leading" during the residence of that family in Bengal. A very special interest was taken in a fine picture of the ceremony of the installation of the present Maharajadhiraj. Those of us who care for Italian art had the opportunity of inspecting an original masterpiece. Some of us strayed into the library, and there is a report current that our Secretary had to proceed to violent measures in order to get our Editor away from the books and back to the train.

The day was so delightfully spent that there was no time left to regret that we were leaving Burdwan with much to be seen and which we had failed to see. We may, perhaps, have seen in passing Azim-u-Shan's Mosque, but we paid it no attention. We should have liked to have visited the C.M.S. station, so eloquent of the memory of Perowne and Weitbrecht. We

were unable to visit the Sivalaya temples, for which the following note had been prepared for our edification.

The group of 109 temples at Nawab Hat was built and consecrated in Kartick 1195 B.S. (October 1788) by the Maharani Adhikari Visnu Kumari Debi, wife of the late Maharaja Adhiraj Tilak Chand Bahadur and mother of the Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur. The worship of an hundred and eight phallic emblems of Siva is mentioned in the *Tantras* as productive of great religious merit. It is said to have special efficacy in averting certain dangers such as social degradation (loss of caste), extinction of one's race, fatal diseases, etc. The number 108 has a great significance. The temples represent the beads in a rosary and these symbolize the letters in the Sanskrit alphabet. The fifty letters counted from beginning to end and again the other way give us the figure 100. To this is added "8" as representing the groups (a, ka, cha, ta, tha, pa, ya, sa) into which the letters are arranged. There is yet one more bead called the "*Mera*" or pole which serves to separate the two terminal beads and which by its peculiar shape apprises the votary that the full tale of the beads has once been told off. Accordingly there is an 109th temple standing outside the temple grounds typifying the "*Mera*" or the Polar bead. It may be interesting to note the word "*Mala*" which is a Sanskrit synonym for rosary, is a compound of the two letters "a" and "kha" (respectively the first letter and the *Mera*).

From the Palace, the expedition drove through the delightful Dilkusha gardens to the station, where their reserved carriages were coupled to the Calcutta train at 5 P.M.

2. THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The second Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, 5th February, 1909, in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the President, Sir Francis Maclean, taking the chair at 6 o'clock. There was a fair attendance. The Report and Audited Accounts were presented and passed, and office-bearers elected for the year 1909. A *verbatim* report of the proceedings, with the Report and Accounts and a full list of members, has been separately circulated.

3. PLASSEY REVISITED.

The second visit to Plassey afforded an opportunity for a more thorough examination of the historic field than did its predecessor. A large party left Sealdah by ordinary passenger train at 9-24 on the evening of Friday, 5th March. Some delay occurred at Krishnagar owing to a breakdown, but, additional engine power having been obtained, was reached about 6-30, the scheduled time.

Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, Private Secretary to H.H. the Nawab of Moorshedabad and author of the *Musnad of Moorshedabad*, and Mr. Bessent, Master of the Horse to the Nawab, met the party on the platform. The Nawab had very kindly arranged for the attendance of nine elephants and a number of fine horses for the use of the visitors, the cavalcade with Mr. and Mrs.



SNAP-SHOT PICTURES, RUDDWAN EXPEDITION.



BURDWAN EXPEDITION,
(Photo. by Mrs. W. L. Stewart.)



BURDWAN.

Firminger on the guide elephant (carrying the Society's Flag) spent three hours or more on the inspection of the ground which was the theatre of the momentous operation of 23rd June 1757.

There is no need to repeat the remarks that appeared in a previous issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* on the subject of the battle. On this occasion a wider *detour* was made, which embraced several additional features of interest, and at many of the positions marked by P.W.D. pillars Mr. Firminger addressed his fellow riders on subjects of importance which they indicated.* The site of the mango grove was skirted; that of the "Hunting House" (long since demolished) noted, and the relative positions of the British and French guns ascertained. After an inspection of the earlier Government memorial erected many years ago the new obelisk—the suggestion of Lord Curzon—was seen to be approaching completion. It occupied a commanding position on a mound just beyond the Government Resthouse and can be seen from a great distance, and will prove when finished a worthy memorial of one of the great decisive battles of history. The pedestal is black, the shaft white, and a railing of wide circumference will surround the whole. Ornamental bronze shields with descriptive particulars were in course of being placed in position. A photograph was taken by Mr. W. Archer.

The return to the station was made well before the heat of the day set in, but Sealdah was not reached until late on the Saturday evening, owing to the unpunctuality of the train on the return journey.



* On the occasion of the first expedition, the Society advanced from the site of the Mango Grove towards that of the enemy's lines: on this occasion the Society passed the wide circle formed by the troops of Suraj-a-Daula's treacherous generals, and proceeded from the Nawab's camp to the English lines.

General Note Book.



R. H. E. BUSTEED writes :—While preparing the fourth edition of the *Echoes*, and for some time before and after, I was unable, through ill-health, to spend many days in London; I could not therefore make an opportunity for visiting the Herald's College and enquiring there about the grant of arms which I had long known through my correspondence with his descendants had been applied for by and conceded to J. Z. Holwell in 1762. Some months ago, however, and during the summer, I paid my long deferred visit to the College. An interview with the courteous Somerset Herald resulted on my ordering and obtaining there an exact copy of the new Coat of Arms (with the petition and grant) emblazoned in original size on parchment. This document I sent out by last mail and presented to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, where I considered it might appropriately find a place.

I now send herewith a very fine photograph of the new arms to the Calcutta Historical Society. Accompanying the larger photo is one of the Holwell crest as in 1758 to show the difference. The latter is from a print which belonged to Governor Holwell and was pasted into one of the volumes of his copy of Voltaire's works which were left to me by Major W. Antrobus Holwell of Toronto, and which I afterwards presented (17 volumes) to the India Office Library as promising a more permanent shelter than I could afford them.

The petition embodies pretty closely, the facts of the Calcutta disaster as given in the Narrative, and adds that "he is returned to spend the rest of his days in his Native country and thinks it a duty he owes to the memory of his ancestors, and to his posterity that his services with his pedigree may be recorded in the Herald's College." It was asked (and granted) that the Arms may bear some allusion to his deliverance from the Black Hole prison at Calcutta. Accordingly the new arms come to be thus described in Heraldic language, *viz.* :—

"Or on a Bend Gules three goats passant Argent attired and unguled of the field. On a canton sinister sable a human skull proper with this motto *Miserima Vidi*. And for the crest on a wreath of the colours a demi man representing Saraj ud Dowla, Subah of Bengal, in his compleat dress, the left hand resting on the head of a Tyger inspired with fury, the right grasping a scymitar





"AGAM KUAN"—THE WELL OF ASOKA—PATNA.
(Photo. by Harcourt Boilard, Esq.)

in attitude of striking the blade broken. All proper and over it this motto *Scuto Divine*."

It is remarkable that Holwell and many of his contemporaries were by no means orthodox in the etymology and rendering of Oriental proper names. This is the more noteworthy in Holwell as he is credited with having studied Arabic and spoken it fluently. Yet, in this very historical document, he gives the title of Mirza Muhammad as "Suraj-ud Dowla" = Sun of the State, an impossible combination as Dowlah is an Arabic word and must be compounded with another Arabic word. Suraj = Sun is, I learn, of Sanskrit extraction. I have somewhere seen the title Siraj-ud Dowlah given as "Chiragh-ud-Dowla," indeed I think it was in Orme. Chiragh is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic Siraj and is equally inadmissible when compounded with Dowlah. In the above too he uses "Subah" as in his *Narrative* instead of the more correct word Subahdar.

MR. HARCOURT BOILARD kindly sends us a photograph of "Agam Kua." He writes to say it is "an ancient well supposed to be over 2,500 years old, situated at Patna—the Pataliputra of King Asoka's time—in Behar. This well is now being re-excavated, under orders of Government, in archaeological interests, with a view to obtain some relics of antiquity. The two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, who passed through India in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. respectively, make mention of the well in the history of their travels. The former says that culprits used to be thrown into it. The well is over 20 feet in diameter and over 80 feet deep from top parapet (on which, in the photograph, is standing a gentleman with arms folded) to the silt and *débris*, which the excavators have now come to after pumping out over 40 feet of water. It is built throughout of *pucca* masonry, which is still in fairly good condition, considering the very great age of the well. More anon when the excavations reveal some "finds."

THE recent marriage of H.E. the Viceroy's daughter recalls its only precedent so far as the Metropolis is concerned; for it will be remembered that the wedding of Lord Elgin's daughter, Lady Elizabeth Bruce, to Mr. (now Sir) H. Babington Smith, took place not at Calcutta, but at Simla (1898). Lord Lawrence's daughter, however, was married at St. Paul's Cathedral, and the following entry is not unlikely to interest a large number of readers. It may be added that neither the announcement of the wedding nor any account of it is traceable in the files of those newspapers of the time, which may be seen at the Imperial Library; so possibly the ceremony was a semi-private one.

Marriages solemnised at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, Calcutta.

WHEN MARRIED.		NAMES OF PARTIES.		Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's name and surname.	By Banns or License.	Signatures of the parties.	Signatures of two or more witnesses present.	Signature by whom married.
Year.	Month.	Day.	Christian.	Surname.								
1868.	January.	28th	William Lowndes and Catherine Letitia	(a) Randall and Lawrence.	Bachelor Spinster	Captain R. M.'s Indian Army.	Calcutta Calcutta	James Randall. Sir John L. M. Lawrence, Viceroy and Govr. Genl. of India.	License	William Lowndes Randall. Catherine Letitia Lawrence.	John L. M. Lawrence. R. C. Lawrence. (b) Sergeant J. Blane. (c)	R. Calcutta. (d)

The above is a true copy extracted from, and collated with, the General Returns of Marriages as recorded in the Ecclesiastical Registry of the Archdeaconry of Calcutta in the Diocese and Jurisdiction of Calcutta. Done at Calcutta, in the East Indies, this ninth day of February in the year of Our Lord, One-Thousand-Nine-Hundred-and-Nine.

(Sd.) HARRY STOKES,

Offg. Registrar of the Diocese and Archdeaconry of Calcutta.
 NOTES.—(a) Captain Randall, 59th Bengal Native Infantry, (now Colonel Randall) is the fourth son of the late Archdeacon James Randall, of Berks, and a brother of the present Bishop of Reading. He served during the Maliny, and, according to Roworth Smith, had been Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General John Nicholson before becoming A. D. C. and secretary to Sir John Lawrence. He subsequently held the office of Agent of the Governor-General with the Ee-King of Oodh, retiring as Lieutenant Colonel in 1873. Both Colonel and the Hon'ble Mrs. Randall are still living in England. Lord Lawrence's second daughter, Harriette Emily, married (1877) Sir Henry Stewart Cunningham, formerly a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who is well known as a writer of Anglo-Indian novels.

(b) The late General Richard Charles Lawrence, C. B., a younger brother of Henry and John, became Deputy Commissioner of the Simla Hill States and Resident in Nepal. He died in 1896.

(c) Now Lieutenant-General Sir Seymour Blane, Bart., C. B., who was Military Secretary to Sir John Lawrence.

(d) The Rt. Rev. Robt. Mithun, D.D., Metropolitan from 1867 to 1876. Died during the latter year at Kawalpindi where he is buried.

E. W. M.



COUNTESS OF LANDSFIELD.

(Reproduced by special permission from "Seven Splendid Sinnera"
by W. R. H. Trowbridge.)
(Fisher Unwin, London, 1908.)

A MOST fascinating work, entitled *Seven Splendid Sinners*, by Mr. W. R. H. Trowbridge, has lately been published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. Of the "Seven" included in the book the only one in any way connected with India is Lola Montez. Our readers will recollect that in an early number of *Bengal: Past and Present* there had appeared an article by E. W. M. headed "Lola Montez: The Story of a Fair Penitent." In connection with her may now be quoted the following "comments" by Mr. Frank Fowell who, in *Vanity Fair* of the 11th November last, thus reviews Mr. Trowbridge's book:—

In this sisterhood of sinners, by far the most fascinating is the one which, for some obscure reason, Mr. Trowbridge has dealt with last. Few figures have flashed across European history with the meteoric brilliance—and meteoric brevity—of Lola Montez. To the younger school of readers the name will convey nothing, but just fifty years ago, all Europe was watching in amazement the audacious political exploits of this brilliant Irish-woman. Those who choose to moralise, will doubtless find some excuse for the mad, passionate, riot in her blood on the grounds of her nationality. Her unstable nervous balance, her terrible outbursts of temper—which, we are told, had all the appearance of insanity while they lasted—her emotional excitability, her insolent daring, and most of all her temperament—all these were doubtless born in her as unalterably as her tongue or her ribs.

Something at any rate must be charged to her parentage and upbringing. At different periods she made a variety of extravagant claims regarding her birth. The facts are in reality simple. Her father was not Lord Byron, as one of the current rumours suggested, but a comparatively insignificant Captain in the British Army—Sir Edward Gilbert of Limerick. He made a runaway match, and two months later, a daughter was born, and christened Marie Dolores Elisa Rosanna Gilbert.

Seven years later Sir Edward died, in India, and his friend, a Captain Craigie, married the widow and sent the daughter to be reared by his people in Scotland. More unfortunate guardians for a hot, impulsive girl were never seen. The Craigies were Scotch-Calvinists of strict and narrow religious views; austere, plain-living folk, whose house seemed a chill tomb to the impressionable child. All the rebellious instincts of a naturally violent nature were goaded by the constant cold restraints placed on her. Then to her delight she was sent to Paris to be educated, coming back to Bath a few years later a precocious young beauty of sixteen. Thither her mother joined her with the intention of carrying her off to India to be the bride of a decrepit old judge. Lola's suspicions were aroused. She ferreted out her mother's scheme, and deeming mere resistance useless, eloped the next day with a Captain James and set sail for India. A few months later, her husband, infatuated with a Mrs. Lomer, galloped off to the hills and left Lola to shift for herself.

Deserted by her husband and rejected by her mother, she came back to England with a cheque for £1,000, which her indulgent step-father had quietly slipped into her hand. A fellow passenger suggested that with her wonderful beauty and grace Lola, or Mrs. James as she then was, might find independence on the stage and the suggestion was at once acted on. Fanny Kelly, a famous trainer for the stage, saw instantly that Mrs. James was utterly unfitted to become an actress, but with training might make a *danseresse* of distinction. A few months later Lola made her *début* as Lola Montez at His Majesty's Theatre.

At first, everything went well; everyone who was invited to the rehearsals raved publicly about the new dancer's radiant beauty. All London's young "bloods" flocked to see her make her *début* in 'The Tarantula.' The curtain rose and without a trace of nervousness Lola pirouetted out into the middle of the stage.

Immediately an ominous hiss came from one of the boxes, and Lord Ranelagh, the social dictator of the day, drawled out in a voice loud enough to be heard all over the house "Why, it's Betty James!"

The hiss was taken up by the boxes opposite, and soon the whole house was hissing, while Lola, outwardly calm, went on with her posturings and pirouetting. Then Benjamin Lumley, the manager, no longer able to disguise a palpable failure, angrily ordered the curtain to be rung down. Lola did not appear again.

For two years, she vanished. She danced with indifferent success in Dresden, and Berlin, and, according to her own story, was ultimately 'reduced to sing in the streets of Brussels, to keep herself from starving.' Many extravagant stories, in which the names of several Royalties occur, are told of these two years' obscurity; it is difficult to disprove or verify them. As a liar Lola was always picturesque, and it is probable that with her beauty and charm, she had other and more congenial means of maintaining existence than singing in the streets.

She was hissed and driven from Warsaw, where she contrived to fan the flames of incipient revolution to an uncomfortable heat. Then, scenting possible notoriety as a persecuted Polish exile, she obtained an engagement at the Porte Saint-Martin in Paris. But she was again hissed—indeed, her dancing seems to have been wondrous bad—and in a violent ebullition of temper, she made faces at the audience and, tearing off her garters flung them into the pit.

But this new failure attracted the attention of Dujoyer, the clever editor of 'La Presse,' and she became his mistress and was introduced by him to a brilliant circle of literary men, including Balzac and Dumas. The latter, though far from superstitious, used to say of her, 'she has an evil eye and will bring bad luck to whoever links his destiny with hers.' Bad luck she certainly brought to Dujoyer; he fell shortly afterwards in a duel with a rival journalist. Lola figured for a few moments in the public eye over the subsequent trial. Her beauty and an attitude of maidenly devotion, won popular sympathy, but her day was over, and in a few months she was forgotten. This obscurity heralded the most dazzling period of her career. Eighteen months after, she flared into prominence again at Munich as the mistress of the King of Bavaria.

Mr. Trowbridge gives us an interesting sketch of the superæsthetic, passionate king whose fondest dream was 'to make of Munich such an honour to the fatherland that no one who had not visited it could pretend to know Germany.' His unconventionality, his fanatic love of art, and the freedom of his manners and morals, were beginning to excite unsympathetic comment among his people just at the moment when Lola Montez, alert and radiant, flashed across his life. She danced for three nights in the balliet of the Opera, and the King was present on each occasion. The fourth night she did not appear, and five days later she was presented at Court by Ludwig as his 'best friend.'

Everyone—ministers, officials, people—fell under the spell of her strange beauty. Not a word of protest was raised; her receptions at Fürstentried were attended by everyone of note. Then, not content with social triumphs, she began to interest herself in politics. Being very intelligent she recognised the dangers in the growing popular discontent. She urged Ludwig to embark on a policy of liberal reforms, and to get rid of his reactionary ministry. Her courage and audacity was stupendous. Not all the efforts of the Church of

Rome, or the political scheming and open bribery of her opponents disconcerted her for one instant. By persistent machinations, she succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the ministry, but her success was short-lived. One or two tactless blunders aroused a wave of pseudo-morality against her, and in the end Ludwig, alarmed at the riots and the popular exasperation, was compelled to banish her from the country. A fortnight later he was himself compelled to abdicate.

Lola, reduced to once more living by her wits, returned to London, and realising that her charms were fading, and being weary of the excitement and uncertainty of her life, she married a guardsman named Heald, with a fortune of four or five thousand a year. But Heald's indignant relations drove the couple from the country, and though they continued to live together for two or three years, the marriage was a dismal failure. At last Lola left her guardsman and the two children she had borne him; and shortly afterwards Heald, whose whole career had been ruined by his infatuation, was found drowned at Lisbon.

She was next heard of in Paris and in America (where she was again married and divorced) and later, in Australia, touring with a play written round her experiences in Bavaria. Wherever she went, the fame of her exploits drew large audiences, but the money she made was quickly spent. After leaving Australia, she returned to London; and a sermon she chanced to hear in Spurgeon's Tabernacle sent this strange erratic being off at a new angle. She renounced the stage and became a public lecturer, but she was reaching the lowest depths of poverty, when she fell into the tender care of an old school-mate. Then this unhappy adventuress, with her proud spirit broken by hardships and degradation, having no longer the insolent courage of youth, and seeing nothing but a squalid old age before her, collapsed before the unexpected love and pity of her old friend. She announced her intention of consecrating her remaining years to the rescue of the fallen of her own sex. Her zeal in this new work, quickly broke a constitution already enfeebled by dissipation, and in her forty-third year, Lola Montez, one of the most beautiful, gifted, and neglected women of her time, died in one of the charitable institutions of New York. The Episcopal minister, who attended her at the end, afterwards published an account of her repentance in a pamphlet entitled 'The Story of a Penitent.' 'If ever a repentant soul loathed past sin,' he wrote, 'I believe hers did.'

So died the most brilliant and scandalous adventuress of this century. Rocket-like, she soared to the splendours of a seat beside a throne, only to splutter out, ignominiously, in the obscurity of a charitable institution. Once the dazzling ornament of splendid courts, she was fated in the end to grace the dull pages of a religious tract.

In graciously according permission to reproduce the portrait (after Steller) Mr. Trowbridge writes, under date 3rd February 1909, as follows:—"I have no objections at all to your publishing in *Bengal: Past and Present* the portrait of Lola Montez, which appears in my book *Seven Splendid Sinners*, providing, of course, that you will acknowledge the source from which you have obtained it...Details in regard to her life or that of her relatives during their life in India would be, it is needless to say, of immense interest to future biographers, for Lola Montez is not a character that history is ever likely to forget." It may be added that her connection with Calcutta is very slight, her brief married life, so far as India is concerned, having been passed almost entirely at Karnal and Simla in the Punjab.

K. N. D.

READERS of Anglo-Indian biography and admirers of Warren Hastings in particular are familiar with one or more of the latter's portraits, such as those by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Thomas Lawrence, A. W. Devis, Tilly Kettle, Sir W. Beechey, L. J. Abbot and Masquerier, not to mention the statue by Banks. In this connection it is interesting to learn that another portrait has only recently come to light. We allude to the painting in oils by John Hoppner, R.A., recently presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall, and to which references have already appeared in the local dailies. The donor is Kumar Birendra Chandra Sinha of Paikpara, a descendant of the celebrated Ganga Govinda Sinha who was Dewan of Bengal at the time of Warren Hastings. He had recently acquired it through Messrs. Arthur Tooth and Sons, the well-known London firm of picture-dealers, and presented it personally to H.E. the Viceroy early in March for the Victoria Memorial collection. We await the time when it will be on view at the Indian Museum. The portrait, which was painted in England about the year 1806, represents Hastings as an old man, and is described as a fine example of Hoppner's work.

A brief summary of the leading events in the life of the artist may not be uninteresting. John Hoppner, R.A. (1758-1810), the son of German parents, was born in Whitechapel, London, on 4th April 1758. At an early age he was a chorister in the royal chapel, and George III. made him a small allowance to enable him to commence his studies as a painter. According to some accounts his mother was a German lady-in-waiting at court, and the interest which George III. took in the boy favoured the supposition that it was fatherly—a suggestion which, it may be added, Hoppner did not in the least discourage. He was admitted as a student at the Royal Academy in 1775 and three years later gained a silver medal for drawing from life. In 1780 he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy and a couple of years subsequently obtained a gold medal for an original painting of a scene from King Lear. The same year he married the youngest daughter of Mrs. Patience Wright, an American lady celebrated for her portraits modelled in wax. He then settled near Carlton House, where he remained till his death. In 1785 he exhibited portraits of the youngest three princesses, Sophia, Amelia and Mary, and in the following year one of Mrs. Jordan in the character of the Comic Muse, supported by Euphrosyne repressing the advances of a Satyr. He was next appointed portrait-painter to the Prince of Wales. In 1792 he was elected an associate and in 1795 a full Academician. At this time Hoppner's only rival was Sir Thomas Lawrence as Sir Joshua Reynolds was dead and Romney's fame on the decline. He published with Charles Wilkins, the engraver, a "Select Series of Portraits of Ladies of Rank and Fashion." Hoppner died on 23rd January 1810.

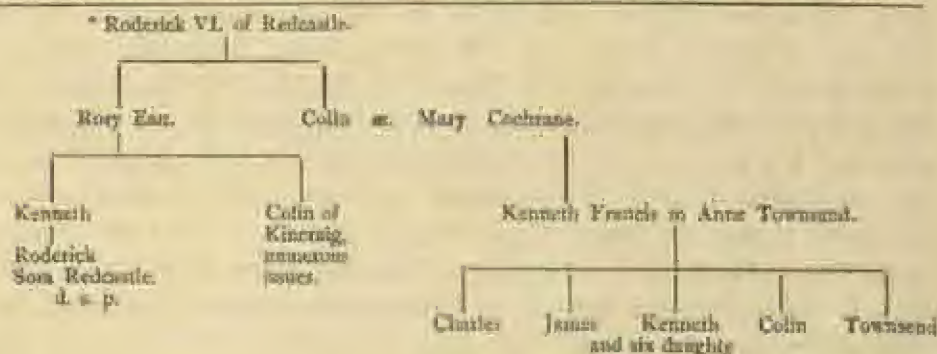
THE following note on the career of Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie (not to be confused with the Surveyor-General, whose portrait hangs on the walls of the Town Hall) has been sent by Mr. Bessent, Master of Horse to H.H. the Nawab of Murshidabad. The Society is so deeply indebted to Mr. Bessent for the ungrudging pains he has spent in supervising its transport at Plassey and Murshidabad, that another and very real pleasure is afforded us by printing these interesting notes. For the Pattle family, the reader is referred back to Vol. 1, pp. 26-28 of *Bengal: Past and Present*. According to the *Bengal Obituary* an inscription once was to be found on a dispensary in the Garden Reach Road:

To the memory of Adeline Pattle
this Dispensary is erected by her daughter,
assuaging the grief for a lost mother, by relieving the
wants of the poor. A. D. 1846.

This dispensary was probably due to the benevolence of the Miss Pattle who married H. T. Prinsep and who was the mother of Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, who retired from India in 1904.

COLIN MACKENZIE was the youngest son but one of Kenneth Francis Mackenzie, "a junior branch of the Redcastle Family." Colin Mackenzie, so named after his grandfather and his cousin, General Colin Mackenzie, was born in London, 25th March 1806, and baptized at St. James' Church, Piccadilly.*

His childhood was not a happy one, every offence was visited with severity, and flogging *ad libitum* was the rule—the boys always preferred not to catch sight of their father. He was, however, a man of strong and ardent affections for his children and very earnestly desired their love. When about 12 years of age he was, with his brothers James and Kenneth, sent to school in Cumberland; he used to speak with horror of the brutal severity of the punishment awarded in this school. He was sent afterwards to a school at Dollar, from which place he wrote to his sister Mary in 1822.



Some time after this Colin and his little brother Townsend became day scholars at the Rev. Dr. Donne's school, close to which his father had gone to live. The rod was freely given them, but Colin never suffered from it. When once asked by Dr. Donne who was the first Whig, Colin replied, "Satan, Sir, Satan was the first Whig." His father was in straitened circumstances and had to sell Redcastle, but he could not even then afford to give Colin a University education. Instead he procured a cadetship for him (Colin) in the Madras Army. Colin sailed for India (Madras) in the East Indiaman *Ganges* on the 15th November 1825 and landed at Madras in May 1826. He was at this time a lad of 19, about 5 feet 10¼ inches in height, slender, agile, but very strong. The Adjutant of his Regiment declared he was the most beautiful boy he had ever seen. He was first attached to the 10th Native Infantry and afterwards posted to the 48th. It was stationed at this time at Kampti and Nagpur where he became an experienced shikari and shot many tigers, which were very plentiful in the neighbouring jungles. In 1830 we find him in Calcutta having marched 900 miles to reach the Coast. He embarked at Calcutta for England on the 1st March 1830. (I cannot say the name of the ship on which he sailed or when he arrived in England.) On arrival in England he found his parents residing at 18, Montague Square, London, and in 1831 we find him still an invalid, although a visit to Hampton Court had been beneficial to him. On the voyage from Calcutta to England he made the acquaintance of a Bengal civilian, Mr. James Pattle, Mrs. Pattle and their daughter Adeline. He visited the Pattles and became engaged to Adeline, whom he married on the 28th May 1832, at St. Mary's Bryanstone Square. He, with his wife, returned to India and arrived at Madras on the 23rd October 1832 and rejoined the 48th M. N. I., then stationed at Madras. In March 1833 his eldest daughter was born; and, in this year, his youngest brother joined H. M.'s 46th Foot. Colin, knowing the English pay received by Townsend was insufficient, sent orders to his Agent to send his youngest brother £50 a year. But this Townsend with equal generosity refused. In 1834, Colin Mackenzie took part in the Coorg campaign. He was at the time Adjutant of the 48th M. N. I., which Regiment, owing to the absence of the Commanding Officer and the incapacity and apathy of the acting Commanding Officer, was in a shameful state, the men insubordinate and not one duty properly performed. It was with delight that, a few days after starting on the march to Coorg, Colin Mackenzie was appointed Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of the force under a Major Steel. He received his baptism of fire at Kavari on the 2nd April 1834. It was here that he and two other officers under cover of the advanced guard made a rush through the river which was 200 yards broad, expecting

to meet with strong resistance, and, having reached the objective, they found but two donkeys there, the enemy having fled beforehand, leaving match-lock, bows and arrows and swords behind. The campaign in Coorg closed in 1834, and on the 11th April 1834, Colonel Lindsay, C. B., Commanding the Coorg Field Force, in a despatch to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Fort St. George, says: "To the unwearied exertions of Major Steel, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, I am entirely indebted for the information and arrangement which by enabling me to concentrate the force on the capital, so speedily and satisfactorily effected the object for which it was employed. Lieutenant Mackenzie, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, has performed the minor duties with great credit. Colonel Lindsay on 18th November 1838 wrote from Portobello, Edinburgh, bearing testimony of Colin Mackenzie's merits and qualifications as an officer. In July 1835 we find him with his Regiment at Malacca, his wife going from Madras to Calcutta where she stayed with her two infants at the residence of her mother. In January 1836 he rejoined his wife at Calcutta and saw for the first time his youngest daughter who had been born the previous October. Mrs. Mackenzie was at this time suffering from liver complaint, and she was reduced to such a state that a change to England was ordered. She embarked for England on the 14th April 1836 with her three little girls on board the ship *Catherine*. Colin Mackenzie was unable to accompany her further than the Sandheads. In the same year he returned to Straits of Malacca, where we find him chasing pirates, cruising about in command of a detachment of sepoy of H. M. S. *Andromache*. On 11th October 1836 fatal news arrived that the amendment in his wife's health had been delusive and that she had breathed her last on the 28th May 1836. In May 1836, having mentally broken down in health, he was ordered to sea for a change, and went to Singapore, *en route* to Manilla, from which place he went to China to see his brother James. He then went on to England, which he reached in the autumn of 1836. He left England on his return journey to India on the 9th August 1839, travelling through France to Marseilles, where he embarked for Alexandria, at which place he arrived on the 26th November; he then travelled by boat on the canals to Cairo and from Cairo to Suez in a small wagon drawn by two horses with two dromedaries as leaders of the team. He embarked at Suez on board the *Berenice* steamer on the 22nd December 1839 and arrived at Bombay on the 10th January 1840. He visited Aurangabad, Hyderabad, Nagpur, Jubbulpore, and reached Calcutta on the 7th March 1840. He left Calcutta on the 15th July 1840, 'having been elected by Lord Auckland for Political Service in Afghanistan,' in a flat towed by a steam tug up the Bhagarati and the Ganges, and arrived at Ferozepur in November 1840. On the 18th November

1840, at 6 A.M., he quitted Ferozepur for Jellalabad and Peshawar, which place was reached at 2 P.M. on the 11th December 1840 after 24 days' tedious marching from Ferozepur. At Peshawar he called on the Governor-General Avitabile. On the 18th December 1840 he quitted Peshawar and entered the Khyber and reached Ali Musjid on the 19th. He reached Jellalabad on the 22nd December and reported himself to the Envoy, Sir Wm. Macnaghten. Part of his work at this time was to keep the Khyber Pass open, and he often had to ride through it to settle matters with chiefs; more than one ball whistled close to his head from some enemy hidden behind the rock. He here formed a friendship with one Turabazkhan, a Mohmand Chief, who proved himself a faithful adherent to the British. From July to October 1841 we find him at Kabul and Kohistan, where he met with various adventures of an exciting kind. It was in October 1841 that the outbreak in Afghanistan occurred and Colin Mackenzie was in Afghanistan at the time. In (11th) October it was necessary to force the Kura Kabul Pass; it was a stubbornly fought battle, and Mackenzie was one of the leaders, and he came in towards the finish, rushing to the front, cheering and waving his sword, he succeeded in rallying his corps, and charged and they then won the Pass; he then underwent a lot of fighting and hardships. He was in an old fort on the outskirts of the city and fought for two days and then sword in hand he cut his way through the enemy and joined the larger force. He was publicly thanked for his services by the General and Envoy, and returned to Cantonments on the night of 3rd and 4th November 1841. In the same month the siege began and Colin Mackenzie was in the place at the time. He was present at Sir W. Hay Macnaghten's fatal interview with Akbar Khan. He returned to India in 1843, having in the meantime endured many hardships, and narrowly escaped death by poisoned food given to him when in captivity. He was several times wounded, took part in the Retreat (6th to 13th January), was present at the siege of Jellalabad, and accompanied Pollock's advance. In April and May 1842 he was sent on an Embassy to Jellalabad. In July 1842 the excessive fatigue and excitement of four journeys to and from Jellalabad caused him to break down with a serious illness which nearly terminated fatally. The Garrison in Afghanistan being relieved, they returned to India in 1843 and Colin Mackenzie reached Ferozepur, where he obtained sick furlough to England and sailed the same year. During his stay in England in 1838 he became acquainted with the eldest daughter of Admiral John Erskine Douglas to whom he was married at St. George's, Hanover Square. He returned to India accompanied by his wife in 1847, having spent his holiday touring about the Continent. In these tours he was accompanied by his wife and the children of his first marriage.

On his return to India he raised a regiment—the 4th Regiment Frontier Brigade. It was composed of Sikhs and Afghans. The Regiment was personally drilled during its formation by Colin Mackenzie.* In August 1848 a serious quarrel took place in the Regiment owing to some Sikh sepoy pulling the beard of a Mullah who had been brought by the Afghans. Colin Mackenzie settled the quarrel and on the following morning he punished them by giving the whole Regiment five hours' hard drill, accompanied by long marching over rough country, the Sikh priest accompanying, and through great pools of water made them charge at the double and brought them home thoroughly tired out. He drilled the Regiment again in the evening for more than two hours and ordered roll-call every three hours and finished by issuing an order, to be read at ten successive roll-calls in which order he said that the Government wanted eight hundred soldiers and not eight hundred Mullahs, Pandits or Granthis, and that anyone who insulted or attacked another on account of his religion, whether he were Christian, Musulman, Hindu or Sikh, was guilty of a high military offence and would be punished accordingly. There was no more quarrelling again. He succeeded in raising a splendid regiment—men not less than 6 feet in height and they were as good to look at as to go. In 1850-52 he was stationed at Elichpur Deccan and in command at Aurangabad Deccan. He was present at the annexation of Herat in 1853 and was at Bolarum Deccan, 1854-55. He received several serious wounds during the mutiny at Bolarum in September 1853 and narrowly escaped death. But careful nursing pulled him through. Although his wounds healed most rapidly, the effects remained and he never recovered from the excessive loss of blood. His right arm had been permanently injured, and it was sad to see the mortification with which he looked at his sword and said, "I shall never be able to draw my sword again. He sailed for England in March 1856. In 1857, when the Great Mutiny had broken out, he, on the 4th August, volunteered to return, saying that he could not remain inactive in such an emergency. In September the Court of Directors refused him a wound pension, but granted him permission to return to duty, expressing their wish that some position might be found for him suited to his rank and distinguished services. He left for India accompanied by his wife in December 1857. He was blamed by many for taking his wife with him, but her mind was made up that she would go and that if he were ordered to front, she would go to the nearest place possible to him. But they did not separate. He arrived in Calcutta 5th March 1858, having heard of the death of General Havelock at Alumbagh, Lucknow, the

* Mackenzie in 1883 was Brigadier-General in Command of the Elichpur division of the Hyderabad Contingent. The orders which provoked the Mutiny were censured by Government, and the census accounts for the check to Mackenzie's military career.—*Edn. Bengal P. & P.*

previous day from the pilot who boarded their ship—the *Hindustan*—in the Hughli. From his arrival at Calcutta he appears to have remained there, "but whether he had any appointment I cannot say" until he was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Murshidabad, where he arrived on the 13th March 1858. Owing to his strictness and straightforward manner the appointment was not well received by the Nawab Nazim. He became Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel in January 1861. He was at Berhampore during the White Mutiny, 1859, and took a most prominent part in its suppression. He was appointed Superintendent of Army Clothing for all India in 1863, which appointment was considered by many ridiculously inappropriate to his character and services, and caused Sir Bartle Frere to laugh until he cried when he heard of it. His work was much harder than at Murshidabad, and having to work in an office with the temperature often standing at 103° and suffering from the wound in his head, which he received at Bolarum, his health broke down; he left India on the 9th April 1863. Travelling through Europe on his way to England, he fell seriously ill at Bath in October 1863, but in May of the following year he became convalescent after a beneficial stay on Dartmoor. He returned to India in October 1864—the anniversary of the silver wedding, 21st November, was passed at sea. He arrived at Calcutta on 29th December 1864. The post of Superintendent, Army Clothing for all India, having been abolished by Sir John Lawrence, an Agent for Army Clothing was appointed in each Presidency. There was thus no appointment vacant of a sufficiently high class for him; being informed by Sir John Lawrence, he said "Then I'll wait." He received a gratuity of six months' pay on vacating his last appointment. He was living at this time at No. 3, Middleton Row, Calcutta, with friends, and at Serampore and Titagarh where he took a house on the other side of the river. Having had some strong talk with Sir John Lawrence regarding the Nizam's Deposit Fund, he was informed that after the 1st November his services would be at the disposal of the Madras Government. He sent in a remonstrance and reminded the Viceroy of his promise to give him suitable political employment. His Excellency replied that he would rather he went to Madras, and that if he wished to retire in February he could apply for leave to stay at the Presidency. (He was not evidently in the Viceroy's favour and he had never said a word about retiring.) He had no intention of retiring and made no reference to the Viceroy, but took privilege leave, which could not be refused. Colonel Colin Mackenzie was five years senior to the Viceroy, and a younger and more vigorous man in every respect. It was considered that the treatment he received was disgraceful and that the order to go to Madras the most insolent thing ever heard of. This was the opinion of many eminent men

then in India. In November the doctors pronounced him suffering from great nervous debility and he was compelled to take 20 months' sick furlough. He left India in the *Euymetathe* in December. The *Statesman* of the 28th December 1865 said: "When India loses this soldier she loses a soldier filled with the experience of 40 years' hard service. Brave to excess, and one in whom the only qualification for the highest success in official life that are wanting are a less sturdy independence and a somewhat colder heart." He suffered much on the journey home. After an enforced stay of six weeks in Egypt, he proceeded home through the continent of Europe, and received his C. B. exactly 25 years after he had been recommended for it by Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier—and, to use the latter's word, that "he had well earned it." It was considered by many persons and by the Press that he should have had an higher honour. He left England in 1868 and landed at Madras, 1st December 1868, but found no employment. He was written to by John Stuart Mill on the 25th September 1869 saying, "Those who dispose of employments in India must be very ignorant of your past history and actions if they can find nothing better to do with you than to keep you in the position of an unemployed officer." In April 1870 a Medical Committee gave a strong opinion that he was not fit for duty on the plains of India. The senior surgeon, who knew him well, stated that the "original strong constitution has suffered very severely from very long service, many and trying illnesses and very severe wounds, and that there was a gradual deterioration in health." He then went to reside at Ootacamund for nearly a year. He became Major-General in July 1871 to the satisfaction of his friends. His promotion gave him an additional £600 a year, and he decided to stay on in India for another year. He was very active and one morning he ran a race of about 60 yards against his Persian horse at a gallop, and won! Colin Mackenzie was now in very good health, but his wife, being subject to fainting fits in the hot weather, had to decide not to spend another hot weather in the country, when he quitted India for ever on the 22nd March 1873. On arrival in England he bought a house in Queen's Gardens, and remained there until he went to spend the winter, 1873-76, with friends in Edinburgh. In February he returned from Scotland and took up his abode at No. 9, Bena Gardens, South Kensington. This was his last earthly abode. He died at about 7 A.M. on the 22nd October 1881, aged 85 years. The 20th appears to have been a fatal day for him. He had been attacked with a chill on the 20th October, the anniversary of his dangerous illness at Chikalda in 1850 and Bath 1863.

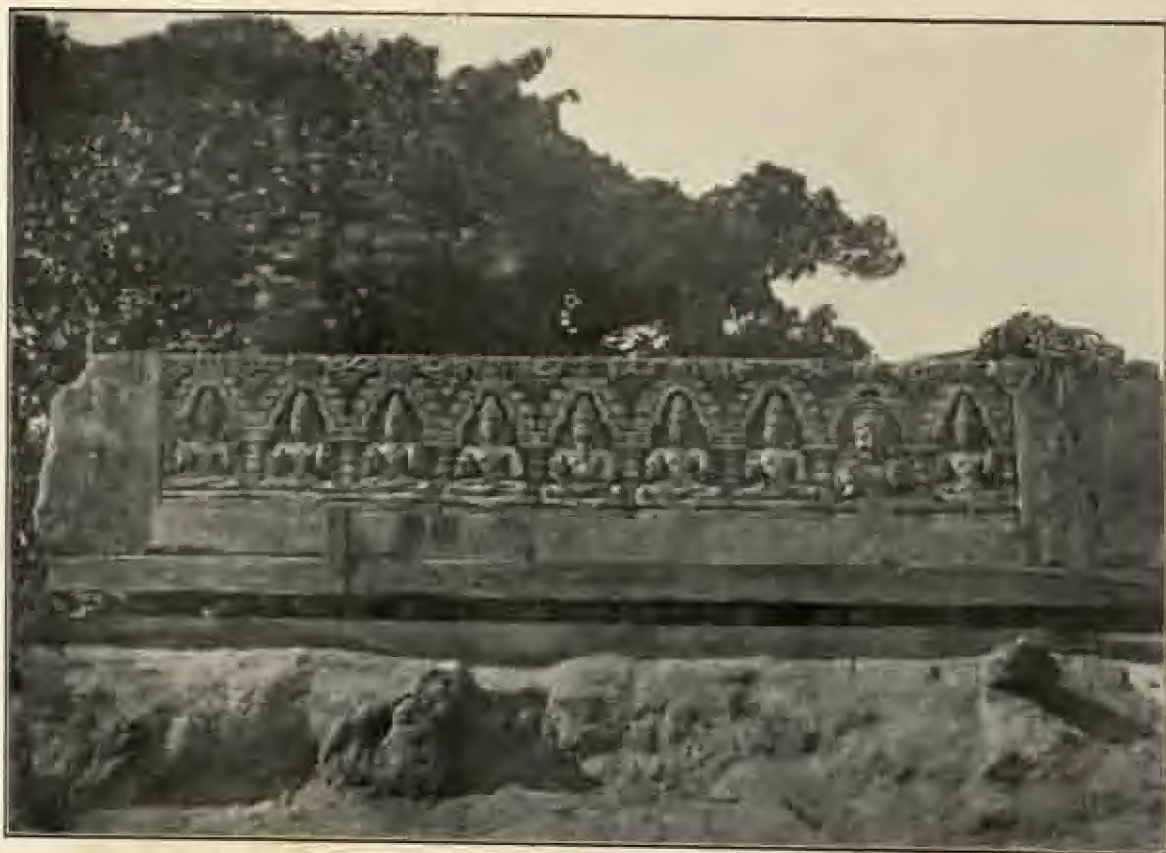
IN connection with the original article on *Celebrated Vocalists who visited India*, which appears in this number, the following note may be of

interest :—Thackeray once contributed to *Fraser's Magazine* a satirical story entitled "Catherine," founded upon the history of the murderess, Catherine Hayes. The Irish Press accused him of having attempted to cast a slur on Catherine Hayes, the singer. Thackeray wrote repudiating the charge in a letter headed "Capers and Anchovies" in the *Morning Chronicle* of 12th April 1850.





UDAYAGIRI HILL.



NAVAGRADA FRIEZE, KONARAK.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.



THE newspapers of to-day (27th February) report the visit of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the great Temple of the Sun at Kanarak. Writes a correspondent to the *Statesman* :—

"His Honor proceeded later to Kanarak on the steamer *Guide* to pay a visit to the Black Pagoda. The Temple has been in course of restoration for some years past, and the Lieutenant-Governor made many enquiries about the work which has already been accomplished, and about any further restoration it is proposed to carry out. His Honor was particularly interested in a large block of stone showing some exceedingly fine carvings of figures representing the nine planets. Some years ago it was decided to place this stone in the Calcutta Museum, but the project was never carried out, and the stone now rests under a shed some hundreds of yards away from the Temple. His Honor expressed a desire that the stone should be replaced in its original position over one of the doorways of the Temple, and it is hoped that this will be done, when funds permit."

As perhaps funds will never permit, it may be worth while to record here this resolve. The accompanying illustration of the great stone is taken from the late Raja Rajendralala Mitra's fine work, *The Antiquities of Orissa*—two stately volumes, which we are delighted to hear are to be republished by a devoted pupil of that distinguished archaeologist. Rajendralala Mitra writes as follows :—

"The face of the stone architrave is divided into nine panels, each containing a human figure, richly ornamented, wearing a high-pointed crown, and seated cross-legged on a lotus. The panels are formed by squat pilasters supporting a trifolled arch. The design is neat and beautifully executed. The first figure, beginning from the left hand-side, is that of Ravi or the Sun. According to a hymn attributed to Vyāsa he should be of hibiscus flower and very refulgent; but in sculpture he appears like a genial-looking man holding a full-blown lotus in each uplifted hand. The second is Soma or the Moon. In appearance it is the counterpart of the first, except in the position of the hands which are stretched forward, the left holding a water vessel, and the right a rosary, which he is engaged in

counting. The hymn aforesaid assigns him a white colour like that of conch-shell or snow. The third is Mangala (Mars); the fourth Buddha (Mercury), son of the Moon; the fifth Vṛhaspati (Jupiter); the sixth Śukra (Venus); and the seventh Sani (Saturn). In sculpture they are alike in form, feature, ornaments and occupation, except Jupiter, who sports a flowing beard. In the hymn, the third is described to be a red-coloured youth, born of the earth, resplendent as an agglomeration of lightning and holding a spike. The fourth is a son of the moon, of a dark blue colour, like that of the bud of the *priyāngī* (*Panicum Italicum*), of unrivalled beauty and benign appearance. The fifth is of the colour of gold: he is the high priest of the gods and sages. The sixth is the high priest of the Asuras, and of the colour of the stalk of the winter jessamine (*Jesemia pubescens*). The seventh is the son of Ravi (Sun) by Chhayā (darkness) and of a deep blue colour. The eighth Rāhu, or the ascending mode, is the son of Sinlikā. He was produced by one human body being divided into two, the upper half forming him, and the lower half the descending mode. He is of a most fierce aspect, and the oppressor of the Sun and Moon, one or the other of which, according to the Purānic mythology, he swallows and thereby produces an eclipse. In sculpture he is represented as a grinning grotesque monster, with one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw: he has a rounded crown with three irregular peaks and a nimbus of rays terminating in dots. In one hand he holds a rounded object, which Mr. Stirling takes for a hatchet, but which is probably meant for the sun, and in the other a crescent moon. The last is Ketu, the descending mode, son of Rudra; he is of the colour of a smoke rising from smouldering straw, fierce and wicked, the oppressor of the stars. The upper part of his body is in all its details similar to that of the first five figures, but the lower part is formed of the body of a serpent which coils round so as at first sight to produce the impression of its being of the same character as that of the first seven figures. The busts of most of the figures are so developed as to appear like those of young women. Mr. Stirling describes the sixth as a youthful female, 'with plump well rounded figure,' but the mistake has arisen from the association of the idea of Venus with this figure. As an Englishman, Mr. Stirling could not shake off his early impressions. In India neither the moon nor Venus is anywhere likened to a female. On reference to the photograph it will be seen that the sixth figure does not differ from the others. Images of these planets, besides, occur over the doorway of all the richer temples in Orissa, and nowhere has a female been placed in the room of the high priest of the Asuras. In legends Sukra is blind of one eye, but this is not shown in sculpture. The object of placing the planets over the gateway is to make them, who are the arbiters of mundane destiny,

subservient to the welfare of the temple. Both the design and the execution of the frieze are excellent, and as the stone was lying, uncared for in the front of the porch, the Asiatic Society of Bengal some time ago expressed a wish to have it brought to its Museum at Calcutta. The Government therefore sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3,000 for its removal, and the work was made over to the Public Works Department. The grant, however, supplied for the laying of a tram-road and the removal of the stone to a distance of about two hundred yards, and the nearest port for putting the stone on board a Government steamer being somewhat over a mile, the work had to be abandoned and the stone now lies on its truck as shown in the photograph."

IN the "General Note-Book" will be found a reference to the *Agan Kua* at Patna. This ancient well is situated very close to the East Indian Railway line from Bankipore to Calcutta, and it will be found clearly marked in map of the ruins of Pataliputra given in Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell's *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra* (Patna), where the passages from Huien Tsiang and Fu kien, giving the legend of Asoka's bell, are quoted at length. Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell's report, published in 1903 at the Bengal Secretariat Press, is very worth while purchasing at the modest sum charged for it, only Rs. 3-8.

THE following document is of no small interest. One wonders whether Government officials in those days found their travelling allowances sufficient. A most interesting chapter might be written on the subject of the travels of officials in the old days.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection, dated 19th May 1772.

It is obvious that Dacca and the other Subordinates serve as Heads for the Travelling Expenses of the Company's Servants appointed to those Factories.

ORDERED that in future they do appear under the General Head of Travelling Charges, and that hereafter no charge for lodgements or boats, or other specific articles be allowed, but that a fixed sum be substituted in lieu of them in the following manner. These allowances are adjusted from a calculate of the boat hire, the number of boats required, batta to servants to and from the different places, together with their respective distances and situation.

To or from Cossimbazar. 130 miles.					A Rs.
A Chief not of Council	...	...	...	...	400
A Member of the Board at the Factory	...	...	...	...	300
An Assistant	...	...	...	...	150
To or from Patna. 380 miles.					
A Chief not of Council	...	...	...	...	1,200
A Member of the Board at the Factory	...	...	...	...	900
An Assistant	...	...	...	...	450

Dacca. 250 miles.					A Rs.
A Chief not of Council	...	...	...	...	800
Members of Council at the Factory	...	...	...	...	600
Assistant	...	...	...	...	300
Chittagong. 285 miles.					
A Chief not of Council	...	...	...	...	900
Members of Council at the Factory	...	...	...	...	700
Assistant	...	...	...	...	350
The same to Luckypore.					
Maulda. 200 miles.					
A Resident	...	...	...	...	600
Assistant	...	...	...	...	250
Burdwan. 50 miles.					
Midnapore. 60 miles.					
A Resident	...	...	...	...	200
Assistant	...	...	...	...	100

The above are the only distant Factories where the Company's investments are provided and within the allowances of this nature fall under the Buxey's Department. The Servants sent down to Ingilee for the Despatch Ships to Europe and other occasional Services are allowed batta at the rate of 12 rupees a day to a junior merchant or factor, and a writer 6 rupees per day batta.

The Board, however, think it necessary to make their regulation as extensive as possible by taking the whole under their consideration at one time, and the following rates are in consequence fixed upon for the travelling expenses of the several Collectors or others that may be employed occasionally at any of the places after-named.

To or from		Miles.	Collectors.	Assistants.
Jessore	...	70	200	100
Beerboom	...	90	200	100
Naddla	...	54	200	100
Rookunpore	}	140	400	150
Chunacolly				
Luahkerpore				
Comsercolly				
Dinajepore or Rajamaul	...	200	600	250
Purnea	...	260	800	300
Rungpore	...	260		
Bauglepore	...	265		
Monghyr	...	300	900	400
Benares	...	545	...	700
Allahabad	...	660	1,200	800

And that a Member of the Board employed on any occasional services, supposing that he may require two assistants is allowed at the rate of 1,000 rupees per month in view of any expense whatever.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Board of Inspections, dated 1st of July 1773.

Resuming the consideration of the allowances to be made to the Servants of the Civil Department for travelling charges, in order to determine what allowances shall be granted

to Members of Council who are now by the Company's orders appointed to hold the Chiefships of the Subordinate Factories :

RESOLVED that their allowances be fixed as follows in lieu of budgerows, boats and every other charge.

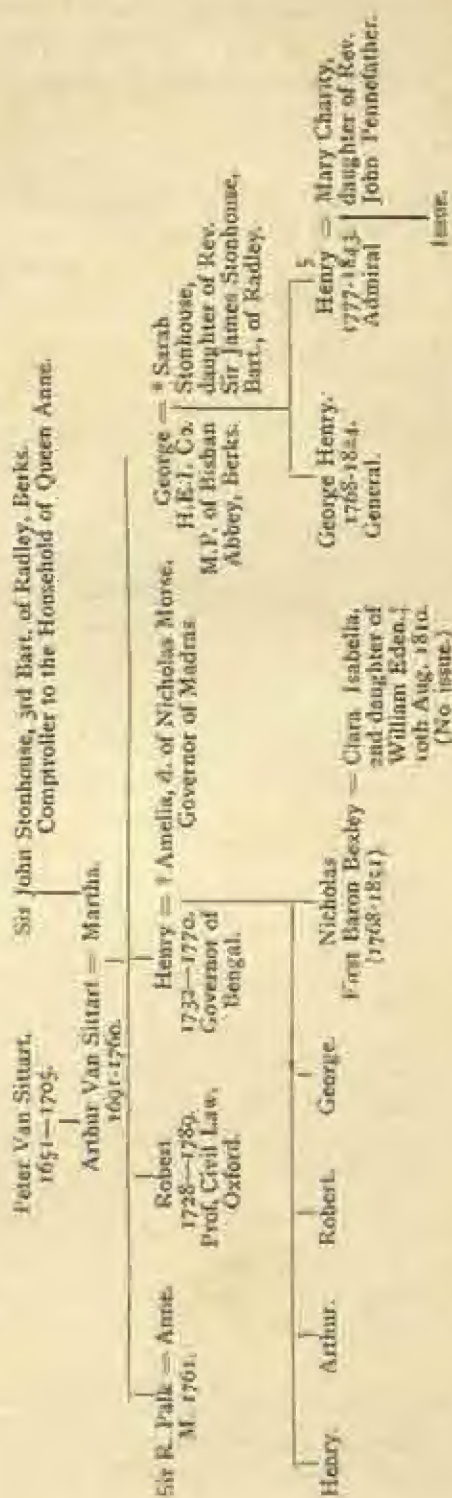
To or from the Durbar.				A Rs.
The Resident	...	...	...	1,000
To or from Cossimbazar.				
A Chief being a Member of Council	...	...	...	1,000
To or from Patna.				
A Chief being a Member of Council	...	...	...	2,800
To or from Dacca.				
A Chief being a Member of Council	...	...	...	2,000
To or from Chittagong.				
A Chief being a Member of Council	...	...	...	2,500

True Extract.

J. BAUGH,

Secretary.

THE VANSITTART FAMILY.



*This marriage is in the Register of St. John's, Oct. 24, 1767, where the name is given Stonhouse. On June 12, 1770, we find the marriage of Robert Falk, Factor in the Company's Service, and Miss Lucia Stonhouse.

†Had also two daughters Amelia and Sophia.

‡And therefore a niece of the First Earl of Minto.

ON page 42 of the present volume mention is made of Robert Palk and his wife Lucia. The marriage registers preserved at St. John's Church show that the "Lucia mourned" of Kipling's *City of Dreadful Night* was, before her marriage, Miss Lucia Stonhouse. The genealogical table of the Vansittart family, which is adjoined, is a not very important piece of work, but it will serve to illustrate the alliances between the Vansittarts, the Palks, and the Stonhouses. Sir R. Palk, who commenced his career in India as a chaplain and ended it as Governor of Madras, married a Miss Anne Vansittart, a granddaughter of Sir John Stonhouse. George Vansittart, his brother-in-law, married a Miss Sarah Stonhouse in Calcutta on 24th October 1767; and the Bengal Civil Servant, Robert Palk married Miss Lucia Stonhouse on 12th June 1770. Was the Robert Palk of Calcutta the son of the *padri* who governed Madras?

IN the year 1784 the Supreme Council at Calcutta instituted an enquiry into the nature and circumstances of the trade of the French East Indian Company in Bengal. The following letters belong to this enquiry. The references they contain to Chevalier are particularly interesting, as they refer to him at the time he was in English employ.

I.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Sumner, Chief of Patna, to the Resident and Members of the Board of Trade, dated 6th July, 1784.

In consequence of your Circular Letter of the 23rd March, and your letter of 13th June, I have endeavoured to ascertain the extent of the Trade of the French East India Company and Nation since the year 1763 in the Province of Behar.

It consisted of two articles Saltpetre and coarse Callico Cloths. Their Saltpetre they have regularly received from the Agents of the English East India Company. Their portion of it was annually eighteen thousand Maunds of 76 Sicca weight; but sometime the public French Agents have not applied for so much, and in 1777 and 1778 they received each year only about half that quantity. The price they paid us for the quantity delivered was fixed at Ely Rupees 3^s 8^d per maund.

The French appears to have only claimed and exercised that part of the regular trade in Coarse Callicoes called *dadney* (which consists in annual engagements for all the goods which a certain number of weavers can make) to a very limited extent in point of place or amount of their investment.

For their Callico trade of this sort was limited to the Districts of Shaw Abad between the rivers of Soane and Carumnassa where so many weavers reside as make about six thousand pieces Gurruli Cloths, in a year, and I do not find that they made advances of money to the weavers in any other part of the Behar District. I was not here myself during the last peace, and the native Agents employed by the French being dead or not to be found, I can only say that as far as I can ascertain, this is the full amount and extent of the French public and regular trade since 1763.

If the French Invoices have been to a greater amount than this, they must have been made up by what in Bengal and Behar is called ready-money-purchases, for the Linen Trade of

Behar is so appropriated by Custom that in many Districts the English Company claim a right to the employment of two thirds of the weavers and the Dutch to one third; so that while these customs and rules are exactly adhered to, the French or any casual purchaser can only obtain such goods as are rejected by these two public companies—with the exception of the District of Shawabad where the English did not interfere but left its Trade wholly to the French.

II.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Keighty, Chief of Cossimbazar, dated 7th May 1784.

I have been honored with your commands desiring to be informed of any particular privileges which may be annexed to the French and Dutch Factorys as merchants; the Trade of the former has been so very small for many years past that if they ever possessed any exclusive privileges it is no longer known to the people here; the latter who have kept up an investment at this place, who have a large Factory with some grounds annexed, have no particular privileges without the limits of their factory—they have their own goldar's or brokers to whom they make advances, and these people are responsible to whom, and should any manufacturers be indebted to them, beyond their factory they are obliged to apply by their vakcel to the established country Courts of Justice; they are indeed no more than any other merchants of the country, excepting within the limits of their Factory where they exercise every authority:—

This is all I have been able to learn from the oldest and best native inhabitants about Cossimbazar.

III.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Law, Chief of Dacca, dated 15th August 1784.

From the enquiries I have made I learn that their Trade in these parts were chiefly coarse goods which they provided thro' the means of Delalls, the same who at that time supplied the Company with their cloths; but I do not learn that they had any particular Aurungs within the limits of the Dacca Districts, and in case of any clashing between the Pykars employed by the French and English, representations were made to their respective chiefs, and were by that means adjusted.

IV.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Rider, Chief of Luckipore, dated 3th May 1784.

Four Gentlemen of the French Nation are named to me, as being the first residents at Jugdea, viz., Monsr. Caër, Monsr. De Gross, Monsr. Rola, and Monsr. Peck; they were not there together but succeeded each other as Residents in the order in which they are named. The year in which the Factory was first established cannot be ascertained, but it is known that one Nursing of Soonar Gong was Head Duloll of these Aurungs and that a dependant of his, one Rotton Monick, acted in that capacity both to the French and English Factorys. The Duloll took out a Pottah for the ground on which the Factory originally stood in his own name, and himself built the Factory, but that, I understand, has been for some years destroyed by the encroachment of the river. The above gentlemen had no established Aurungs or Gomastahs of their own, the Duloll purchased for them with ready money, or made advances as he thought proper. During their residence the English and French had no disputes: if on any occasion the Pykars quarrelled, they were referred to the Duloll and he settled it. It is said, "afterwards," but the year is not specified, "that both the English and the French quarrelled with the Duloll, who complaining against them, to the Governor and Council of each nation, brought him into



PORTUGUESE IN EAST AFRICA, 1598.

great trouble, and was the cause of the Ruin." For some time after this, the French transacted their business at Jugdea by making advances themselves to the Pykers, until a Monsr. Goreland was stationed there who engaged one Soonaram of Aunorabad as his Duloff; upon Monsr. Goreland's leaving the place, no French Agent was settled there for five or six years, and then Monsr. Borelas came up and brought one Poobheeram Mullick as his Banian. He was succeeded by a Monsr. Degrange who was in possession of the Factory, when upon the last war it was given over in charge to Mr. Cree. Almost every native family, that had any connection with the French Agents, at Jugdea have suffered so considerably in their private fortunes, that whatever purchases they may have to make in future, must be done with their own money, and even with cash in hand, I am of opinion the Duloffs and Pykers will be very cautious how they deal with them. Further, Gentlemen, I beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 17th February 1783 as far as it relates to the extensive trade which was carried on by Mr. Cree. I understand he entered into an explanation thereof, which may perhaps lead to more authentick information on the subject of the rights and privileges of the French, than I am able to inform you of, from being in a manner excluded from a connection with the Aurung.

V.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Grant, Resident, Maulda, dated 25th June 1784.

The enclosed paper contains the best account I have been able to obtain of the Trade carried on in this quarter by the French since the year 1763. I have no reason to doubt the truth of the facts stated in it, and from these it seems plain that the French purchases, to which the account more particularly refers, and in which I believe their trade chiefly consisted, have been made here, not under any national or peculiar privilege but in the same manner as those of individuals, who are at liberty to buy goods from all excepting the manufacturers engaged to the company.

VI.

Copy of a paper enclosed in the letter from the Resident, at Maulda:—

An account of the French trade at Maldah taken from the year 1763.

From the year 1763 to 1765 no business was carried on here in the name of the French:—

In 1765 a man named Savickram, an inhabitant of Badersila in the Malda Zemindary, having made a contract at Chandernagore with Mr. Chevalier, came to his own residence and purchased goods for him in the same manner as other purchased. This business lasted about a year.

In the year 1767 a person named Konny Sircar came to Malda to purchase cloths and trade in other articles on the part of Mr. Chevalier, not as a servant, but as a factor or contractor receiving a commission on his transactions. He hoisted the French flag over the House in which he carried on his business, as the Gomastahs of English gentlemen then used to hoist the English flag. He provided goods by contract with the merchants and dealers of Malda, and set up Factories in the Moffussil, one at Colligang and one at Mahanundpore, where he engaged a few looms not belonging to the English Company.

Gour Mohun Sent then managed the English Company's business at Malda as then Gomastah. Disputes arose between him and Konny Sircar, who wanted to carry on business according to his own pleasure, but Gour Mohun told him that he must not meddle with the Company's weavers and Assames, and avoiding intercourse with them, he should receive no opposition from him, in which Konny acquiesced.

In the beginning of 1770 Mr. Bathoe came to Malda as resident for the Company, and hearing that Konny Sircar had set up the French flag, he went himself and made him take it down, telling him he might carry on business, but not hoist a flag. He also caused the Gomastah of English gentlemen to take down their flag. Before Konny's arrival the French colours were never set up here, nor they ever had an established Factory in this quarter.

In the year 1774 Konny Sircar was recalled, and from that time there has been no Gomastah or Agent sent hither on the part of the French; and from 1763 until 1774 there were no other persons employed in this quarter by any Frenchman except the two here mentioned.

VII.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Fole, Resident, Rungpore, date 20th April 1784:—

I have delayed answering your letter till I could procure the best evidence of the nature and extent of the trade carried on by the French in these provinces, which I now do myself the pleasure to transmit for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-General to Council.

Mr. Chevalier was deputed in 1754 or 1755 from Chandernagore to carry on a trade for the French East India Company with Assam. He established a trade and settled at Gualparah. On the capture of Chandernagore by the English the trade on the part of the French Company with Assam was discontinued and Mr. Chevalier remained at Gualparah in the employ of some English gentlemen as their Agent for the salt trade with Assam. Mr. Chevalier left Gualparah and the Agency was delivered to Mr. John Robinson. From the time of Mr. Chevalier's Kooty at Coincolly and everywhere advanced either openly or secretly to the Company's weavers.

I know not on what ground their right to a Factory is founded, but imagine it must be in virtue of the privileges granted to them by the Mogul Government.

VIII.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Smith, Resident at Soonamooky, to the Comptroller of Aurang, dated 21st April 1784:—

I am honored with your letter under date the 26th ultimo with enclosures, and conformably to your orders transmit such information as I have been able to obtain respecting the mode of providing goods in this Aurung by the French. Prior to the year 1768 they provided only through Gomastahs, in that year Monsr. Le Seigneur came into Beerbhoom and obtained a few Begahs of ground from a Ghusein, who resides at Sapoer, named Auniund Chond. On this spot he built a house, and termed it a factory; where he hoisted the French colours, established guards, and made advances for Gurrahs through Dololla to the amount of Rs. 125,000 annually, entertaining at the same time Gomastahs, who placed Mohussils on the weavers, &c. and even punished them, exercising an authority equal to that invested in the Company's agents, who were only superior in having at that time the support of the revenue, some time about the year 1774, he quitted the Aurung and never returned again; he was the only French gentlemen that ever resided in the Aurung and from the period of his departure no advances have been made under sanction of the French name.

IX.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Taylor, Superintendent of Hurstaul, to the Comptroller of Aurung, dated 6th May 1784:—

After the year 1763 it does not appear from the information I have been able to obtain, that the late French East India Company had any connection with Hurstaul till 1766. In

that year and the year following, purchases, to an inconsiderable amount were made there by the Gomastahs of dadney merchants, employed by the French upon the footing of private traders. It is believed that the extent of their purchases was from 30 to 40,000 rupees each year. In '68, '69 and '70 the purchases were made by Gomastahs immediately nominated by Mr. Chevalier, the chief of Chandernagore. The system of providing through the medium of dadney merchants ended with the year 1767.

After Mr. Chevalier's departure no Frenchman resided in these provinces until 1767, when Mr. Laval was appointed and settled at Gualparah as the Agent of the English in partnership with Mr. Chevalier to carry on a trade with Assam, but they did not succeed and the concern closed.

From that time Mr. Laval, and occasionally, a few Frenchman resided at Gualparah and traded on their private account till 1778 when they were all recalled down to Calcutta by the order of Government.

I hope this account of the origin and the nature of the trade carried on by the French in these provinces will be satisfactory. I have every reason to believe it authentic as it was given me by a gentleman who resided among them and well knew the history of their trade.

X.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Collinson, Resident at Bankeah, dated 31st March 1784:—

From the result of the most accurate information I have been able to collect relative to the trade heretofore carried on by the French East India Company; it appears, they have never possessed any regular factory or establishment within this division; but I understand they rented about nine years ago a small house in the neighbourhood of Rampore where they provided a quantity of the country wound silk under the inspection and management of a Native Gomastah and to this particular object, their commercial operations were solely and intimately confined.

XI.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Taylor, Resident at Commercelly, dated 6th May 1784:—

Since the year 1763 the late French East India Company have carried on no trade at this station either collectively or individually.

XII.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Harris, Resident at Keerpoy, to the Comptroller of Aurang, dated 5th May 1784.

Since the peace of 1763 the French had a Factory in the Town of Keerpoy, where their resident lives, and provided goods annually from the year 1766 to the year 1774 when he quitted the Factory, from which time to the breaking out of the last war their investment was provided by Gomastahs and other Agents, they had also a Kotty the year 1767. In 1768 Mr. Chevalier's Gomastahs imported in cash and merchandize to the amount of near a lack of rupees; with this Fund they conducted their business till the end of 1770. In 1771 they began to collect their outstanding balances, and in 1773 they removed their effects, and left the Aurung. During the term that the French trade was carried on by Mr. Chevalier's Agent: a degree of authority, unknown to the Gomastahs of the dadney merchants, was increased on their part; and in consequence, many complaints were preferred against them to the principal at the English Factory. Since 1773 the French have had no communication with the Aurung of Hurriaul.

XIII.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Crommelin, Resident at Badnagore, to the Comptroller of Aurang, dated the 31st March 1784:—

With respect to the information required by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on the subject of the trade carried on by the French East India Company, prior to the commencement of the war, not having at that time succeeded to this station, I am unable to afford any further than, that I learn a French gentleman used to reside in this neighbourhood on the part of that Company to provide an Investment of Raw Silk and Cotton piece goods, but chiefly piece goods, and those of the finer assortments manufactured in this part of the country.

XIV.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Prinsep, Superintendent of Santipore, to the Comptroller of Aurang, dated 10th April 1784:—

In obedience to the Board's requisition, I have made the strictest enquiry throughout the Aurang under my superintendence and cannot find that any foreign European Company hath either established factories or publicly deputed European or Native agents to trade at or purchase the manufactures of Santipore or its subordinates.

The Dutch have constantly made dady contracts deliverable at Chinsurah.

During the years 1775-76 and 77 Mr. Bilow a French gentleman hired a small Bungalow in Santipore and as I am informed purchased a few cloths for his own account without interfering with the Company's weavers or exhibiting any public commission whatever.

This is the only European except the Company's Agents who has appeared in the Santipore districts for any purpose of Trade since the year 1763 to the knowledge or remembrance of the inhabitants of this Factory.

True Copies and Extracts,

JOHN BEBB,

Secretary.

THE Gualparah of the above documents is, I presume, the picturesque station of Goalpara on the Brahmaputra river. Outside the graveyard at Goalpara, adjoining the road, there are two old graves bearing respectively these inscriptions:—

(1).

Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of John and Daniel Rausch, born the 24th of June, 1783: their existence was limited to the short space of 3 hours.

(2).

Sacred to the Memory of Lieutenant William Cresswell, who died on the 14th of April, 1794, of a wound he received when gallantly exercising himself in the action of the 13th. *Ætæ* XXVII. This monument has been erected as a tribute of friendship by three of his brother officers, who most sincerely regret the untimely misfortune which has deprived them of an invaluable friend, his country of [a] brave and deserving officer and the world of a worthy member of society.

MR. E. A. GAIT, U.S., in his deeply interesting *History of Assam*, tells us that the district of Goalpara became a British possession in 1765 and that it then formed a part of the district of Rangpur. Mr. Rausch had resided at Goalpara since 1768: he was captured when on a trading expedition in 1795 and murdered by the Darrang Raja. The expedition in which Lieutenant Cresswell lost his life is described by Mr. Gait in the work referred to. For some months previous to my departure from Calcutta I had been, in leisure hours, copying and having copied all the papers I could put my hand relative to the downfall of the French in Bengal in the years 1778-1783. Whether or no I shall have an opportunity of finishing this work I cannot say, but amongst the papers copied I found one which refers to two Frenchmen at Gualparah and also to Mr. Rausch.

(1779. O. C., 7th Jan. No. 20.)

TO THE PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ENGLISH COUNCIL AT DACCA.

GENTLEMEN.—The Chief, having signified to us that it was requisite we should prepare for our departure for Chandernagore, we intreat you, Gentlemen, to receive the representation we have the honor to lay before you.

At the time when the order to arrest the subjects of France was brought to Gualparrah, the place of our residence, we were, Gentlemen, out of the districts and limits of the English Company. We had chose to sacrifice our fortune to the preservation of our liberty, but Mr. Lear, to whom the order to arrest all the subjects of France was directed, sent Mr. Rausch to prevail on us to return to Gualparrah, promising that we should sustain no manner of loss either in our goods or effects; and, moreover, that we should have every indulgence necessary in recovering the balance due to us. As these proposals came from a person whom we knew to be a man of probity, we accepted them, and returned with him to Gualparrah to Mr. Lear's house, who renewed on his word the offers which had been made us by Mr. Rausch. We then set out to surrender ourselves prisoners to the Chief of Dacca.

Permit us now, Gentlemen, to observe that if we are obliged to repair to Chandernagore, Mr. Lear will have the mortification to see the engagement of honor into which he entered with us broken, and we shall have the ill fate to lose at once our property and our liberty.

We beg of you, Gentlemen, to do us the favor to transmit our representation to the Hon'ble the Governor-General & Supreme Council at Calcutta, for we have hope that they will not aggravate our calamity, but that they will allow us to remain at Dacca a sufficient time to collect, if not all, at least some of the wrecks of our fortune, and grant permission for one of us to remove some goods now detained in a warehouse at Gualparrah.

DACCA:

12th September 1778.

We are with respect,
Gentlemen,

Your, &c., &c.,
CAMPAGNAC.
GIBLOT.

A true Copy,
C. BURROWS,
Secretary.

THE letter from "Mr. Law, Chief of Dacca," given above suggests the thought that it may be well worth while to clear up the history of the English Law family in Bengal. In 1781 a Mr. Law, who had been in the service of the Council, was appointed Judge of the *Darwani Adalat* at Patna,* and it was at his house Mrs. Hastings heard the first tidings of her husband's misadventures at Benares. "In one instance," wrote Hastings to Colonel Toone, "when she was in the city of Patna, and in a seat of greater danger, she proved the personal means of guarding our persons of Indian dominion from impending ruin by her own independent fortitude and presence of mind, varying with equal effect as every variation of the event called upon her for fresh exertions of it." In the old cemetery at Jangipur there was a monument to an "Evan Law, Esq.,† of H. C. Civil Service." In the South Park Street Cemetery there is a grave with a twofold inscription which gives us the following biographical information relation to

George Ewan Law, Esq.

Late Principal Assistant in the Secret and Political department of the Government at Calcutta, etc.

He was the third son of Ewan Law, Esquire, of

Horsted Place in the county of Sussex,

Formerly for many years Chief of the Provincial

Council at Patna. He was educated at

Westminster School, and he married Charlotte,

eldest daughter of Commodore John Hayes,

Master Attendant of the Port of Calcutta,

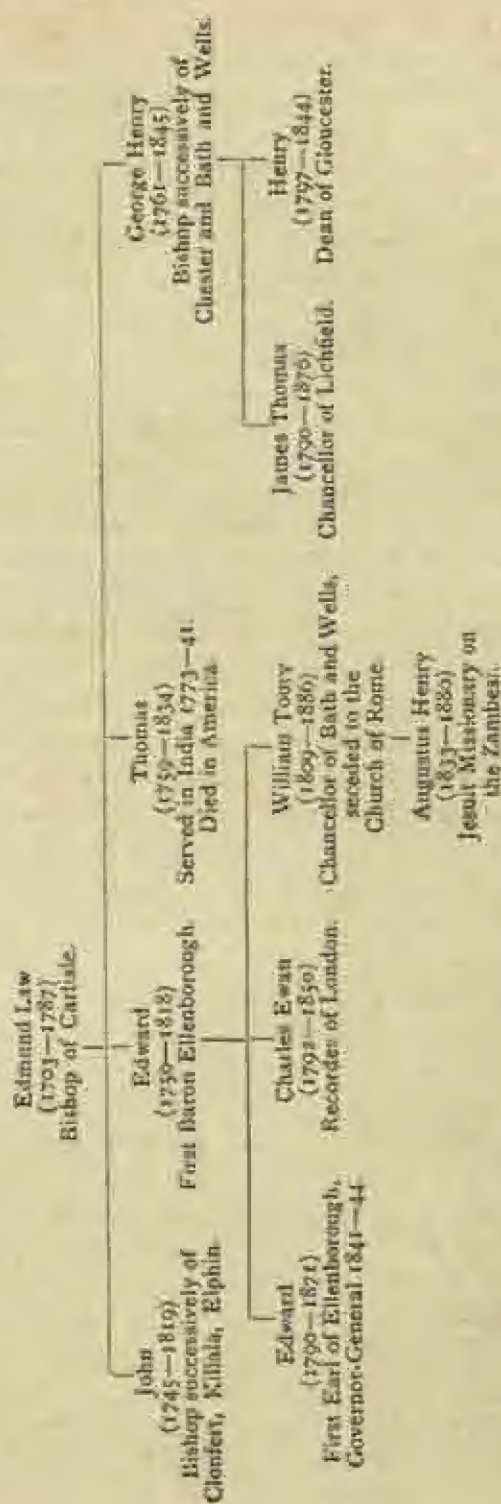
by whom he left two sons and a daughter. He was

born on the 28th of October 1795 and died

the 6th of November 1820, aged 24 years.

* *Handl. Early English Administration of Bihar, 1781-85, p. 25.*

† *Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. II p. 338.*



I omit the 21 lines of personal eulogy which follow and note that the second inscription records the fact that the "perishable monument" was "erected by J. and L. Hayes, as a faint memento of their unceasing affection for the irreparable loss of their justly beloved and truly virtuous son-in-law." Of the Hayeses more anon. In the cemetery at Goalpara there is a grave with this inscription:—

Prematurely called away in his 24th year, here repose the remains of Ensign George Ewan John Law, 73rd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry and Junior Assistant to the Commissioner in Assam, eldest son of the late George Ewan Law, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service. This tablet in honour of his memory is erected by his sorrowing mother who, in the depth of her grief and disappointment in the bright promise which his generous disposition, well cultivated mind and uniform rectitude, gave of a long career of honour and usefulness, finds her best consolation in the cherished remembrance of his virtues and the hope of meeting him where the tears of affection are dried for ever. Nat. 7th October 1816. Mor. 28th April 1841.

It is, I think, clear that the Lieutenant was the son of the Bengal Civilian buried in the South Park Street Cemetery and the grandson of the old Chief of the Provincial Council of Patna. It may be mentioned that the first Lord Ellenborough (1730—1813) gave to his second son the names Charles Ewan and that he had a brother Thomas Law, who after serving in the H.E.I. Co.'s service from 1773 to 1791 went to America and attempted to establish a national currency, an adventure suggesting kinsmanship to that famous progenitor of the Mississippi scheme—Law of Laureston. It would be interesting to know if these Ewan Laws were descended from that John Law, who arrived in Bengal on 16th July 1749, was second at Jugdea in 1796, and was one of the first of the victims who died at Holwell's feet in the Black Hole Prison. As to the Law of Dacca, I have now no means to hand to establish his identity. Can he be the Francis Law "who departed this life on 22nd September 1792, aged xlvii years," whose epitaph in the English Cemetery at Dacca will be found on p. 201 of *Wilson's List*.*

Commodore Sir John Hayes, of whom mention has been made, is accorded a biographical notice in the *Bengal Obituary*, which, as that work is now exceedingly scarce, may well be quoted here in slightly abbreviated form.

Commodore Sir John Hayes, Senior Officer of the Indian Navy and Master-Attendant of Calcutta, died on the 3rd of July, at Cocos Island, in lat. 41 n. long. 111°45'—E. In 1782-83, while midshipman of the *Bendish* and *Intrepid*, he cut out two vessels in Mangalore Roads, and was present at the capture of Cudalore, Onore, Mangalore and Marjoe Ports.

* Other inscriptions to persons of the name of Law will be found in the *Bengal Obituary* and in *Wilson's List*. On p. 6 of Vol. III. of Meems' Cambay's edition of the translation of the *Seh-i-Mutugharin* we read: "Mr. Thomas Law who was younger brother to Mr. Ayann Law." The "Ayann Law" of this passage is the Patna Civilian. See *Op. Cit.*, p. 108. It looks as if Ewan Law of Patna was a son of the Bishop of Calcutta, and uncle of Lord Ellenborough.



RUINS OF FORT AT QUILLOA (KILWA).



RUINS OF MOSQUE AT QUILLOA (KILWA).

From 1784 to 1788 he was employed as midshipman and lieutenant on board of various cruisers at Bussorah, Calcutta, Penang, etc., and was even employed occasionally in active land service. When the war broke out with Tippoo Sultan in 1792-94, he was attached to the army of General Abercrombie, and was present assisting at the capture of Carle, Cannanore, Bellapattam, etc. After the close of the war in 1793-94, he commanded two vessels, viz., the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*, on a voyage of discovery, when he explored Van Dieman's land, on the Derwent river, the south-west sides of New Caledonia, south-east and north coasts of New Guinea, the Molucca Islands, Timor, the whole of Madura, and presented the first instance of the progress of a British ship through that intricate channel. During this expedition he adopted such humane and judicious measures in reference to the intercourse of the expedition with the savage inhabitants of several of the places which he explored, that not a single life on either side was either compromised or lost in a quarrel. On his return to India, he was employed as First Lieutenant on board the ship *Jehangir*, armed in concert with the H. C. ships *Kester* and *Brunswick*, for the express purpose of intercepting the French national squadron under Commodore Renau, consisting of the frigates *Sybille*, *Prudente* and *Molinas*, who appeared off Diu, and threatened the destruction of that settlement. In 1797, he was selected to proceed on a mission to the Hakim of Somniana, to demand restitution of a British ship, carried into the River Arbis, or Arabis of Nearchus, a port in that Prince's dominions. He was furnished with an armed vessel (the *Vigilant*) carrying six two-pounders and manned with a crew of 18 natives, in addition to his personal escort, consisting of seven artillerymen, two European seamen and twenty-two seapoys. On the 13th of January, close in with the Island of Buti, at the entrance of the Gulph of Cutch, he was attacked by pirates, and the action which ensued was, perhaps, one of the most desperate ever recorded. Lieutenant Hayes had the lobe of his right ear shot away, his right cheek cut in two and his upper jawbone shattered to pieces. The wound was inflicted by a gingall piece, fired close to his head, and was of a frightful character. His life was for a considerable time endangered by it, and his countenance to the last sufficiently indicated the seriousness of the original injury. He was next employed with Colonel Little's detachment until the reduction of Seringapatam. Afterwards, in the command of the *Aleri*, he landed on the Island of Keera, mounting 200 pieces of cannon, recovered a British vessel taken there, and caused the pirate, Rajah Angria, to pay 500 per cent. upon the cargo deficient through plunder. In 1800, commanding the *Fly* gun-brig, while cruising against the Vengorla pirates, he captured and dismantled their principal battery, on the height of Vengorla. In 1801-02, he was Captain of the *Swift* of 20 guns, and chief of the Marine at the Moluccas: during which period he commanded the Squadron which mainly contributed to the capture of Tanate, the chief seat of the Dutch Government in that quarter, and with the *Swift* defeated and partly destroyed a fleet of forty sail of Magindana's pirate vessels, and thereby saved the Company's settlements in the Celebes. In 1803-4-5 he was Captain of the *Bombay* frigate and Commander of the Bengal Marine. During this command, he asserted the just rights of his honorable Masters upon the coast of Sumatra, by recapturing the Fort of Muckie and recovering the remaining part of their advance stores, etc., taken through the treachery of the Malay inhabitants. During the time he commanded the Raja's Squadron, no British merchant's ship or property suffered by capture, within the limits of his cruise or authority. In 1807, while in England, he was appointed by the Court of Directors, Deputy Master-Attendant at Calcutta, and to succeed to the station of Master-Attendant, on the death or resignation of the incumbent, without prejudice to his rank and standing in the Bombay Marine; and in 1809, he succeeded to the situation of Master-Attendant. In 1811 he received a Commodore's commission of

the first class from the Governor-General in Council for the expedition to Java. On this occasion he commanded a squadron of nine vessels of war, and all the other ships or vessels employed by the Company on the service. His last actual service was during the Burmese war, when he commanded the *Floilla* as a flag officer on the Aracan Coast. His performance of the duties of Master-Attendant at Calcutta gave the highest satisfaction, as appears from the testimonials of respect from the mercantile community. Successive ruling authorities paid him high marks of honorable consideration, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him by his late Majesty.

The following inscription marks his grave at Cocos Islands, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of his health :—

Beneath this stone repose the remains of

Commodore Sir JOHN HATES, Knight, Senior Officer of the Indian Navy, who expired on this Island, 3rd July 1831, aged 64 years.

In every station of life this brave, distinguished, conscientious man, acquitted himself with credit and honour, in his private no less than his public capacity.

He was kind and sterling, generous and estimable ;

While with the zeal, undaimedness, and manly simplicity of the British Master, he combined in a rare degree the highmindedness, philanthropy and independence of the English gentleman.

ON the occasion of our expedition to Chandernagore we noted a grave (26th November 1866) with an inscription to

Robert Bland, for 18 years Chaplain of Gowhatti, Assam. Greatly beloved and deeply mourned by those who mark his grave.

From a pamphlet published by the Rev. S. B. Taylor in 1880, I learn that Bland was appointed "Chaplain of Assam" in 1841, and "that such was the difficulty of locomotion in Assam at that time, that Mr. Bland spent six months on the journey by country boat between Calcutta and Gauhati and it took him three months more to get from his headquarters to Sadiya.* In 1847 his total Christian congregation was reckoned at 150, but his labours, in the circumstances which have been indicated, must have been truly apostolic. He was expected to reside two months at Goalpara, one month at Sibsagar, and two months on circuit between Tezpur, Nowgong, Jaipur, Dibrugarh, and Sadiya. The oldest record book preserved at the

* Mr. Gait (*History of Assam*, pp. 294-5) writes of the state of things about 1835. "The Calcutta post was carried to Goalpara overland and Marshabul, Malda, Dinajpur and Rangpur. This route was almost impossible in the rains, and ordinary travellers at all seasons went by water. The journey downstream from Goalpara to Calcutta occupied from twenty-five to thirty days and the opposite direction about eight days more. The upward journey was even more tedious in the case of large craft." Captain Wilkes, in the appendix to his Memoirs in the 17th volume of *Asiatic Researches*, says : "When coming down the river in the latter end of October 1825, I saw a fleet of communitariat boats (at that time very much required with their supplies for the army) which had been twenty-five days between Nagarbera hill, a distance of thirty miles, and there was no remarkable wind to impede their progress."

Shillong Vicarage is that of Gauhati, and Bland's entries do not commence before Thursday, 7th May 1844, when we read

I, Robert James Bland, Minister of Christ, reached this station of Gauhati, by the mercy of God, having escaped fever and accidents. I brought with me a young man named Kench from Dacca to act as clerk.

In 1847 there is a touching reference to Bland's infirmities. Bishop Wilson, that stern disciplinarian, writes: "By all means sit in your reading of Psalms, Lessons, and Sermons." Bland retired in 1863.* His constitution had been completely ruined by incessant fevers and the strain of over-occupation. He was succeeded by Chaplain Ayerst, whose name 'Varsity men' associate with Ayerst Hall. The next chaplain was my own father. Mr. S. B. Taylor records the fact that my father spent a part of his time at the newly opened station of Shillong. The condition of things in Gauhati, on my father's arrival, may be judged from Bishop Cotton's comments: "The chief disgrace to the church," the Bishop writes, "is the Font, an ordinary wash-hand basin supported on three bamboo poles; the seats have been studiously constructed so as to make kneeling impossible; the glare of the light through the east window must render the administration of the Holy Communion most distressing, the hymn-book used is out of date. Tate and Brady do not satisfy Christian devotion." All these defects in his eighteen months' chaplaincy, which included active service in the field, my father endeavoured to remedy, and Mr. Taylor records:—

He also partly restored the church at Cherapunji. Both there and at Tezpur and Dibrugarh, the progress of church work elicited from the Bishop an expression of grateful approval.

The reader will not need to be reminded that it was on the return from this visitation of Assam, that Bishop Cotton, insisting on going in the steamer on the plank put out for the coolies, missed his footing and was drowned.

IN connection with Colonel Crawford's article on "Some Forgotten Grave-yards," the following will be read with interest:—

9, ESPLANADE, EAST,

Calcutta, 19th February 1909.

DEAR MR. FIRMINER,

While on a visit to Kumarkhali (a village in the Kooashtea Sub-Division) the other day I came across an old cemetery containing a few graves. The oldest inscription decipherable dates back over a century and reads as follows:—

Here Lies

The Body of James Macfie, M.D.,
Surgeon in the India Company's

* Mr. Bland was married at Gauhati, July 6, 1859, to Emeline, daughter of Wm. Robinson, Inspector of Schools. The latter belonged to a well-known Baptist family. He is described in his tomb stone at Nazira (1863) as the "Historian of Assam."

Service, who departed this life
on the 14th April 1790.
In the 37th year of his Age.
His death was lamented by
all who had known his
virtues and by none more
than by the natives of this place.

There are also a couple of old tombs without inscriptions which have the appearance of being older than the one referred to above, but, owing to my stay being a short one, I was unable to ascertain any further information regarding them.

I enclose a couple of prints should you wish to make use of them in the journal.

With kind regards,
Yours truly,
PHIL. C. LONGLEY.

If these Editorial pages should chance to fall under the eye of a reader acquainted with the Becher family, I should be very grateful if he would call the attention of the family to the fact that there are two tombs in the old cemetery at Gauhati (Assam), which bear the name Becher, and which, if not promptly attended to, are only likely to be dismantled. The inscriptions run as follows :—

I.

Sacred to the memory
of
Robert Becher, Esq.
Obiit 7th of July, 1847,
aged 25 years and 10 months.
This monument
to his lamented worth is
erected
by his bereaved widow.

II.

Sacred
to the memory of
Mrs. Elizabeth Becher,
widow of Major Robert Becher, Assistant Quartermaster-General
of the Bengal Army,
who departed this life at Gauhatty on the 15th of September 1860,
in the blessed hope of joyful
resurrection,

This monument,
in remembrance of his most kind
and attached mother,
has been erected by her affectionate son,
William Becher.

THE Old Burial Registers at St. John's show that Major Thomas Adams, who in 1763 won the decisive victory of Udwanala, was buried in Calcutta on 12th January 1764. It is no small shame to us that the remains of so brilliant a soldier should be lying in the very heart of the city with no monument in proximity to recall his splendid exploits to memory. Few of us realise that a little child was born to Clive and his wife during their first period of residence. In the Baptismal Registers at St. John's, on the date 11th November 1759 occurs this entry.

Robert, son of the Honorable Robert Clive, Esq., and Margaret, his wife.

Gleig writes: "I have explained elsewhere that he was very happy in his marriage. There was not much uxoriousness about him, to be sure, neither was his taste of such a nature as led him to delight in the prattle of babes or the sports of very young people, but he was sincerely attached to Mrs. Clive, as indeed it became him to be, and had a father's honest affection for the children whom she brought him. One of these, an infant boy, died just as he was about to depart a second time for India. Another, also a boy, was so ill at the period of his embarkation to return home in 1760, that it was found necessary to leave the little fellow behind. Mr. Fullerton, a friend of the father's, took charge of the invalid, and laid him in his grave soon after the ship which bore the rest of the family to England had begun her voyage. Clive's letters show that these vicissitudes, and especially the latter, were not unfelt by him." It would certainly add to the already rich historical interest of St. John's Church and its neighbourhood, if two tablets were placed on the wall of the western portico to remind us that in the close neighbourhood lie the remains of Major Adams and those of little Robert Clive. The register shows that the latter was buried on 17th June, 1760.

I WAS at first tempted to identify the Mr. Fullerton of the above passage with the Surgeon of that name, who is so often described as the sole survivor from the bloody events at Patna in 1763; but identification is scarcely possible. The Burial Register, on April 15, 1764, records the interment of—

Mr. John Fullerton, Inhabitant.

It must, I think, have been this Mr. Fullerton to whom Vansittart attributed the real authorship of that minute in which Peter Amyatt gave the first expression of his opposition to the policy of the Governor.

IN the present number I have included some views of two fortresses erected by the Portuguese to command the road by sea to India—Mombasa and Quilon. I should have liked to have included a photograph taken by myself, in 1896, of the impressive fortifications at Mozambique. A hasty scamper through *Hobson-Jobson* would suffice to remind us that, good many of the Anglo-Indian expressions we make use of almost hourly are Portuguese in origin. Quilloa is of special interest to the present writer, for it was the first "Historical Expedition" he attempted to make south of Suez, and it was a sad failure. The Portuguese Quilloa is now known as Kilwa Kisiwani. It is a remarkable place in every way, as it must have been a considerable emporium of Persia's trade long before any European set foot there. The old mosque, of which an illustration is given, is, or was until quite recently, decorated with Persian tiles of no mean artistic merit: it is eloquent of a continuity of wealth which would carry one back to the days when the hinterland of the Sofala Coast yielded up to Tyre and Sidon the gold of Ophir. In 1894, in company with Mr. C. R. Beazley, who was on a mission on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society, I set out for old Quilloa. We reached a place known as Kilwa Kivinji, where we were most hospitably entertained by the German Governor, who informed us that the neighbouring coast was in a state of rebellion and that, for the present, he could not accept the responsibility of allowing us to proceed any further on our journey. After a few days, however, the Governor reported that everything was peaceable once again, and that we might on the following morning proceed on our expedition. A little Christian lad came to me and implored me not to go. "Watapigana, Padre, Watapigana." (They are going to fight, Padri, they are going to fight.) However, we trusted to the Governor, and he promised to come himself and wake us up at an early hour and speed us on our way. The morning dawned, but instead of being aroused from slumber by the cheery voice of the Governor, I was rudely disturbed by a heap of plaster falling from the roof, and awful yells and rattling of guns. Between this and breakfast there were two hours of steady fighting, for the rebels were in great force, and, as I learned afterwards, their leaders were within a few yards of my bedroom door, when the alarm was given by the Soudanese sentry. In these negotiations there was one thing which left a very deep impression on my mind. The only man in the Fort who could speak English fluently was the dear little Judge of the station. Within two or three moments of the first alarm, he was out in military uniform, and he proceeded to handle what I had taken to be an absolutely useless gun with a skill which left the completest evidences of its success. This done, when the foe had made their final retreat, he ran down into the well of the Fort and commenced surgical

operations on the wounded with a skill and expedition which were both alike beyond praise and, I am afraid, emulation by an amateur. Then came a scene beyond all powers of description. The wives of the Soudanese Garrison had broken loose and at some distance from the Fort were avenging their husbands' wrongs on the captives and wounded. We got to the spot so soon as our legs would carry us. It is an awful thing to imagine what a man can endure before he is wholly unconscious. I need only say that, after all this, my friend and myself could go no further into the wilds. No steamer could be expected for some weeks, so we went on board a native sailing boat and made for Dares-es-Salaam. It was a troublesome voyage, and one night all control over the vessel was lost altogether: the Southern Cross was this moment aft and the next afore, and our sails went flying helplessly in the wind. We had but provision for two meals with us, and our delight can be imagined when the little native lad to whom I have referred, on our third and last day, produced some toasted bread, which he had saved up for our sore need. At Dares-es-Salaam we ate poached eggs, were picked up by H.M.S. *Blonde*, and brought back into Zanzibar, still anxious to get to old Quiloa.

IN reply to Mr. Corfield's enquiry (in a previous number of *Bengal: Past and Present*) as to the locality in London where the Outram statue was temporarily exhibited before its despatch to Calcutta, a writer in *Notes and Queries* says:—"It was exhibited before being sent to India at the foot of Waterloo Place, between the United Service and the Athenæum Clubs."

COULD any of our readers in England trace the later history of the Lieutenant J. Fergusson whose letters, written during his expedition to the jungle mehals of Midnapore, are now appearing in *Bengal: Past and Present*. When he was recalled from Midnapore he joined the 1st Brigade at Monghyr, and on 8th December, 1768, the surgeon recommended his return to England. On 23rd January, 1769, he petitioned the Governor-General and Council:—

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Necessity, as the enclosed certificate will evince, obliges me to address you to request leave to resign my commission. As want of health is my reason for quitting the service, let me hope that the Hon'ble Board will recommend me home in such a manner that, if my health be re-established, I may be re-instated in this service without loss of rank.

I am (etc.)
J. FERGUSSON,
Lieutenant.

To those who are familiar with the history of the indigo industry in Bengal the following document will be of some interest. It is addressed to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) and Council.

(1782, O. C. 13th May No. 17.)

TALDANGA,
NEAR CHANDERNAGORE
—April 1782.

The Humble Petition of Louis Bonnaud, inhabitant of Taldanga near Chandernagore.

Your most humble Petitioner most reverently represents that he has been a midshipman in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, and that he arrived here from France in the latter end of 1777 with a private ship named the *Philippine* in the capacity of an officer; that at the surrender of Chandernagore, in 1778, your humble Petitioner has also been mentioned as such by the Chandernagore Magistrate to the Gentlemen Commissaries, and that in virtue thereof being enrolled in the list, he has always enjoyed of the subsistence which so pleased the Honourable Supreme Council to allow as long as it has been granted, and which amounted for his share Rs. 40 per month as he was then unmarried.

That your humble Petitioner has ever since employed his times and behaved himself as a peaceful and useful subject of your Honourable Board in practising one of the most useful and valuable branches for a country, the agriculture, and especially in endeavouring to improve the manner of fabricating indigo in this country, by which means he has been able to subsist honestly with his wife and three children, he being married since; and your humble Petitioner is one of those three whom the Honourable Mr. Ross* desired the Honourable Board that might remain in the country two years ago.

In consequence of the abovementioned facts, your Humble Petitioner was in the expectation that when lately it pleased the Honourable Supreme Council graciously to order that the subsistence money should be pay'd again, it should be distributed according to the list made by the Commissaries in 1778, with the assistance of the Chandernagore Magistrate in which he is enrolled amongst the young gentlemen. However, as your humble petitioner to his great grieve (*sic*) is informed that Mr. Maloni (*sic*) the Present Commissioner has degraded him he finds himself in the obligation to make this humble representation, as your humble petitioner does not know that he has forfeited the character of a gentleman, but to the contrary he is fully conscious, and submit it to the strictest enquiry that his behaviour has always been such as to deserve that rank, and that he therefore, is induced to believe that Mr. Maloni made the mistake by want of the list made by his antecessors, the Commissaries of 1778, and by making another one with the assistance of some bad intentioned or quarrelsome countrymen of your humble Petitioner, in which opinion he is the more confirmed, as the same trick has been play'd to several others.

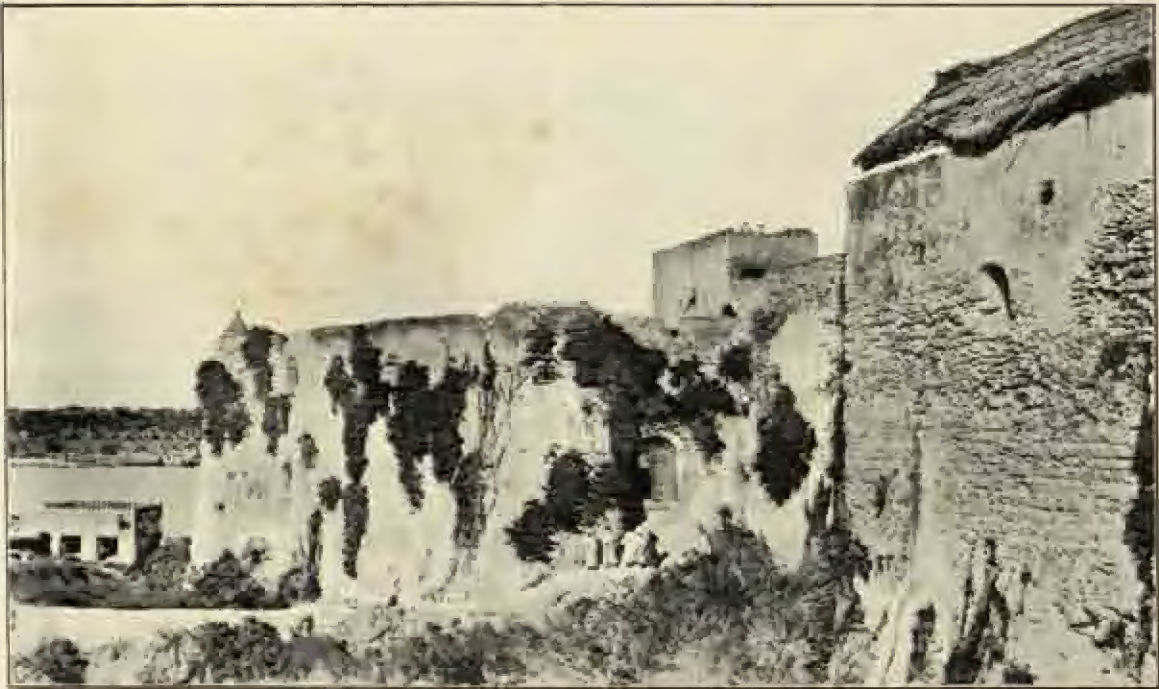
And as your humble petitioner humbly conceived that neither Mr. Maloni, nor anybody else, can deprive him of his character as a gentleman, as long as he himself maintains that character himself.

Your humble Petitioner most reverently prays that it may please the Honourable Board graciously to prevent all such deforming endeavours to decline good and well-minded subjects and to make them unworthy the power and liberality of the Honourable the Supreme Council.

And your Humble Petitioner will ever pray.

L. BONNAUD,

* The Dutch Governor of Chinsurah.



THE GATES OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.
MOMBASA.

IN my last "Leaves" I was able to tell the reader that Landor's exquisite lines to the memory of Rose Aylmer are very shortly to be placed on the monument over Rose's grave. It has been decided by the family that the lines should appear in one, not two verses, as in the editions of 1846 and 1876, this being considered more suitable in a monumental inscription. In the line "A night of memories and of sighs," where it was thought that the second "of" is redundant, Mr. Swinburne has advised its retention. "As regards his own beautiful verses," writes that supreme authority, "I prefer the inclusion of the second 'of,' and I think he must have intended it so to stand." In his letter to Mr. Stephen Wheeler on the subject the late Mr. Swinburne expresses his "sincere thanks for your remembrance of me in a matter regarding Landor's memory." It need hardly be said that the advice given by Mr. Swinburne will be followed. The lettering of the inscription will of necessity be similar to that of the older inscription—gold lettering on black marble.

IN the Report of the Archaeological Survey Eastern Circle for 1907-1908 there is an interesting account of some monuments to British soldiers near Chanda in the Central Provinces. Four of these were already known to the residents, but Mr. Longhurst was lucky enough to come across in the jungle, and by mere accident, three more tombs the existence of which had been quite lost to knowledge. Of these last two bore inscriptions:—

I.

To the memory
of
Major G. I. Goreham,
This monument was erected
by the officers of the Artillery
Who served under his command
at the siege of
Chanda.
Died 20th May 1818.

II.

Sacred
To the Memory of
Lieutenant William C. Hadfield,
Doing duty with
The 2nd Battalion, 23rd Regiment, M.N.I.
who died 21st October 1820.
Aged 21 years.

THE previously known tombs, which Mr. Longhurst numbers Nos. 1, 2, 3, as well as a No. 4 discovered by him, have no inscriptions, and Mr. Longhurst was locally informed that, as Captain Scott lost only three men during the capture of Chanda and these private soldiers, the graves must be those of private soldiers. He writes: "I do not believe this for a moment—these two tombs (Nos. 2 and 3) are large important looking monuments and must have been erected to officers of distinction, who lost their lives either during the siege or died after the capture." In Vol. V. of the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* (pp. 259-60) appears the following: [Thursday, June 11, 1813.] "The gratifying intelligence of the fall of the fortified city of Chandah was received in town on Sunday last. The attack was begun at 5-0 A.M. on the 20th ultimo, and in the course of an hour the whole of that extensive capital was in our possession. The assault was conducted by Colonel Scott with the greatest gallantry and skill. Our loss is trifling: Captain Charlesworth, Lieutenants Watson, Fell, and Casement, the only officers wounded. The reduction of this last stronghold in the Nagpore territory is a subject on which we offer our warmest congratulations to the British public. It forms the class of a brilliant series of important successes which have been crowded into a very limited period of military operations." An account of the siege will be found in the fourth volume of Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, where it is stated that the English losses were twelve killed and more than fifty wounded. Cardew (*Services of the Bengal Army*, p. 134) gives the numbers as thirteen killed and fifty-five wounded. Chanda is beyond the scope of the Calcutta Historical Society's studies, but the reference to these old graves will be welcomed by those of our readers who do not have the opportunity of perusing the reports of the Archaeological Survey, and they will certainly appreciate the suggestion made that those graves should be thoroughly repaired and not again be lost to sight. There is a curious mistake on p. 5 of this report where the Martyn Pagoda at Serampore is referred to as "Henry Martin's (*sic*) tomb."

THE Rev. J. Long in an article in the *Calcutta Review* in 1852 writes: "The house next to the Baitakhana was occupied by Mr. Blaquiere, the oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nuncomar, he had seen the maidan all rice-field." Tradition has it that the St. John in Zoffany's picture of the Last Supper, for which one would have imagined that some girl must have sat as a model, was William Coates Blaquiere, and the tradition is supported by the fact, disclosed in an obituary notice of J. J. L. Hoff, that it was in feminine guise, the lad, who

"arrived" with his fair hair hanging down his back in a "pig-tail," performed some exceedingly smart detective work. The expression "arrived" in official documents of the time does not mean "arrived from England," but "joined the service." Jacob Blaquiere, the father of William Coates Blaquiere, had apparently been sent out to India on a special mission in order to improve the quality of the Company's cloth investment, and he brought out his little son with a view to improving the lad's prospects. Blaquiere Senior, on April 1778, sends in a petition that his son, aged 15, may be nominated a writer in the Company's service. He writes: "By his coming young into the country, I have had the opportunity of having him thoroughly instructed in the rudiments of the Persian, Moors and Bengal languages, in the study of which he has actually made considerable progress. He was likewise some time with Mr. Pattle at the Beaulah Factory; since that time has resided with me at Santipore, where I have been at great pains to instruct him in the business of that Aurung, and to accustom him not only in the mode of conducting business with the weavers and other natives, but to make him master of the whole detail of the manufacture, fabrick, and quality of muslin, as a valuable branch of the Company's investment."

AMONG the new portraits which appear in the fourth edition of *Echoes from old Calcutta* there is a very welcome one of Colonel H. Watson, the gentleman who served Francis as second in his duel with Hastings. Watson is commemorated by Watganj [Watson's *ganj*] in Kidderpore, the market established by him in connection with his famous dockyard. An interesting story of this dockyard could be recovered from Hyde's note-books and the records at the Imperial Record Department, and there are a number of papers never yet published which would reveal to us the large share Watson had in the construction of the new Fort William and the building of the roads skirting the maidan. The following letters disclose the Colonel to us in his character as a merchant and the builder and owner of a private ship of war.

I.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM, 29th March 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

Having long considered with great surprise the many disadvantages to which the European and Indian Commerce of the Company and British Subjects are subjected to at the Port of Canton by the Monopoly of the Cohong Merchants, who by such authorized Establishment are enabled to enhance the value of their own commodities and lower the price of all goods imported into China at their mere discretion; and I am at this time induced to lay before the Board my opinion of the great benefits which might probably

accrue to the Public by an attempt to open a Trade with the Eastern and Northern Provinces of China, whose Inhabitants are now, and have ever been, the Chief Consumers of the most valuable articles exported from Great Britain, and it is to those Provinces that we are principally indebted for the two most beneficial articles of our Commerce, tea and raw silk.

I am entirely at a loss to account for the reasons which first influenced the European Companies to fix upon Canton, this most Southern Port of the Chinese Empire, as a general emporium for vending the produce of their respective Northern climates, and still more surprized at the continuance of their trade to that Port only; since it has been known that their commerce with the other Provinces was neither prohibited or obstructed by the Emperor's order. The attempts made by the English Company in the years 1755, 1756 and 1757 to open a Trade at the Port of Limpo, in the Province of Chekyang, is an indubitable proof of the fact.

By thus making Canton the only Mart for the sale of European goods and purchase of Chinese commodities, the Cohong Company has had its rise, and are enabled to pay immense bribes to the Mandarines of Government for their lucrative monopoly, which they have for many years exercised to the great prejudice of the Company as well as of individuals, and I am credibly informed that the British Subjects alone have, by their confidence in the credit and security of the Cohong Company, already sustained a loss of something more than seven Millions of Spanish dollars by money lent upon bond, which enormous sum still remains due to them and almost without any prospect of ever being repaid, except by an immediate representation to the Court of Pekin. The late demands and representations made by Captain Panton to the Governor of Canton have only extorted something like a promise to oblige the Chinese Merchants to repay the principal sums lent within the space of ten years.

The present deplorable state of our Indian Commerce to China, in particular that of Bengal, from the control which the Cohong Company are allowed to exercise at the Port of Canton must soon be severely felt by the East India Company themselves, as the sales of Opium and such other articles as are procured with it, are now little more than sufficient to purchase the necessary returning cargoes, and do not allow our merchants to furnish the Company with the usual supplies of Cash so necessary for completing their China investment.

In order to remedy this unfavourable circumstance and prevent the great loss which the British Nation must soon suffer by a diminution of their China imports from a want of cash to compleat the lading of their required tonnage, I take the liberty likewise to suggest the expediency of this Government now taking the Opium trade to China immediately under its own management and consigning the whole quantity that may be required for that market to the Company's Super Cargoes at Canton. The great losses and disappointment which the British traders in Opium have suffered this last season, call for such a remedy as I have recommended, and I do not see any other expedient that can so compleatly counteract the Cohong monopoly as that of the Company themselves becoming the only dealers in this stable article, upon which (so certain is the demand for it) they may affix almost what price they please in reason.

By the best authority I find that the present yearly consumption in the South-East Provinces of China alone amounts to twelve hundred chests which at the Moderate Price of five hundred Spanish Dollars per annum to compleat their investment.

If the Board upon mature deliberation should adopt my opinions respecting the probable advantages which might accrue to the British nation and Company by an attempt

to open a Trade with the Eastern and Northern Provinces of China and carry our European Commodities to those countries that now consume and take off the principal articles of the British Exports as well as furnish the most valuable articles for the Europe Markets and also approve of present expediency of Monopolizing the Opium trade in China. In that case I take the liberty of making a tender of my ship now building at Kidderpore for the purpose of carrying both plans into execution, for which in my humble opinion she will be exceeding well adapted on account of her great force and moderate draught of water, besides promising when seathed with copper to be a prime Sailor.

The Opium intended for the China Market I propose to take upon Freight, the amount of which may be either paid in Bengal or at Canton as the Board may deem most eligible; and after delivering this Opium to the Super Cargoes I further propose to freight the ship to the Company at a Stipulated rate per month during such time as she may be employed in attempting to open a Trade with the Eastern and Northern Provinces of China or in executing any further plans which may be thought expedient by Government till her return and the delivery of her Cargo at the Port of Canton.

Such are the outlines of the plan which I suggest to the consideration of the Board, and I am persuaded, if the endeavour to open a trade with the Eastern ports of China is entrusted to a man of prudence and perseverance, that such lights will be obtained as must have the most beneficial consequences both to the Company and British Subjects in India.

I am with great Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,

HENRY WATSON.

2.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, PRESIDENT, &c., COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

FORT WILLIAM, the 17th September 1784.

MY LORD & GENTLEMEN,

Having come to the resolution of taking up the ship *Nonsuch*, now building in this River by Lieutenant-Colonel Watson for the purpose of carrying the Hon'ble Company's opium to China in December or January next, and Lieutenant-Colonel Watson having represented to us that he is unable to equip her with a sufficient number of cannon proper for her defence either from the Company's stores or by private purchase in His settlement, We are induced to request that you will send us by the earliest conveyance thirty six light iron twelve pounders, from ten to sixteen or eighteen hundred weight, either of the cannon or any other new manufactory that this vessel may be properly armed in order to ensure the safety of the Company's property with which she is to be laden, and for your more particular information we transmit copy of Colonel Watson's letter on this subject:

We are, &c.,

(Unsigned draft of Warren Hastings and Council.)

3.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 20th October 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

Since writing our letter of the 18th, we have been informed that there are in the Arsenal twelve 8 Pounders, French Guns, in Caliber nearly equal to an English 9 Pounder,

and as they are approved by the Gentleman appointed to receive the Guns for the *Nonsuch* Privateer, we shall order them to be delivered to him together with 1,200 Shot, which he requests may be included.

We are sorry that no Guns more fully answering your description can be spared from this Garrison, being anxious on every occasion to forward your wishes to the utmost of our power.

In addition to the Prisoners mentioned in our last, Mr. Hagerrard, Supercargo of a Dutch Indiaman taken by the *Active* frigate, will embark on the *Resolution*.

You will please to make him such allowance as you shall think reasonable (to be charged to the Dutch Company) till a good opportunity offers for you to send the Prisoners to some Dutch Settlement, at as great a distance from this coast as possible.

We enclose Copy of a Parole executed by him and Mr. Bodenchat.

We request you will make the Commander of the *Dartmouth* and *Resolution* such allowance as you shall judge reasonable for the passage of the Prisoners embarked on their respective ships.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient, Humble Servant,

(Sd.) MACARTNEY.

P. S.—We enclose copy of a letter from Sir Eyre Coote giving an account of his last action.

4

FORT WILLIAM, 18th November 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

Although I have generally engaged not to receive any opium on board the *Nonsuch* except such as be laden on account of the Company, I yet presume to request as a favour from the Board that I may be permitted to carry two hundred and fifty chests of the Company's opium on my own account, which quantity I understand may be readily disposed of at the several ports, where it will be necessary for the ship to touch at for wood, water, or intelligence, during the prosecution of her intended journey through the Eastern Islands; but should I be disappointed of disposing of the whole in this manner, as I propose for the better security of the ship to have her attended by a fast sailing sloop, I shall then be able to put any opium that may remain unsold on board her, and in such a case I propose to leave the sloop in some convenient place for the purpose of selling the remainder.

As any sales of opium which may be made among the Eastern Islands cannot in the least affect the Company's sales in China, I am thereby induced to flatter myself that my request will not be denied, more especially as I am ready to give the most ample security that no part of the opium carried on my own account on board *Nonsuch* shall be disposed of within one hundred leagues of the coast of China and am further willing to pay the Company whatever price the Board may deem reasonable for the opium which I wish to purchase.

I am, etc.,

HENRY WATSON.

5

TO THE BOARD OF TRADE.
GENTLEMEN,

FORT WILLIAM, 3rd December 1781.

Having received an application from Lieut.-Colonel Watson for fifty tons of lead to be employed as dunnage and balast on board the *Nonsuch* which ship is engaged to carry the

Company's opium to China, we request that you will order the delivery of this quantity to Colonel Watson on his paying the value of it into your Treasury.

We are (Unsigned draft of Governor and Council.)

6.

FORT WILLIAM, 21st June 1783.

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

I take the liberty to inform the Board that the sails of the *Nonsuch* will be bent tomorrow and the ship in readiness to depart from the Port of Calcutta some time this week. I, therefore, am now induced to solicit the favour of the Board to grant a general letter of March (sic) and Refusal for the above ship to and against the enemies of Britain and the East India Company. She is commanded by Captain William Richardson, will carry thirty-two guns, twelve and nine pounders, and is of the burthen of five hundred tons.

I am, etc.,

HENRY WATSON.

7.

FORT WILLIAM, 21st January 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

The *Nonsuch* being upon the point of departure from Calcutta I take the liberty of informing the Board that it will be requisite to issue an order for sending down to Kedgerree the remainder of the Company's opium, which is intended to be laden on board her.

The Board having agreed to pay the Captain and officers of the *Nonsuch* such a sum as might be deemed a reasonable allowance for their privilege of private trade, I am induced to hope that this may be fixed at eight thousand Sicca Rupees, which is 2000 more than has already been granted to Captain Thornhill for the officers of the *Betsy*, whose tonnage is certainly not three-fourths the burden of my ship. But if any objection should be made to this sum, I request that some indifferent but proper person may be called upon by the Board to ascertain it, by whose decision I will abide.

I am, etc.,

H. WATSON.

8.

FORT WILLIAM, 8th January 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

As the number of Company's Troops on board the *Nonsuch*, including thirty seapoys from Captain Green's battalion, will amount to forty-six, I request the favour of an order to the Surgeon-General for a small proportion of common medicines for their use during the voyage.

I am, etc.,

HENRY WATSON.

9.

FORT WILLIAM, 11th February 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

The Board having been pleased to allow me to receive two hundred and fifty chests of opium part of the Dutch provision, I request the favour of an order for its delivery, agreeable to the medium rate of sales I will discharge in the course of next month, having already a much greater sum due to me from the Company.

I am, etc.,

HENRY WATSON.

ON the occasion of our expedition to Berhampore I am afraid we took very little notice of the grave which bears an inscription to "the Memory of Charles Cromelin, Esq., who died on the 25th December 1788, aged 81 years." He who is buried in this grave has been identified with the Hon. Charles Crommelin, Governor of Bombay, 1760-1767. His portrait will be found on p. 162 of Vol. I. of Mr. James Douglas' *Bombay and Western India*. Mr. Buckland tells us that Crommelin "returned to England in 1767," had great losses in trade: returned in India as a free merchant, 1772; was residing at Canton in 1777; was British Consul at Goa in 1784. Mr. Buckland notes that "it has been suggested" that the Cromelin (with one *m*) of the Berhampore inscription is the ex-Governor, and perhaps the identification must remain a suggestion only. I find on the consultations of 1st September 1784 a letter from a Mr. Crommelin, Resident at Radnagore, dated 31st March of that year. In the South Park Street Cemetery there is, or was, an inscription

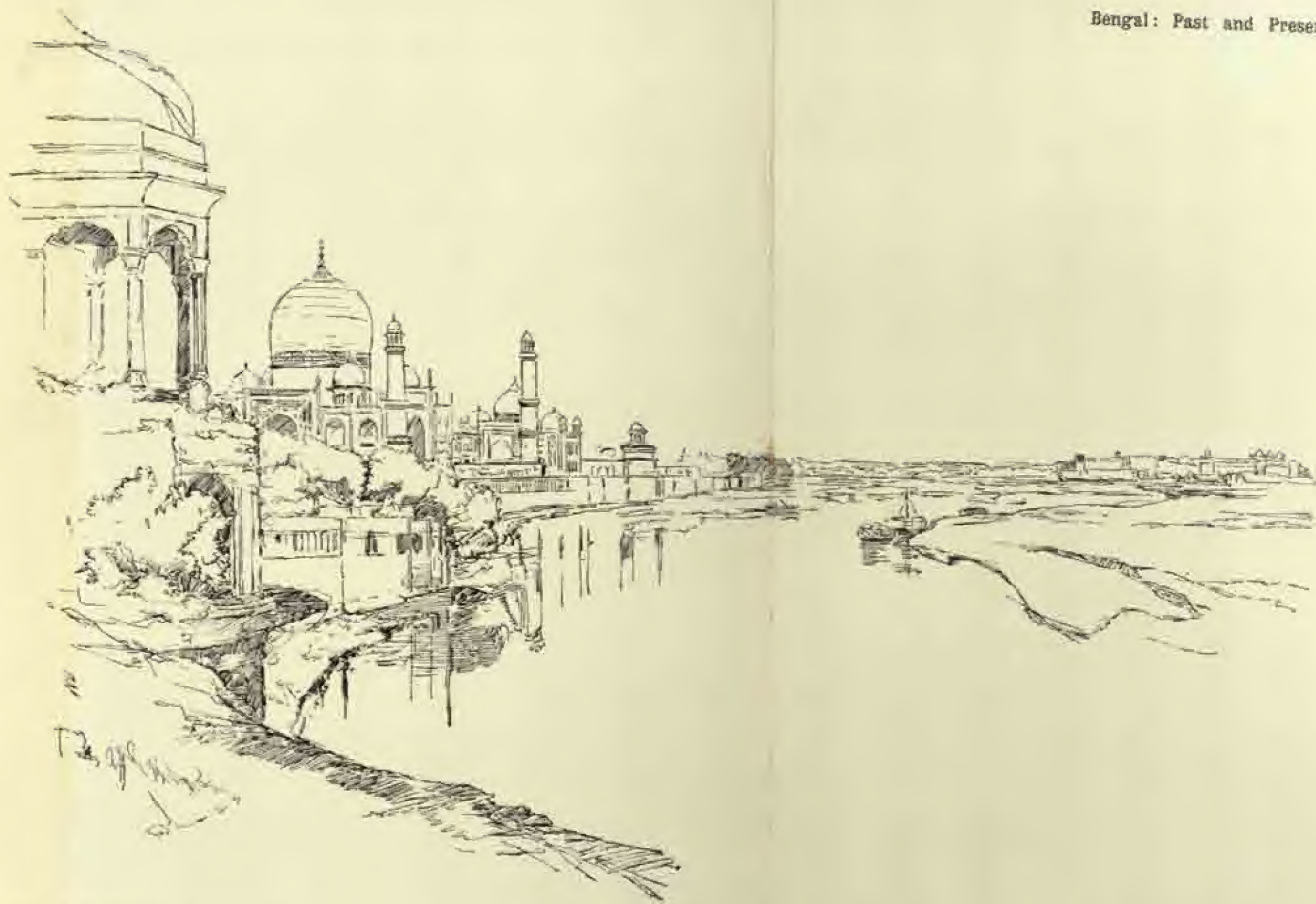
To the Memory of
Charles Crommelin, Junr., Esq.,
October 17th at Anno Domini, 1788. Ætat 30.

One cannot help conjecturing that the Charles Crommelin, Junr., of this inscription was the son of the old man who died in the December of the same year at the age of 81. A grandson of the latter, Charles Russell Crommelin, was Secretary to the Government in Bengal at the close of the 18th century, and in the South Park Street Cemetery there was an inscription

To the Memory of
Mrs. Juliana Crommelin,
wife of C. R. Crommelin,
who died 2nd November 1795, aged 25.

Major G. R. Crommelin, C.B., is one of the officers commemorated in the Mausoleum "to the memory of the Brave" at Barrackpore: and Lieutenant-General W. A. Crommelin, R.E. (died 1886), was a great-great-grandson of the Governor of Bombay. At Gorakhpur there is a monument to Charles Barker Crommelin, born 13th December 1790: died 27th February 1827, and his little son, born 14th December 1824, died 11th January 1826, rests in the Dum-Dum Burial Ground. The father of the Governor, Marc Antoine, a descendant of a Huguenot family, entered the Company's service at Bombay, and an amusing reference to him will be found on p. 359, Vol. II., of Yule's *Edition of Hedges' Diary*.

IN the current number of the *Calcutta Review* I have commenced the publication of the secret official correspondence of Sir James Rivett Carnac during the time he was Governor of Bombay. Of all official correspondence



(Drawing by the Rev. T. A. C. FIRMINGER.)

THE TAJ AT AGRA, 1854.

none is more valuable to the historian than "secret" correspondence, although it must not be supposed that there is anything mysterious or clandestine about the term "secret," which in this case bears a technical meaning, which the reader will find fully explained by Sir W. Lee-Warner in Chapter IV of his *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*. These letters were purchased by me at a sale by auction in Calcutta for the sum of seven rupees! Sir James' letters would not be in place in *Bengal: Past and Present*, but the name of Carnac revives the memory of one who played no small part in the history of Bengal—General John Carnac. The lady whose portrait forms the frontispiece to this volume was a sister of James Rivett (of the Bombay Council, the father of Sir James Rivett Carnac), and the second wife of General Carnac. To the unfailing kindness of Mr. C. F. Hooper we are indebted for the use of the plate from which this illustration has been made. On the subject of the General I shall enlarge in my next "Pages:" but if we remember the Carnac of his halcyon days, both in the field and in Council, and we contrast that poor old gentleman for whom Hastings found a "small appointment" in Calcutta, and who, on Hastings's departure, was unable to make his way through the crowd to shake his benefactor's hand, we may appreciate the pathos of apology: "Deprived as I am of all domestic felicity by the unfortunate loss of a most amiable woman, it is a matter of indifference to me where I am to spend, whether at home or abroad, the remainder of a life which cannot possibly afford me any possible happiness in future." W. Carnac died in 1800 at, or on his way to, Mangalore. He left his fortune to James Rivett who added "Carnac" to his name.

IN the year 1876, Mr. J. C. Price, Officiating Settlement Officer of Midnapore, published a volume of *Notes on the History of Midnapore as contained in Records extant in the Collector's Office*. In this work, which is now become very scarce and is no longer on sale, a large use was made of the records which are now being placed under contribution in these pages, and in several places where since Mr. Price wrote the documents have become illegible or actually fallen to pieces, I have drawn upon his *Notes* in order to fill in the gaps in the text. It is perhaps to be regretted that Mr. Price did not print the documents in their entirety, for although he had an extensive knowledge of the locality and (what in the present case is so valuable) a ripe experience of revenue loss and history, he was not in a position to make his history complete by reference to documents preserved at Calcutta. The local records he had before him commenced in 1764, and he therefore could say but little in regard to the earliest operations of the English at Midnapore. This is all he has to tell us: "All that is known

is that there were Residents, Messrs. Johnstone and Burdett, and perhaps others, who besides other exploits, repelled an invasion of the Maharattas, and made of Revenue settlement of the district. It is distinctly stated that after the provinces of Midnapore and Jallasore were ceded by the Nabob, when Mr. Henry Vansittart was Governor, Mr. Johnstone, the first Resident appointed to Midnapore, came and made a settlement of the district, which proceedings must have taken place about the year 1762. Mr. Johnstone was succeeded by Mr. Burdett, in whose time the erection of a fort was commenced. The Revenue Board in 1787 said that since the Company first obtained possession of the district a period of six and twenty years had elapsed, thereby fixing the date of the acquisition to be 1761. In fact it is expressly stated that the last year of the Nabob's Government was 1167 Amli, and that in 1168 Amli, Mr. Johnstone settled its jumma. These years correspond with 1760 and 1761 A.D. respectively." (Page 2.)

THE Records at the Imperial Record Office would enable the student to recover a good deal of the early history so lightly sketched in the above paragraph, and even the few papers which have been included in the Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government* seem to show how adventurous was the first entrance of the British into Midnapore. In 1760 the Maharattas had seized Midnapore, and from thence spread to the Burdwan provinces. On 28th January 1761 the President placed before the Select Committee a letter from Mr. Johnstone, dated Midnapore House, 26th January, in which that gentleman writes: "Surrounded by a numerous army, without a friend to help us; you may guess the fate of this party without a speedy relief by Major Yorke or White." The Select Committee accordingly resolved "that in consequence of the above advice, Lieutenant Wilson be immediately dispatched to Midnapore with a small detachment of Europeans and Sepoys and one field piece, which, with the force Mr. Johnstone has with him, we hope will be sufficient to disperse the Maharattas and drive them from that country." Two most interesting letters, written on the 3rd and 5th of February, when Johnstone was besieged at Midnapore for fourteen days by Subut at the head of the whole body of Maharattas, are given by Long. (Pages 263-5.)

I received and replied to your two favors both dated the 28th, and have just now the pleasure of yours of the 30th. Sorry am I to find that none of six letters despatched since the 26th have reached you representing our great distress and the number of the enemy. We have now left about four days' provisions at six chittaks of rice per day, and without any hope of a supply from any of the Zemindars or country people—the enemy's horse that can't be less than 6,000 and about 1,000 or 1,500 Buxerries possessing the whole country

round and visiting us daily. Sewbut Rajaram, Cossal Sing, Jugul and several other Zemindars—these chiefs with a large body of horse lie within a coss, some parties with the plunder are stretched towards Benapoor six coss; perfectly well acquainted with the quantity of our provisions, they depend on the consumption of that to reduce us, rather than by force, in which attempts they have not had the success they expected—this inconvenience even when White's party does arrive (which admits of much doubts with me) will still subsist, as the people with their cattle and goods are all gone away, nor dare they return while the enemy's horse remain in the country. Rajaram proclaims our weakness at Calcutta, and boasts and bullies among the Zemindars of the mighty feats he is about to do. The party you have sent I must hope is as strong as you could make it. I could heartily wish it had been conducted by Mr. Wilson or some other of experience and capacity sufficient for a command of such consequence, and I believe I may venture to say both Nollkens and White would be better pleased to obey than command. Permit me to request that Mr. Wilson if possible, or some other senior to Mr. Nollkens, may be sent to take the command, the troubles in these parts are but beginning, nor can it be imagined Rajaram will quit a place, whose advantages he knows so well, while any rents can be collected; and if I should venture to propose Major White's return thither, as the most speedy and prudent method to secure this country, expel the Mahrattas, and reduce the Zemindars—attribute it not to timidity, but consider it as the result of my maturest reflection on the present state of affairs here. Our stores of every kind are near expended, and no possibility of recruiting them but from Calcutta. Judge of our situation if not speedily assisted—our people at six chittacks of rice these two days past, my own sufferings though great I forbear to mention, while there remains any way of acquainting you of our situation shall not fail to do it, and must request you will forward Harecars to me as the surest way. Bahader Sing proves as great a traitor as the rest, and refuses to march to join Mr. White, this is of a piece with his former behaviour, indeed I fear White will not be able to join us.

From Mr. JOURNSTONE, Midnapore House, 8th February 1761.

By great good providence, on your first advice of Subut's march from Mungheer, I advanced money for rice, etc., but by the dilatoriness of the dewan and other pretexts, I was not supplied with above a third of my order and of my rice only, till two days before we were surrounded, and from that day till last night we have received only about 6 maunds from Mooteram Khan, our pretended friend at Karangur, however, by parsimony and fair words we have subsisted above 300 people daily, and have still left for some days. Two days after the enemy were dislodged from the tank, they thought proper to decamp from before us, and have ever since lain a good distance in the night, visiting us daily with their horse, the 5th they made their last effort with all the sepoys and Buxeries they could assemble and took possession of the houses and walls that surrounded ours, from which places our sepoys having sallied out dislodged them and killed and wounded of them to man. The night after I despatched 85 sepoys to join Lieutenant White at Shawpoor, which they happily effected; 200 horse sent after them by the enemy not daring to attack them. If we can believe the reports we hear, Subut is gone towards Ballasore with part of his troops and all the plunder. The party that remains is commanded by Bhyro-Pindit and Rajaram with Cossal Sing and Pannay Sing who both deserted us the second day. This news seems probable, as since the day they decamped, we have not seen a third of the force there appeared before, and I flatter myself our party is strong enough for these wherever we can join them. It will appear by and bye which of the Zemindars have joined and been most active in assisting Rajaram: this is certain, we owe them no favor, every soul but our own

people having deserted us from the first day. The sepoys in general have behaved with courage and constancy, every man fighting after his own fashion, firing at all hazards, but never keeping together; however, they have put up with the small allowance of 6 chittacks of rice only per day, with a cheerfulness I never expected to meet with on the like occasion from Bengal recruits, and claims my just acknowledgments.

Tho' my best care and tenderness has been employed in dressing and assisting the sick and wounded, yet alas! we have lost three for want of more skill. Several of our men are now seized with the small-pox, which makes me still more wish for the arrival of the assistant you have been so good as to despatch, as there is no possibility of forwarding any of them to Calcutta for want of coolies, etc.

I am informed that all the Zemindars have sent their vakeels to Rajaram: their neglect of us seems a proof of it. The Shawpoor Naib carried things farther with Lieutenant White than with me, sending a messenger to tell him he would oppose his entering that town. A time I hope will come when these petty upstarts will know their own impotence and proper bounds.

MR. JOHN JOHNSTONE is one of the many Company's servants of Lord Clive's time whose career deserves tracing. He was one of those persons, who although a civilian had all the makings of a soldier and whose efforts in the troubled years from 1756 onward belie Lord Macaulay's oft quoted description of the Bengal civilians as faint-hearted traders. In order to sketch Johnstone's history in the requisite detail it would be necessary to spend some considerable time both at the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta and the Records at the India Office: my object in writing this note must be confined to the very humble limit of merely indicating an interesting subject for research. Johnstone was a son of Sir James Johnston [the final *&* is often omitted]. He "arrived," with Francis Sykes and William Hay, on July 9th, 1754, and was sent to serve as a writer at Dacca, where in the troubles of 1756, he with the other factors was made prisoner. His younger brother, Patrick Johnstone, who "arrived" on 7th June 1754, and who had been an Assistant in the Accomptant's office, perished in the Black Hole disaster. On his liberation, John joined the camp at Fulta, and blossomed out as a Lieutenant Fire-worker. At Plassey he handled a field piece with conspicuous coolness and success. He had a share in Forde's Campaign in the Northern Circars. He accompanied Major Eyre Coote as Secretary on the arduous expedition up the Ganges in pursuit of Monsieur Law, the fugitive French Chief of Saidabad. This expedition, although it failed in its principal object, is memorable in many ways. In July 1758 he served with Rider and Sumner on a commission appointed to inquire into "complaints from the black inhabitants of the Gentoo Commissioners." From this time forward letters relative to his business affairs appear in the Consultations and Public Proceedings and he figures in close alliance with Messrs. Hay and

Bolts. On the 18th of March 1760 he was despatched to Midnapore on the matter of the Revenue collections. He next went to Burdwan as Chief of the Factory, and in 1763 took part in these debates in the Council which terminated in the ill-fated mission of Amyatt and Hay to Mir Kassim at Monghyr. On the 8th February 1764 the Court wrote out to say "we have dismissed from the Company's Service, Mr. Peter Amyatt,* Major John Carnac,† Mr. John Johnstone and Mr. William Hay, and they are accordingly from the receipt of this letter to have no further concern in our affairs, and are to be sent home in some of the ships which will be despatched in the season of the year 1765." Early in February 1765, the Nawab Mir Jaffar died, and Johnstone was despatched at the head of a commission to acknowledge Mir Jaffar's second son, Najum-ud-daula and to insist on engagements still more favourable to the English. Elphinstone gives the following statement of the "gratification" the deputies, etc., received on this occasion. "Mr. Johnstone received two lacs and 37,000 rupees (about £30,000), and his brother, a gentleman not in the Company's service, 60,000 rupees. The other commissioners received one lac and 12,000 rupees each. All this was in ready money. Two lacs of rupees were afterwards promised to the Governor, and one lac to each of the three councillors not on the commission, but only half of these sums were paid. Mohammed Reza also made presents to the commissioners on his own part—one lac and 50,000 rupees to Mr. Johnstone, a lac each to the other commissioners, and 25,000 rupees to Mr. Johnstone's brother. These sums were given in bills, and owing to circumstances arising from the sudden change in the government of Calcutta, were never realised. Smaller sums were also paid by the Sets to the commissioners, and to Mr. Johnstone's brother." Ultimately Johnstone was charged with the most serious oppression and malversation of funds during his service at Midnapore and Burdwan, but he resigned during the course of the enquiry. Legal proceedings were instituted to enforce a refund of the Nawab's presents; but were discontinued under vote of the General Court.

ASSOCIATED with Johnstone in the transaction connected with Najum-ud-daula's enthronement was Samuel Middleton, a person of no small interest to those of my readers who belong to the Masonic community, for Middleton was Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, and so much was he esteemed that the Craft paid from Rs. 4,000 to 5,000 to Tilly Kettle for his portrait. There are no less than three Lodges still in vigorous existence which claim their origin to warrants of constitution granted by Middleton at Murshidabad. On 20th September, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, C. S. Playdell—

* Murdered in the previous year.

† Afterwards honourably retired.

a civilian with a deeply interesting career and a son-in-law of J. Z. Holwell—announced in Grend Lodge the Provincial Grand Master's death.* It is of interest, therefore, to quote the *Scir Mutagherin*: "Djanson (Johnstone) himself went home; but Middleton who had been long in Hindia, addicted himself to a mercantile life; and after he had found means to be re-admitted in the service, where he became chief of Moorshoodabad: when his last moment arriving, he died at Painty, a spot near Shah-abad, midway between Azim-abad† and Moorshoodabad. He was entombed on that very hill of Painty, where his monument is seen from afar. In his nation he bears a celebrity for goodness of heart and much benevolence. But supposing that he was a man of much goodness, nevertheless there was no comparing him in genius and many other good qualities to Doctor William Fullerton; nor in bravery and military abilities, as well as firmness in friendship and steadiness of temper, to Colonel Godard, nor in wisdom of conduct or attention to the rights of friendship and love, or in knowledge and keenness of business, to George Vansitart;‡ nor in goodness and civility and many other qualifications to Mr. Aayoun Law§ and Mr. Thomas Law, who was younger brother to Mr. Aayoun Law, in merit." Middleton "arrived" in Bengal on the 24th of August 1753, and at the time of Suraj-ud-daula's out-break escaped from Jagdea to Fulta. It would perhaps be possible to discover the monument to Middleton's memory at Painty.

To revert to Lord Macaulay's fallacy that the Company's servants were but timid traders, we might, if there were occasion, instance other names besides that of Johnstone. The manner of Lushington's death speaks for itself. William Ellis, the chief of the sufferers at Patna in 1763, had held an ensign's commission at the siege of Calcutta, when in company with several other of the Company's covenanted servants, he distinguished himself by his bravery. He distinguished himself again in that memorable fight in the neighbourhood of Sealdah on 5th February 1757—an event about which the average Calcutta inhabitant is in complete ignorance. On this occasion Ellis lost a leg and was even, by error, reported slain by Clive. If nature had not endowed Ellis with a soldier's brain, she had certainly given him a soldier's heart. Surgeon W. Fullerton is best known as the "sole survivor" from the Patna massacres, but his fame, blemished in after years by his complicity with the intrigues of Nanda Kumar, deserves to live by the memory of the brave and able way in which, after the death of the only three military officers

* See my *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal*. (Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.)

† I.e., Patna.

‡ Not the Governor (Henry) but his younger brother.

§ Ewan Law. See above.

present, he led back the few survivors of Cochrane's ill-fated expedition to Patna.

THE publication of the Bengal Mofussil records, which we commence in the present issue, will at least undermine another widely spread misconception of our history in this country—the idea, which Macaulay has popularised, that “the only branch of politics about which the English functionaries busied themselves [even so late as 1772] was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue were almost entirely neglected.” If these records at time prove dull reading, no one will yet doubt that their rescue of their evidence from “chips of paper mingled with the granular dust that white ants leave behind,” is an object for which a Historical Society should be prepared to pay much. The student who has mastered the standard histories of British India realises how little way has really been made when such books as Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, Price's *Notes on the History of Midnapore*, or Hand's *Early English Administration of Bihar, 1781-1785*, come into his hand. That these works ever came to be written has been simply due to the fact that, in a more or less accidental fashion, certain already over-taxed officials have happened to find a number of old records in their offices, and somehow or other managed to spare time to make use of them. As these documents are in almost the last state of decay, their rescue from obscurity and publication is a matter of great public urgency. Last year Mr. Bradley-Birt published a valuable *Press List of Ancient Documents preserved in the Bengal Secretariat Record Room*. No one could read through this list without seeing at once that a knowledge of the contents of these papers is most requisite to anyone who desires to have a sound understanding of the development of the English rule in Bengal, but can we even dare to hope that these records will ever be placed in the student's hands in the shape of a carefully edited and annotated volume? The India Office, at the present time, is doing magnificent work in giving us Mr. W. Foster's volumes on the early English Factories, but Mr. Foster will be a very very aged man indeed if he should live to extend his published researches to the days of Clive and Hastings. In regard to the *India Records Series* it may be observed that the two sets of magnificent volumes already published illustrate the merely casual nature of existing efforts. The periods covered by Dr. Wilson in his *Old Fort William* and Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-1757* overlap, and consequently much of the work is done twice over. Mr. Hill's services are lost to Bengal: Dr. Wilson is dead: and four years have passed without anything more being heard of any addition to the series which made so brave a beginning.

CORRESPONDENTS from various stations in India have written to suggest that the Society might well extend its range, and become "the Historical Society of India." Others have suggested that the Society might attempt to form local branches at centres where some enthusiasm might be created. It, of course, would lie not with the Editor, but with the Executive Committee and Council, to express an authoritative opinion on proposals of such a nature : but I feel confident that they would be rejoiced to hear of the formation of Historical Societies at Madras and Bombay, not to mention Lahore, Allahabad, and the Central Provinces. Correspondence between the various Societies and the interchange of publications would be most helpful to all concerned. It would not, however, be possible to widen the field of *Bengal : Past and Present* without indefinitely postponing the possibility of dealing, as the years go by, with the history of the past within what, after all, is a very wide area with some exhaustiveness. It is true that the *English Historical Review* does, indeed, cover an almost infinitely wide field of research, but our English Contemporary addresses itself primarily to readers who are "specialists," whereas *Bengal : Past and Present*, while we trust it will merit the approval of the learned, is intended to interest the folk at home who have a kindly regard for a country in which either they or their near of kin have served or are serving. We all remember that Delphic knife, which intended to serve many purposes, performed no one of them well. An Historical Review for all India would serve many purposes : would it serve any one of them well ?

THE following letter, containing rather quaint antiquarian information, appeared in the *Church Times* of 8th April last. Frequent references to a Thomas Falconer may be found in Vol. II. of C. R. Wilson's *English in Bengal* :—

SIR,—As a contribution to the discussion on the above subject, now being carried on in your columns, may I say that my ancestor, Thomas Falconer of the East India Company's Service, died on the 25th January, 1729, and was interred in the burial ground of St. George-the-Martyr, at the back of the Foundling Hospital. The undertaker's bill amounting to £141 14s. 11d., which is still preserved amongst the family papers, contains the following items :—

	£	s.	d.
64 wax branch lights at 5s. each	...	...	...
64 men in mourning suits and caps, that carried the branch lights,	...	16	0 0
at 18d. per man	...	...	...
	...	4	16 0

Lights seem to have been used profusely, as the following items show:—

8 silver candlesticks on stands round the body	...	...	1	8	0
71 silver sconces used	...	...	...	3	13
32 lbs. of wax candles and tapers, at 2s. 8d. per lb.	...	...	4	5	4

There is nothing to show the hour at which the funeral took place, but it was probably in the evening, at all events, after dark.

THOS. FALCONER.

THE Society is indebted to the Rev. E. P. Herbert (through Mr. D. Hooper) for the following interesting letter (and the accompanying translation by Mrs. Steintal) relative to Colonel Ole Bie, the Danish Governor of Serampore. The marriages of at least two of Bie's daughters are on record at St. John's.

RIGSARKIVET. *København, den 15de Marts 1906.*

Ole Bie blev født i Februar 1733 af Forældrene Kønmand og Stadskaptajn i Tromsøhjem Otto Lauritzen Bie (født 1708, død i København 25/3 1775) og Hustru Gertrud Laradatter Ross (født 1701, død 14/3 1784). Han kom tidlig til Indien, hvor han ægtede *Wendel Elisabeth Panck*, der rimeligvis var Datter af den danske Gouvernør i Ostindien Poul Kriach Panck (kgl. Bestalling 3/10 1738) og døde c. 1783 (Bevill. for Ole Bie til at sidde i uskiftet Bo 7/12 1783). *Ole Bie* tjente under det danske asiatiske Kompagni fra 1756 (el. 57²) og var Overassistent ved Gouvernementet i Trankebar, da han 11/8 1763 kom til Frederiksnagore som Pakhummester med tredje Stemme i Raadet og søjneredes Chefen. Han gik samme Aar til Malaharkysten som Supercargo paa Skibet "Grev Moltke," der brændte paa Negopatnams Rhed; fungerede derefter i 1763 som Sekretær ved Gouvernementet i Trankebar, hvorfra han i 1772 atter sendtes til Frederiksnagore med det Hierv at undersøge Embedsforholdene der, vendte tilbage til Trankebar i Begyndelsen af det følgende Aar, men kom 25/7 1776—som virkelig Overhoved og Chef—for tredje Gang til Frederiksnagore og forblev i sin nye Stilling efter Kompagniets Cession af Koloniernes Ejendomme i Ostindien til Kongen, først som konstitueret og fra 17/7 1779 som virkelig kgl. Chef og fik 10/10 1780 kgl. Bestalling som Resident og 1ste Stemme i Raadet og udnævntes samme Dag til Justitsraad. 13/12 1782 fik han Rang og Navn af Oberstlieutenant i Infanteriet.

1ste Februar samme Aar havde han af det engelske asiatiske Kompagni forpagtet Tolden i Frederiksnagore (som indtil da var oppehaaret i Hooghly) for 7000 Rapiers aarlig. Denne for den danske Handel saa lovende Forpagtning kom dog kun til at vare et Aar, da Bie frasagde sig den fra 1/2 1783, efterat to af det danske asiatiske Kompagnis Factorer havde indsendt en hæftig Protest til Kollegiet i København, hvad der havde et kongeligt Reskript til Følge, hvorefter en Undersøgeliskommission nedsattes.

Rygtet herom blev hurtig udspreidt og medførte beklagelige Følger for Bie, hvis vidtløftige Handelsforetagender og blomstrende Velstand ødelagdes, saa han i 1785 vendte hjem til Danmark for at opnaa Akkord med sine Kreditorer, hvad der blev muliggjort ved et ham tilstaaet kongeligt Protectorium. Alligevel fik Bie 19/10 1785 sin Demission samtykkelig med Udnævnelsen af en Eftermand. Imidlertid førte hans vidtløftige Toldtag ikke til andet Resultat end den færdige Kommissions Ophævelse og Bies Fritagelse for al Titale, trods Kongens Misbilligelse af hans Overgreb 2/8 1786; det blev samtidig betydet

ham, at en ny kgl. Ansættelse skulde staa ham aaben. Da Eftermanden *Bergalt* døde paa Overrejsen til Indien, opnaaede Bie virkelig ny Udnævnelse til Resident og Chef i Frederiknagore 4/4 1784.

I København havde han siddet i en (3/1 1787 nedsat) Kommission til Undersøgelse af den ostindiske Handel og vendte rehabiliteret tilbage til sin Post i Efteraaret 1788. Et samtidig med Udnævnelsen opnaaet kongeligt Laan paa 30,000 Rdl. mod Pant i Bies lastede Skibe og øvrige Ejendomme kom meget belejligt og blev lykkelig tilbagebetalt inden 3 Aars Forløb.

Dog pintes Bie fremdeles af andre Kreditorer, hvorfor han for anden Gang i 1797 drog tilbage til København. (Paa begge Rejser ledsagedes han af sin Datter *Caroline Mathilde* og Svigersønnen, Kammerjunker Pr. Lieutenant *Frederik Schaffalitsky* (f. 1755, d. 1815), der som Konsul (i Trankebar) havde været 1ste Medlem af Kommissionen mod Bie). Efter at være forfremmet til Oberst (13/6 1797) var Bie saa heldig 1/5 1798 at opnaa Gageforbedring, foruden 2000 Rdl. i Gratifikation og Eftergivelse af en kgl. Fordring paa 985 Rdl. 69 Sk., hvorefter han for sidste Gang forlod Europa og 1/6 1799 igen overtog sit Embede.

For udvist Conduite ved Likvidationen med det engelske Gouvernement ved Tilbagegivelsen af den i 1801 okkuperede Koloni modtog Bie 23/11 1803 Tilkendegivelse af sin Konges Bifald. Han døde efter en lang og haard Sygdom 18de Maj 1805, saa vidt vides uden at efterlade sig Sønner. En Søn, *Poul Otte Bie*, som en Tid havde gjort Tjeneste som Volunteer ved Raader i Frederiknagore, var død der i 1789.

Dagen efter Ole Bies Død skrev *Marquis Wellesley* til hans konstituerede Efterfølger:

"It has afforded me much concern to learn the death of His Excellency for whom I entertained great regard and consideration."

Om Bies kirkelige Interesse vidner hans Iver for at faa en Kirke bygget i Frederiknagore, hvi lykkedes ved en Subskription og et Bidrag af Fonden af *plut unus* paa 1000 Rdl. (2/5 1798). Kirken blev snart paa Grund af den danske Menigheds Lidenhed indrømmet Baptistmenigheden i Serampore til at holde Guds-tjeneste i.

I et Svar til Sekretæren ved Baptistmenigheden i Serampore, Andrew Fuller, skriver Bie 8/11 1802:

"Permit me to assure you that I don't consider the friendship and few civilities I have had in my power to show your Brethren here otherwise than as fully due to them. I have received them as righteous men in the name of righteous men, and I shall never withhold good from them to which it is due, when it is in the power of my hand to do it. I am happy in possessing them and will be more so in seeing their number increase as this world gives much mould whereof earthen vessels are made but little dust that gold comes from."

Højærværdige Herre!

Da der saa vidt vides ikke findes nogen Biografi af *Ole Bie*—saaledes var hans Navn—har jeg efter Modtagelsen af Deres Henvendelse af 8 Febr. som Chef for Rigsarkivets 2 Afdeling anmodet en af Arkivets Embedsmænd, Arkivsekretær Bloch, om i de her beroende Protokoller og Sager vedrørende Ostindien at indsamle saa meget Materiale som muligt nævnte Ole Bie. Resultater heraf foreligger i ovennævnte Redegørelse.

Med Tak for Deres sympathetiske Udtalelser om vor afdøde Konge underskriver jeg mig

Deres meget ærbødige

G. KRINGELBACH.

MOST REVEREND SIR,

As far as I know there does not exist any biography of Ole Bie—this was his name—and as head of the second department of the State Archives I have, therefore, after receiving your letter of February 8th, asked Mr. Bloch, one of the officials of the Archives, to collect as much material as possible about the aforesaid Ole Bie, from the minutes and documents *re* East India which are found here. The result of this you will find in the above account.

Thanking you for your sympathetic words about our late King,

I am,
Yours very truly,
G. KRINGSBACH.

Note.—Ole is another form of Olav, Eng. Olave, and Ole Bie was born at Trondhjem, where St. Olave lies buried. The church built by Colonel Bie at Serampore with the Bishop of Calcutta's permission is called St. Olave's.

EDWARD P. HERBERT,
Chaplain of Serampore.

Translation of letter and extracts from State Archives, Copenhagen, respecting Colonel Bie who built the church at Serampore.

The State Archives,
Copenhagen, 15th March 1906.

Ole Bie was born in February 1733; his parents were merchant and town captain in Trondhjem, Otto Lauritzen Bie (born 1708 died in Copenhagen 25/3 1775), and his wife Gertrud Larsdatter Ross (born 1701 died 14/3 1784). He went early to India, where he married *Wendil Elisabeth Panck*, probably a daughter of the Danish Governor in East India. Poul Krusch Panck (royal appointment 3/10 1738). She died at 1783 (permission for Ole Bie to retain undivided possession of the property 7/12 1783).

Old Bie served the Danish Asiatic Company from 1756 (or 57) and was Chief Assistant to the Government in Tranquebar, when on August 11, 1762, he came to Frederiksnagore as Storehouse Superintendent with third vote in the Council and adjunct to the Chief. In the same year he went to the Malabar coast as Supercargo on the ship "Count Molike" which burnt in the Negapatam roads; served after this as Secretary to the Government in Tranquebar, from where in 1772 he was again sent to Frederiksnagore, commissioned to examine the conditions of the Civil Service there. He returned to Tranquebar in the beginning of the following year, but came on July 25th, 1776, for the third time to Frederiksnagore—as real Chief—remaining in his new position after the Company's cession of colonial property in East India to the King, first as acting and from 17/7 1779 as real royal Chief, was 10/10 1780 appointed President with first vote in the Council and title of Counsellor of Justice. 13/12 1782 he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in the Infantry. On February 1st in the same year the customs duty of Frederiksnagore which till then had been collected in Hooghly had been licensed to him by the English East India Company for 7,000 Rs. yearly.

This license, so promising for the Danish trade, only lasted one year, as on 1/2 1783 Bie gave it up because two factors in the Danish Asiatic Company had sent a sharp protest to the directors in Copenhagen which resulted in a royal rescript appointing a committee of investigation.

This was soon rumoured abroad and had lamentable results for Bie whose extensive trade and great wealth was ruined. In 1785 he returned to Denmark to compound with his creditors which was made possible by royal protection. Yet Bie was dismissed 19/10 1785

and at the same time his successor was appointed. The great case against him, however, did not lead to other results than the dissolution of the infamous committee and Bie's acquittal, though the King disapproved of his encroachments (2/8 1786). At the same time he was given to understand that a new royal appointment would be open to him.

As his successor *Berg* died already on the voyage out, Bie was actually again appointed Resident and Chief in Frederiksnagore April 4th 1787. In Copenhagen he had been member of a committee for investigating the East Indian trade (3/1 1787) and in the autumn 1788 he returned to his post rehabilitated. Together with his appointment he was granted a royal loan of 30,000 rigsdaler (£3,300) against security in his loaded ships and other property; this came in very opportune and was repaid within two years.

Yet Bie was constantly troubled by other creditors and therefore returned to Copenhagen a second time in 1797. On both journeys he was accompanied by his daughter, *Caroline Mathilde*, and son-in-law, mid Chamberlain to the King and Lieutenant, *Frederik Schuffhutsky* (b. 1755 d. 1815), who as consul (?) in Tranquebar had been first member of the committee against Bie. After having been promoted to Colonel (13/8 1797) Bie succeeded in getting an increased salary (2/5 1798), besides a grant of 2,000 rdl. and remission of a royal claim of 985 rdl. 69 sk. after which he left Europe for the last time and again took over charge 1/6 1799.

For his conduct during the liquidation with the English Government when the colony—occupied in 1801—was restored, Bie 23/11 1803 received a notification of his King's approval.

He died on the 18th May 1805 after a long and serious illness, as far as is known without leaving any son. One son, *Poul Otto Bie*, who for a time served as volunteer in the Council in Frederiksnagore, died there 1787.

The day after Ole Bie's death *Marquis Willerby* wrote to his temporary successor: "It has afforded me much concern to learn the death of His Excellency for whom I entertained great regard and consideration." That Bie was interested in religious matters is shown by his zeal for the building of a church in Frederiksnagore in which he succeeded by collecting subscriptions and getting a contribution of 1,000 rdl. from the fund "ad pios usus" (2/5 1798). Owing to the smallness of the Danish congregation the Baptist Mission in Serampore was soon allowed to use it for their services.

In a reply to the Secretary of the Baptist Mission in Serampore, Andrew Fuller, Bie writes 2/11 1804: "Permit me to assure you that I do not consider the friendship and few civilities I have had in my power to show your brethren here otherwise than as fully due to them. I have received them as righteous men in the name of righteous men and I shall never withhold good from them to which it is due, when it is in the power of my hand to do it. I am happy in possessing them and will be more so in seeing their number increase, as this world gives much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, but little dust that gold comes from."

OWING to my transfer to Shillong, I am unable to continue my "Selections from the Notebooks of Mr. Justice Hyde," and I am also compelled to postpone till the next issue the commencement of the Chandernagore papers which I had hoped to make in the present number. The publication of the Marriage Registers at St. John's, 1759-1774, is also held over.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

SHILLONG, ASSAM.



INDEX TO ZAFAR KHAN'S "EMBASSY OF HYDERABAD."

(See *Illustration facing p. 67 of this volume.*)

Secretary's Pages.



As promised in my last notes, I give here an index to Zoffany's pictures of "Hyderbeck's Embassy" (see illustration facing page 67 of the present volume).

"1. A male baggage elephant, irritated by his driver, who is taken from his seat and destroyed, and by the violence of the elephant's action are seen the women and children falling from his back. This was the moment when M. Zoffaniz (*sic*) took his design for the picture.

- "2. A female elephant.
- "3. An elephant driver.
- "4. St. John Kannaway (*sic*), the Company's interpreter at Lucknow.
- "5. The Nabob's interpreter.
- "6. John Zoffaniz (*sic*), Esq.
- "7. Horse Keeper to ditto.
- "8. An attendant who always keeps pace with his horse.
- "9. The River Ganges.
- "10. Patna.
- "11. Granary for preventing famine erected by the order of Warren Hastings, Esq.*
- "12. A soldier's wife and attendants.
- "13. A Nachery with ladies and their attendants.
- "14. A Delhi soldier.
- "15. European Army on their March.
- "16. Hyderbeck's Swarie.†
- "17. Nabob's horses and colours.
- "18. Patna Missionary and attendants.
- "19. Portuguese Doctor, wife and son.
- "20. Native soldiers.
- "21. A faquier (*sic*) who always keeps the same position.
- "22. A ditto.
- "23. A ditto.
- "24. Young Hindoos coming from bathing.
- "25. Women bringing water from the Ganges.
- "26. A Bramin.

* See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., pages 388-9

† Swarie, Persian *Sandris*. A cavalcade, a cortege of mounted elephants.

- " 27. A Girl selling vegetables, etc.
- " 28. A Mogul soldier.
- " 29. A native Seapoy pacatoning or obliging a peasant to carry arms.
- " 30. A Faquier.
- " 31. A raddish girl.
- " 32. A Hindoo.
- " 33. A young Persian.
- " 34. Bearers or coolies carrying bedding, etc.
- " 35. A native soldier.
- " 36. A Delhi soldier.
- " 37. A mola or priest."

MR. C. E. BUCKLAND has been so kind as to send the following set of verses on the Founder of Calcutta which, if their poetic merit is not very great, will be of interest if only on account of their author, a son of John Prinsep (1746-1830), a brother of James Prinsep commemorated by the famous *ghat*, and the father of Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep of legal fame. The copy of the booklet from which these verses are extracted was presented to Mr. Buckland's grandfather by the author. A map of the country round about Calcutta accompanied the original. The description of Charnock as a puritan is pure poetic license, and so of course is the story of Charnock's marriage as told here. Charnock's daughters were well on in their 'teens in the year Calcutta was founded. For the story of Charnock's marriage see *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. I., p. 200.

JOB CHARNOCK.*

The Founder of Calcutta, A.D. 1686, to A.D. 1692.

PART THE FIRST.

I.

Proud England may be of the venturous sons
 Her commerce sent forth in the olden day;
 East, west, north, and south they explored at once,
 Not a sea, nor a river to ocean that runs
 Escaped their keen search, nor a harbour, nor bay.

* From "Specimens of Ballad Poetry, applied to the Tales and Traditions of the East," 1862, by H. T. Prinsep.

II.

Where pours yellow Ganges her western stream
To meet the black swell of blue ocean's tide,
Stands Hoogly by Aurungzeeb Shah supreme,
Fresh opened for commerce, and his Nazim *
Rules master of all who for trade reside.

III.

The ships of the nations of Europe are there :
The Dutch, and the French, and the Portuguese,
In commerce contending, contentedly bear
The burthens this Nazim bids foreigners share,
When mandates from Delhi demand rupees.

IV.

The English there likewise a factory rear :
The Puritan Charnock is placed at its head,
His stern British spirit, a stranger to fear,
Revolts at oppression, no wrong will he fear,
'Tis a cause in hot youth he hath fought for and bled.

V.

A difference rises which rivals foment ;
The Nazim in anger resolves to expel
Presumptuous merchants, who dare to resent
His order to raise the tax cent. per cent.,
For the foreigners' license to buy and sell.

VI.

'Gainst the factory ranged is the force of the state ;
The French and the Dutch their artillery lend,
The English hold council: the odds are too great :
'Tis resolved in the night to their ships to retreat :
Embarking by stealth they the river descend.

VII.

Saith Charnock, " Shall we thus submit to be driven
" Like dogs from the seat of a prosperous trade
" By a Nazim insulted ? Forbid it, high heaven !
" Redress I will seek where redress may be given :
" Say, comrades, who of ye will follow my lead ? "

* Nazim is a high officer, generally governing not less than a province. The quarrel of Job Charnock with the Governor of Hooghly and his consequent expulsion is historical. By establishing his factory at Calcutta, on the east bank of the river, he came under the Nazim of Moorshedabad.

VIII.

Job Charnock hath landed in Balasore bay,
 And with him a band of bold spirits are gone,
 Not far off encamped a Mogul army lay,
 War with Oorias waging, who owned not the sway
 Of the great Aurungzeeb's son Shah Azim-oo-shân.

IX.

In camp the young prince holds a royal court :
 There Charnock, a suppliant, stands in Durbar :
 The army beleaguers a raja's fort,
 A rebel, who made to the Shah bold retort
 When summoned for dues of a Zemindar.

X.

Saith Charnock, " Dread prince, never wall like that
 " Shall arrest the career of great Aurungzeeb's son ;
 " Let a ram be made ready to shatter the gate,
 " Or over, or through it we'll penetrate,
 " And show thy brave troops, how a fort may be won."

XI.

" We deemed ye were traders, not men of the sword ;
 " Your courage we'll put to the proof very soon,
 " If ye be not vain boasters, but men of your word,
 " And win me the stronghold of this rebel lord,
 " Ye may ask of my bounty a royal boon."

XII.

Job Charnock his brave band leads up to the walls ;
 They carry in slings a young tree fresh felled ;
 They rush at the gate—it is shattered and falls.—
 Such daring unlooked for the rebel appals,
 The gateway is won, and the garrison yield.

XIII.

" Shâhbâsh ! " saith the prince, " ye are truly brave men :
 " Unfold now your purpose—what boon ye implore."
 Job Charnock his tale tells of injuries then—
 " Grant me never to deal with that Nazim again,
 " Give a factory's site on the opposite shore."

XIV.

"Take three mouzas* free for this service in war :—
 "But more we would grant thee for friendship's sake ;
 "The lands there that stretch into Sundarbans far
 "Want a master : take them, and be their zemindar :
 "And render us service when service we seek."

XV.

The bargain is settled, the Firman signed :
 To the Great English Company trading with Hind,
 Four and twenty parganas of land are assigned,
 To be held of the Khalsa† on terms defined :
 Now haste—take possession—the bargain to bind.

PART THE SECOND.

I.

Job Charnock stands thoughtful on Hoogly's shore :
 In his hand is the grant of his wide domain :
 He hath surveyed, examined, and searched it o'er,
 'Tis populous, fertile, with ample store
 Of products for commerce, of cattle, and grain.

II.

A site he is seeking to build him a fort,
 Where the Company's factors securely may live,
 And hold with due *prestige* their zemindar's court,
 Dealing justice to all who for commerce resort,
 That a city may grow up about it and thrive.

III.

"Plant here England's standard where narrows the land ;
 "Our ships may their cargoes discharge on this bank,
 "Close anchored in shore, and well under command ;
 "No army can pass round, nor pillaging band,
 "Yon jheel‡ stretching eastward so covers the flank.

* Mouza, a village : the three villages granted were Sasannutee, Calcutta, and Govindpoor.

† Khalsa.—The State Eschequer of the Delhi sovereigns was so called.

‡ Jheel—a stagnant pool, or marshy lake. The salt-lake, as it is called by Europeans—Dhappe Mānpoor is the Bengali name—lies within two miles east of Calcutta.

IV.

" Here southward secure from oppression and spoil,
 " Our weavers may labour with spindle and loom,
 " And husbandmen crop the rich Sundarbun soil,
 " With only the tiger to fear in their toil :
 " Yes ! here let us raise up for commerce a home,

V.

" For this mighty river will freely bring down
 " The products of Hindoostan's exquisite art ;
 " While eastward to Bakirgunj, Dacca, Chatgaon,
 " Yon jheel yields a way—'tis the spot for a town
 " By nature designed for a general mart."

VI.

He traces the lines for a rampart and gate,
 With five solid bastions flanking the wall ;
 " To my country's king William I dedicate
 " This fort of her fortunes.—God prosper its fate !
 " And make my fort William the pride of Bengal."

VII.

All day ply the Beeldars* with pickaxe and spade,
 Overlooked by Job Charnock's own watchful eye ;
 The day's work is over, the men have been paid ;
 Deep darkness to twilight the evening shade,
 While Charnock sits watching the starlit sky.

VIII.

Now gong's sudden roar, and a trumpet's blast,
 Peals loud from an ancient temple near,
 Whence issues by torchlight a multitude vast ;
 They bear to the pile for its obsequies last
 A corpse richly garlanded laid on a bier.

IX.

The pile is built high on the river side,
 And thitherward wends the procession strange :
 'Mid priests tossing flambeaux, whose glare spreads wide,
 A palanquin, bearing the widowed bride,
 Advances, and round it men cluster and range.

* Beeldars—labourers employed on earth works.

X.

Arrived at the pile, from the closed palanquin,
A damsel is lifted, with long flowing hair,
In beauty's form moulded, of years but fifteen ;
The priests gather round her ; by gesture and mien
They entreat, while they threaten, and point to the bier.

XI.

She yields not assent, yet is dragged to the pile ;
The corpse on the summit already is laid ;
They lift her ; she struggles resisting, the while
Gongs loudly are beaten, and Brahmins with guile
Proclaim that the Suttee her death-vow hath made.

XII.

" Can I sit here and suffer this impious rite ?
" What ! ho there ! my guard," crieth Charnock, in ire ;
" 'Tis murder they perpetrate here in my sight ;
" Away let us rescue that angel of light,
" Whom thus, unconsenting, they cast in the fire."

XIII.

With a shout they have rushed, and have scattered the throng ;
He bears off the Suttee, all trembling with fear.
" Now tell me," saith Charnock, " so fair and so young,
" Why doom they to torments ? Why burn thee along
" With the corpse they have laid upon yonder bier ?"

XIV.

" Art thou, then, a stranger who knows not the faith
" That Brahmins of Hindoostan cruelly teach ?
" All here worship Kali, grim goddess of death,
" My birthplace, Calcutta, her dread name it hath ;
" My parents are Brahmins, her glory who preach.

XV.

" Betrothed in my childhood to one of my kin,
" Who died while the marriage was yet incomplete,
" They told me that life for a widow was sin ;
" That to burn with his corpse was the sure way to win
" Joy eternal in heaven, where him I should meet.

XVI.

" My heart felt no longing that husband to join,
 " While reason condemned the unmerciful creed,
 " But his kin for lucre, from pride of caste mine,
 " United in urging our life to resign,
 " And so was my doom as a Suttée decreed.

XVII.

" Thou hast given me life, but a terrible fate,
 " By kindred disowned, a dishonoured outcast,
 " More cruel than twenty deaths me doth await;
 " Wherever I turn men will view me with hate,
 " And leave me unpitied to perish at last."

XVIII.

" Nay ! nay ! fair and lovely one ! never believe
 " We have saved thee from flames, and have given thee life,
 " A victim to worse persecution to leave ;
 " Abjure faith in Kālī,—our gospel receive ;
 " Before these I vow then to take thee to wife."

XIX.

With rites of the Church he hath plighted his hand
 To that virgin widow, thus saved from the pile ;
 In true wedded bliss in Bhooanee's own land,
 Long lived in high honour, and chief in command,
 Calcutta's brave founder, a willing exile.

XX.

She died, and her spirit appeared in a dream,
 While Charnock's eye fresh poured the scalding tear ;
 His race from a terrible curse to redeem,
 Before Kālī's Image to vow she did seem,
 That a fowl should be slain o'er her grave each year.

XXI.

No light thing the pious Job Charnock deems
 A warning by spirit unearthly given ;
 He believeth in Christ, and he believeth in dreams,
 And yearly the vow of his loved one redeems,
 On the day that her spirit departed to heaven.

XXII.

And therefore Bhooanee* hath smiled on the mart
 By the bold stranger raised with her temple in sight.—
 So chronicle B,ahmins, forgiving the part,
 That won for Job Charnock the bride of his heart,
 Defeating their purpose, profaning their rite.

XXIII.

A century passeth,—Calcutta hath grown
 To be the first city of wide Bengal :
 Half a century more, and see Delhi's high throne
 Transferred to Calcutta, who claims for her own
 More than Aurungzeeb's Empire, Sindh, Punjab, and all.

XXIV.

Go ye, who inherit this heritage wide,
 By deeds of two centuries bravely won,
 Go seek the old record how Job Charnock died,
 Seek the grave where he lies with his wife side by side,
 'Tis in the churchyard round the Church of St. John.

XXV.

A tomb in the corner, with octagon dome,
 Hath of marble a slab in the wall deep imbedded,
 Which tells how in hope of redemption to come,
 Two pilgrims of this world found here their last home,
 Calcutta's brave founder—the Sutte^e he wedded.†

* Kall, Bhooanee—names of the life-destroying goddess (an incarnation of Shiva, the destroyer), especially worshipped in Calcutta, the name of which in Bengall, is Kall-kota, the house, or fort, of Kall. The ruins still exist of a great place of her worship, on the Chitpoor road, which was defiled by Suraj-ud-doula, when he took Calcutta in A.D. 1756, and has since been left to decay.

† Hamilton tells us that Job Charnock rescued a Hindoo girl from Sutte^e by his guards, and married her. His eldest daughter by her married Charles Eyre, who was chief agent of the East India Company in Bengal in 1694. The same author mentions the erection of the mausoleum still standing in St. John's churchyard over the wife; and Charnock's superstitious practice of sacrificing a cock in it on the anniversary of her death. In the tomb there is the following inscription—"D.O.M. Jobes Charnock, armiger Anglicanus, et nup. in hoc regno Bengalensi, dignissimus Anglorum Agens, mortalitatis mee exuvias sub hoc marmore deposuit, ut, in spe beate resurrectionis, ad Christi Judicis adventum obdormirent. . . . 10th Januarii A.D. 1692." The inscription passes over the wife in silence, though the mausoleum, which is large and in the Oriental style of architecture, was erected over her before Charnock's death. Underneath is a separate inscription in Latin:—"Pariter jacet, Maria Jobi primogenita, Caroli Eyre, Anglorum liceti profecti, conjux charissima, quæ obijt 19 die Februarii, A.D. 1696-97." [It is, however, most unlikely that the mausoleum was erected before Charnock's death. The inscription has been contracted by Prinsep.] There is also in the same mausoleum a separate tablet for Hamilton, who obtained some advantages for the English by curing Ferozkhoor Shah of a troublesome disease.

OUR reproductions of twelve old Calcutta views published in this city by Thos. and William Daniell in the years 1786-88 are from photographs kindly sent out from England by Mr. George Lyell. Mr. Lyell has a specialised collection of early views of the city and it is to be hoped that this is only the first of a series of occasions when he will afford the readers of *Bengal : Past and Present* an opportunity for sharing with him the pleasure of studying these interesting mementoes of bygone days.

The cordial thanks of the Calcutta Historical Society are due to Mr. Lyell for his kindness in supplying the photographs, some of which will doubtless be new to many of those into whose hands they may pass. Mr. Lyell himself contributes to this number some letter-press on the subject.

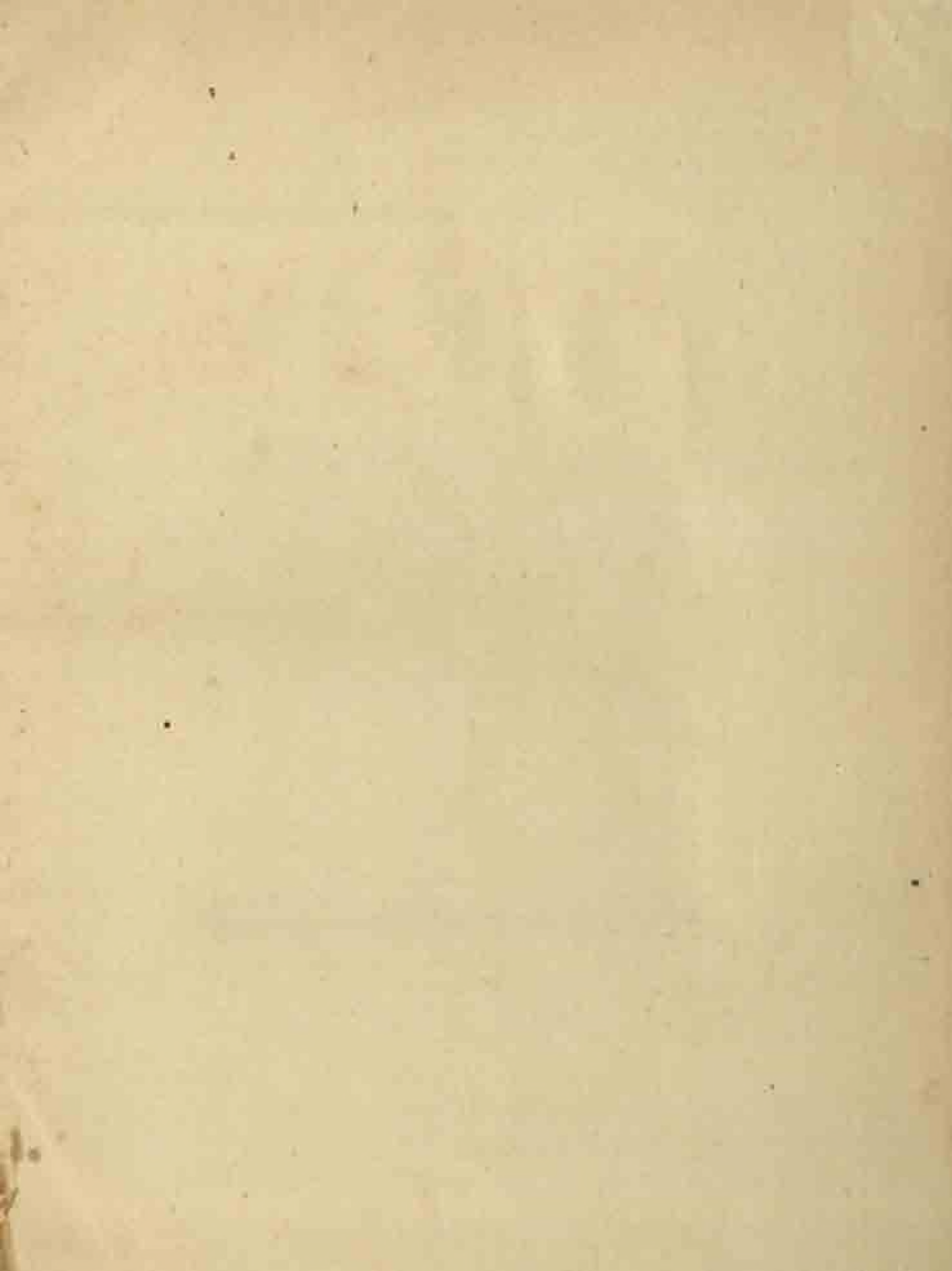
J. C. MITCHELL,
Honorary Secretary.



NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP.
Keith, A. W. ...	<i>Tikari Raj Estate, Gaya</i> ...	1st Jan. '09.
Smith, Dr. M. L. ...	<i>9, Chowringhee</i> ...	" " "
Hart, J. ...	<i>47, Diamond Harbour Road</i> ...	" " "
Dhar, Kiran Nath ...	<i>Imperial Library</i> ...	" " "
Mookenjee, Nitya Gopal ...	<i>Kidderpore</i> ...	8th Feb. "
Dutt, P. N. ...	<i>Lall Bazar Police Court</i> ...	" " "
Rahman, Chowdhry Mowahidur ...	<i>57, Elliot Road, Calcutta</i> ...	15th " "
Norton, Eardley J. ...	<i>42, Chowringhee</i> ...	" " "
Edo, J. F. ...	<i>1/4 Edo Bras., Sitcher, Cachar</i> ...	" " "
Howse, F. W. ...	<i>3, Lall Bazar</i> ...	23rd " "
Graham, J. M. ...	<i>Tinaguri, E. B. S. R.</i> ...	26th " "
Luke, Norman ...	<i>2, London Street</i> ...	1st Mar. "
Vredenburg, E. W., B. L., &c. ...	<i>Indian Museum</i> ...	" " "
Fligate, C. M. ...	<i>9, Hart Street</i> ...	" " "
Rogers, C. Harry ...	<i>47, Chowringhee</i> ...	7th " "
Templeton, A. N. ...	<i>1/2 " Bombay Gazette," Ltd., Bombay</i> ...	15th " "
Stoll, A. ...	<i>1, Lall Bazar</i> ...	17th " "





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